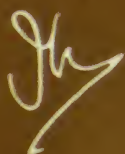


53

1 – 31 October 1959

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru



# Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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AT THE NAGARJUNASAGAR DAM PROJECT SITE. THE CHIEF ENGINEER EXPLAINS, 12 OCTOBER 1959

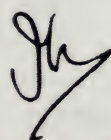
# **Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru**

*SECOND SERIES*

Volume Fifty Three (1 – 31 October 1959)

Editor

**MADHAVAN K. PALAT**

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## FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

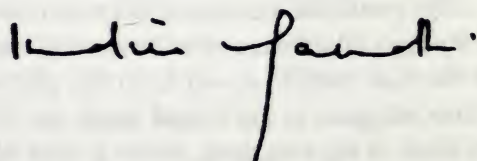
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both

within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi  
18 January 1972

Chairman  
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund



## EDITORIAL NOTE

In this volume of documents on October 1959, we see Nehru grappling with the continuing repercussions of the dismissal of the Communist government of Kerala with the Indian Commission of Jurists inquiring into the record of the Communist Government. But he had also to attend to dissidence in Punjab, the border dispute between Mysore and Bombay states, floods in West Bengal, and the arrest of Ramsingh Bhai Varma of the Indian National Trades Union Congress. In foreign affairs he had to ward off an attempt by Ireland and Malaya to place Tibet on the agenda of the UN General Assembly; and we are fortunate to have an extended account of his visit to Afghanistan and Iran in a letter to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

Many of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. The letters to the chief ministers are reproduced from an earlier series, *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, ed. G. Parthasarathi (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1985-1989), 5 vols. Emendations have been made where necessary, but the annotations differ in some respects. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to persons like B. C. Roy or Govind Ballabh Pant, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore these have been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the *Selected Works* appear as SWJN/FS/10/..., to be understood as *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within

a section, not between sections. A map of the boundary between India and China has been reproduced from *White Paper II* of 1959 and is placed at the end of the volume.

Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for those who might need or want a translation.

A large part of Nehru's archives is housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and is known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from this collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau, and the National Archives of India, all have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu*, the *National Herald*, *Shankar's Weekly*, and in particular to R. K. Laxman for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank those who bore the heavy burden of preparing this volume for publication, most of all M. Christhu Doss, helped by Geeta Kudaisya and Fareena Ikhlas Faridi. The translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari. Chandra Murari Prasad ably handled all the computer work, including preparing the entire text for the press.

Madhavan K. Palat

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## I. GENERAL

### (a) Chief Ministers

#### 1. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

October 1, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

It is almost exactly two months now since I wrote to you what is supposed to be my fortnightly letter.<sup>2</sup> It is not for lack of material or of outstanding events that I have not written to you during this long period. Indeed these two months have been heavy with a succession of events, both in our national sphere and in international affairs, which have often cast a great burden on us. The brief session of Parliament was full of exciting developments, as you well know.<sup>3</sup>

2. Why then did I not write to you? I was, of course, very heavily occupied, but that has not been a reason previously for my ignoring a well-established practice. I suppose that the only adequate reason I can give is that I could not develop the mood to write, or perhaps the leisure to do so, for often it is the leisure which produces the mood. I had much to tell you and much to consult you about. It is true that we met sometimes such as at the meeting of the National Development Council or at other Committee meetings, and we corresponded separately on many occasions. But that is not enough, and indeed it would be a pity if this practice of writing fortnightly letters fell into disuse. I do not particularly like to make these letters a record of events about which you can easily read in the newspapers. Nor do I want them to be just exhortations addressed to you and others. They were meant to be rather intimate discussions about national and international happenings, something which brought our minds nearer to each other. I see no reason why I should write to you just formal letters on such occasions repeating what has been said elsewhere.

3. Week after week has passed and the fortnightly letter has not been written and, as often happens, if an error is committed once, it is apt to be

1. File No. 25(30)/59-PMS. The three letters in this sub-section have also been published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 282-313. Also available in JN Collection.
2. On 26 July 1959.
3. The monsoon session of the Parliament, held from 3 August to 12 September 1959, dealt mainly with the intervention of Union Government in Kerala, the official language question, the food problem and situation in Tibet.



repeated. And so I allowed these weeks to pass, although always I had this business of writing to you in mind. But I just could not bring myself to do it; partly, no doubt I was struggling all the time with my daily activities and burden of work and by the time late at night I had dealt with these to some extent, I was too tired for anything requiring a fresh effort of the mind. So I went on postponing. Indeed, I would have done the same today and with some justification. It is late at night now, and I am leaving rather early in the morning for Rajasthan and Bombay and Poona.<sup>4</sup> Before I go to Palam, I am visiting Rajghat for the prayers there, as it is October 2nd tomorrow, the anniversary of Gandhiji's birth according to the Gregorian calendar. But suddenly this evening I felt that I must write to you even though the letter was brief and did not contain anything of great significance. I must break this long silence which was beginning to bear down upon me.

4. What a multitude of important events have taken place during these two months. There was the Kerala situation and the President's Proclamation in regard to that State<sup>5</sup>; there were tremendous floods in various parts of the country;<sup>6</sup> there was the food situation which, without being really bad, yet gave us much trouble; there was the big-scale rioting in Calcutta stated to be over the food situation there;<sup>7</sup> there was a few days' excitement over the reported resignation of our Army Chief of Staff;<sup>8</sup> there were difficulties and internal conflicts in some States; and there were the rapid and disturbing developments on our borders with Tibet-China.

5. I could write much about each of these, but many of these events are past history now and it would serve little purpose for me to deal with them in these letters. All of them, however, are not past history, and the border situation is a continuing one. You must have seen the White Paper that we issued about correspondence with the Chinese Government.<sup>9</sup> I have very recently sent a long

4. He visited Jaipur and Nagpur on 2-3 October, Bombay on 3-4 October and Poona on 5-6 October 1959.

5. President's rule was imposed in Kerala on 31 July 1959. The Union Government had appointed P.V.R. Rao, Chief Secretary of Mysore, as adviser to the Governor of Kerala.

6. In September 1959, the rivers Tapti, Godavari, the Mahanadi and its tributaries, and the Kosi and three smaller rivers in West Bengal either rose dangerously or inundated neighbouring areas.

7. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 3 September 1959 reported that nearly 1000 persons were arrested in West Bengal on 1 September for "defiance of law," and "contempt of court," in connection with the food problem.

8. See SWJN/SS/52/pp. 102-111.

9. See SWJN/SS/52/pp. 171-175.

reply to Premier Chou En-lai, and probably in the course of a few days, a copy of this reply will be sent to the press and sent to you separately.<sup>10</sup> A little later, we hope to issue another White Paper containing some further correspondence, etc.<sup>11</sup>

6. This tension that has arisen between India and China is, of course, of great concern to us. That does not mean that we should get alarmed in the present or fear any serious consequences. I do not think any such development is likely in the foreseeable future. But the basic fact remains that India and China have fallen out and, even though relative peace may continue at the frontier, it is some kind of an armed peace, and the future appears to be one of continuing tension. It is this future that troubles me because it will involve both a mental and a physical strain on our country, and it will somewhat come in the way of our basic policies. Those policies, I believe, have been correct and I see no reason whatever why we should vary them. At any time, any change in policy would have been wrong; at the present time, when the world appears to be moving towards a new adjustment aiming at peaceful settlements and possibly far-reaching disarmament, such a change in policy would be even more unfortunate and uncalled for. Therefore, I am convinced that we should hold to that policy. To some people, this may appear rather odd and not in conformity with the realities of the situation. That argument would mean that the policies we have pursued were temporary and opportunist and liable to change with changing situations. Undoubtedly, no policy should be rigid and inflexible; it has to be varied from time to time to fit in with objective realities. But if these policies were based on some firm principle, as I believe they were, then there should be no question of our discarding that principle for what appears to be some momentary and opportunist gain.

7. We have thus to continue those basic policies and, at the same time, show firmness in our dealing with frontier developments. No principle and no policy can be pursued through weakness or fear. I have no fear of China, great and powerful as that country is. China will undoubtedly grow in physical might. Even so, there is no need for us to be afraid and, indeed fear is never a good companion. But we shall have to be vigilant all the time and balance firmness with a continuation of our policy.

8. Behind all this frontier trouble, there appears to me to be a basic problem of a strong and united Chinese State, expansive and pushing out in various

10. See SWJN/SS/52/pp. 216-231.

11. The *White Paper II* was issued on 16 November 1959.



## *Chinese Monkeys*



*The C.P.I. stand (rather, sit) on the India-China border issue.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 6 SEPTEMBER 1959)

directions and full of pride in its growing strength. In Chinese history, this kind of thing has happened on several occasions. Communism as such is only an added element; the real reason should be found to lie deeper in history and in national characteristics. But it is true that never before have these two great countries, India and China, come face to face in some kind of a conflict. By virtue of their very size and their actual or potential strength, there is danger in this situation, not danger in the present, but rather in the future. That danger may be minimised by other developments and by the world moving gradually towards peace. But the danger will still remain, partly because of the tremendous rate of increase of the population of the Chinese State. Apart from population, there has been and is a certain homogeneity among the Chinese people which probably we lack. I have no doubt, however, that in the face of danger there will be much greater cohesion in India than we have at present. Perhaps, that may be one of the good effects of this new and unfortunate development.

9. In any event, we have to be firm and vigilant and, at the same time, calm and restrained, and we must realise that real strength does not come from strong language, or even by the addition to our armed forces, but from the general development of our country, from industrialisation in a big way and from unity. We come back, therefore, to the basic problem of India's growth and development through our Five Year Plans and the like. We are forced by circumstances to think in a big way and not to waste our national energy in relatively superficial activities and petty conflicts.

10. The tension between India and China has placed the Communist Party in a difficult and embarrassing position. That, of course, need not worry us, but we must appreciate this in its true shape. I am sure that there are many Communists who are deeply troubled at these developments because they are nationalists also.<sup>12</sup> There are other Communists who have apparently shed their nationalism and live in some theoretical atmosphere of outer space. The recent resolution of the Communist Party on the Sino-Indian controversy meant a victory for the latter group in the Communist Party.<sup>13</sup> It was an amazing resolution from the nationalist point of view, and I have little doubt that it will pursue them and might even lead to a progressive disintegration of the Communist Party of India.

12. Thus E.M.S. Namboodiripad had declared in Jullundur on 14 September that "if any country invades India the Communists will stand by their countrymen to fight back any aggression." Z.A. Ahmed said the same on 26 September 1959.

13. S.A. Dange said in Bombay on 20 September 1959 that "no Communist country will do that sort of a thing." [commit aggression].



11. Minor controversies about the frontier might or might not be of importance. What we have to face, however, is something much deeper and more serious. This is a demand for considerable areas, more especially in the N.E.F.A. All this means the Chinese want to come down on this side of the Himalayan barrier. This has two vitally important aspects: one that if a foreign power comes down on this side of the Himalayas, our basic security is greatly endangered; the other that a sentiment which has been the life-blood of India through past ages is shattered. That sentiment appertains to the Himalayas. As I said in Parliament, we are not going to make a gift of the Himalayas to anybody whatever the consequences.<sup>14</sup> The Himalayas are perhaps a more vital part of India's thought and existence throughout the ages than almost anything else. They are vital for our security even in the present age of extra-modern weapons; they are vital for our cultural inheritance.

12. I have recently been to Afghanistan<sup>15</sup> and Iran<sup>16</sup> and am very happy that I went to these two countries which have been connected with India for long ages past. It was pleasing to be welcomed by the people there, apart from the official welcome. I sensed how the people of these countries look towards India in rather a special way. We are not just any country, strong or weak, but a country with a special message in international affairs, which has been progressively appreciated in the rest of the world. Some Governments may not like us, but I think that the people in every country appreciate us and sometimes even look up to us. We do not speak the language of force or of cold war, and it is a pleasant change for them to notice this difference.

13. One thing I should like to mention especially. Nowhere in the world have I found such wonderful fruits as we had in Afghanistan. There were luscious grapes in tremendous variety, and peaches and pears and, above all, melons of a freshness and taste which were superb. I remembered the remarks which Babar made in his memoirs which he wrote after coming to India. The new empire of India did not make him forget these fruits of Ferghana and he stated sorrowfully how he missed these grapes and melons here.

14. We have just had a meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Chandigarh.<sup>17</sup> Nowadays, the big newspapers are rather fond of criticising the Congress and running it down. As a matter of fact, the Chandigarh Session of the All India Congress Committee was a particularly good one and the report

14. See items 249 and 250.

15. From 13 to 17 September 1959.

16. From 18 to 22 September 1959.

17. From 26 to 28 September 1959.

# You Said It

By LAXMAN



*You want to know about our food position? Very satisfactory—what do you think I have been explaining for the past two hours?*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 28 OCTOBER 1959)



of the Planning Sub-Committee is a very substantial contribution to the third Five Year Plan.<sup>18</sup> It may be changed here and there, but the basic approach will, I have no doubt, remain. It is necessary, however, to take this message to our people and explain it to them. This is of the highest importance.

15. In the present and the future, agricultural production and more especially food production are of the most vital consequence. Our new Minister for Food and Agriculture<sup>19</sup> has already written to you on this subject. I would commend your attention to what he has written and to the urgent necessity for producing results in the next rabi campaign. This requires an all-out effort. Unfortunately, there have been floods and there is drought in some parts of India. But we cannot allow ourselves to be deflected from our aim even by natural calamities. I wish you success in your endeavours.

16. As I am leaving Delhi early tomorrow morning, I shall not be able to sign this letter. You will please forgive me for this.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 2. To Chief Ministers

October 16, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

I have just returned from a brief four-day tour in Andhra Pradesh.<sup>20</sup> I found this visit to Andhra Pradesh heartening, and there was evidence of good progress being made in various directions. The meetings I addressed were very largely attended; indeed, they were mammoth gatherings, often of two or three lakhs. Two new engineering colleges are being started and one polytechnic.<sup>21</sup> A visit

18. The report of 6 September 1959 stressed the goals of rising national income, rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on basic and heavy industry, employment generation, and more equitable distribution of wealth.

19. S.K. Patil.

20. Nehru visited Andhra Pradesh from 10 to 14 October 1959. See items 12-17, 21&91.

21. Nehru laid the foundation stones of the engineering colleges at Warangal and Tirupati on 10 and 13 October respectively and opened the Krishnadevaraya Polytechnic at Wanaparthy on 10 October 1959. See items 12, 14 and 17 in this volume.

to the Nagarjunakonda was particularly fascinating to me.<sup>22</sup> I saw there both the old and the new—the ruins of the ancient city of Vijayapuri<sup>23</sup> which was a great Buddhist University and centre of learning, and the new dam that is being put up there which unfortunately will result in a big lake covering these ruins.<sup>24</sup> For the last several years, concentrated work has been done by our Archaeological Department to dig up and remove all the interesting archaeological remains from this site to higher ground nearby where they will be erected or displayed. I well remember when this question came up before us and became almost a matter of conscience. Should we preserve the past and this valuable ancient site as it was, or should we attach more importance to the present and the future by building the dam? The decision was taken in favour of the present and the future well-being of the people. I think it was a right decision.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, we laid special stress on the removal of the archaeological remains, and this is being done, I think, satisfactorily. These remains are being placed on what will ultimately become an island surrounded by the lake.

2. There was one aspect of the dam and the canals being constructed there which struck me as worthy of special notice. I found that far more work was being done by manual labour than is usually the case in these big projects. The engineers told me that after careful calculations, they found that it was cheaper to do it by manual labour. Of course, they are using big machinery also, but this is far less than elsewhere. Nearly one hundred thousand persons are employed there in the construction of the dam and the left and right canals. The result of this has been to bring a measure of prosperity in that entire area. One of the workers in these canals came up to me and said something in Telugu which moved me greatly. He said: "Here you have lighted a lamp."

3. That phrase stuck in my mind, and it seemed to me that the test of a man's work could well be in terms of that phrase. Do we, in the course of our lives, light lamps, or do we snuff out the lamps or candles that exist? The greatest lighter of lamps was Gandhiji for he lit these lamps in the minds and hearts of millions of people. Humbler folk like us work in a much smaller way. But if we succeed in lighting a few lamps, then our lives have not been without some little value. There is a beautiful phrase: "All the darkness in the world cannot put out the light of a single candle."

22. On 12 October 1959.

23. The capital of the Ikshvaku dynasty (c. 225-325 CE).

24. Under the Nagarjunasagar Project of damming the river Krishna.

25. See SWJN/SS/36/p. 184.



4. The phrase of the Nagarjunakonda worker stuck in my mind and I began to see how far it applied to our domestic as well as our international policy. That seemed a good test for these policies. In international affairs, war is the negation of this lighting of lamps; indeed, war means the snuffing out of lights on a vast scale. So also cold war, though in a somewhat lesser degree. An international policy, therefore, might be judged from this point of view—does it keep alight the lamp of peace and spread its radiance, or does it darken peoples' minds and fill them with hatred and the spirit of violence. That may be an idealistic approach, but, in the circumstances of today, it is an eminently practical one. For the world has to face a great choice, peace or terrible and ultimate war. We have endeavoured in India to labour to preserve this flame of peace in our international policy; whether we have succeeded or not, the future will show.

5. In our domestic policy, it is probably a little more difficult to pass judgement, though my mind is fairly clear about it. I do believe that we have lighted innumerable lamps all over India, but the field is vast and great parts of it are still in darkness. When will the time come when there is some kind of Deepavali all over India and indeed all over the world? It will not come anywhere through hatred and violence or the cold war, and if a shooting war comes, it will put an end to even the future prospect that we cherish.

6. It is extraordinary how easily all of us are swept away by gusts of anger and passion. The anger may have some justification, but no correct policy can be evolved in a state of anger. We have had this background of anger and resentment in regard to Pakistan, though happily it is less now than it used to be. I am sure that this reaction, even though it might be caused by the evil policies of Pakistan, can do little good. Recently we have had deep resentment and anger at the development on our border with Tibet-China. And, again, there was adequate justification for it. But I have observed how easily national passions are roused and how they can sweep us off our feet. Our newspapers, or many of them, add to this feeling of passion and resentment. If no check of reason and calm thought was applied to these situations, we would be led step by step to a position from which there was no escape except in major conflict.

7. It is not an easy matter to follow a policy which is firm and dignified and, at the same time, friendly. And yet that is the only reasonable and mature policy to adopt. The other leads to a plunge into the bitter ocean of hatred and cold war. For the last dozen years or more, we have kept our heads up and avoided being submerged by waves of this cold war, except sometimes to a little extent in regard to Pakistan. Because of this, we have built up some kind of a reputation the world over and we are respected even by those who do not agree with us. Why did I get an unusually warm reception from the peoples of Afghanistan and Iran recently? It was because of this reputation built up

gradually year after year. And yet it is easy to fall off from this height in a gust of anger or emotion.

8. We have been put to the test during recent many months because of developments in Tibet and on our border areas. These events have moved us, as was natural. On the whole, we have functioned with strength and dignity. But some people imagine that strength and courage are exhibited by strong and intemperate language and by brave gestures. Many of our newspapers have particularly distinguished themselves in such language and gesture. I have been surprised not only at their lack of restraint but, even more so, by their lack of good sense and foresight. It seems to me that behind this display lay some deeper reasons of discontent with our policies, both domestic and international. In the international field, there appears to be an attempt to push us out of our policy of non-alignment and non-commitment; in the domestic field, an organised attempt by certain conservative and reactionary groups to oppose some of our basic policies. This is an unfortunate development. I think it is all to the good that there should be criticism, and even strong criticism, of policies. Only in this way and by discussion can the public be educated. But criticism is one thing, and the kind of approach we have had from some people is something deeper than criticism.

9. At no time during the past many years has our policy of non-alignment with Power Blocs and our determined attempt to seek peace by peaceful methods and peaceful language been more justified than in the present. The public, the world over, has turned to it. What is even more significant is that Governments now look in that direction. I do not mean to imply that all this has happened because of our attempts or our policy, but we have no doubt helped a little in the process. The recent visit of Mr. Khrushchev to President Eisenhower became a turning point in world affairs.<sup>26</sup> It may still be difficult to prophesy what good this will lead to. But there can be no doubt whatever that this visit indicates a significant change in the old attitude of cold war. Because this change has come in some of the most important and powerful countries, it makes a difference. It would be tragic indeed if at this juncture in world history we lost our bearings and were swept away from the anchor of our faith. I have no doubt about our people and have full faith in them, but a certain confusion is caused which disturbs the minds of many. It is necessary, therefore, for us to be clear in our own minds and to be in close contact with our people, from whom we derived strength.

26. His first visit to the USA was from 15 to 27 September 1959. On 19 September, Khrushchev called for general disarmament in his address to the UN General Assembly.



10. Some excitement has recently been caused, mostly in newspapers, by the debate on Tibet in the United Nations.<sup>27</sup> For a variety of reasons, which I have stated repeatedly in Parliament and elsewhere, we decided long ago not to encourage the reference of the Tibet issue to the United Nations. I made this clear in Parliament as well as at press conferences.<sup>28</sup> I told the Dalai Lama about it.<sup>29</sup> We discussed this matter with leaders of other nations and most of them agreed with our broad approach and expressed their opinion that it would not be desirable to bring this before the United Nations. However, the exigencies of the cold war led some later to support this proposal. The question before us was whether we should oppose it directly or abstain from voting.<sup>30</sup> There could be, in the circumstances, no question of our supporting such a proposal. We have been in constant touch with our delegation in the United Nations and advising them what to do. There are two ways of abstention in the United Nations. One is to say that you do not participate and the other is not to vote. The difference is slight. We were asked as to which should be adopted. I was inclined to think that non-participation would represent our attitude more correctly than merely not voting. But I left the matter to our delegation to decide. In the event, it was decided by them not to participate which I think was quite correct. This has, however, led to much criticism in the press. If one examines that criticism, it will be seen that it is based not on this particular development but is rather against our basic policy of non-alignment. That, of course, raises deeper issues and we must be clear about them.

11. In this matter, the Praja Socialist Party has all along taken a very definite attitude. It wanted us to vote for the resolution on Tibet and, generally speaking,

27. For instance, *The Tribune* of 13 October quoted V.K. Krishna Menon, the leader of the Indian Delegation to UN General Assembly, as saying in his television interview to a panel of university students in New York on 11 October that "a full scale debate in the UN General Assembly on Tibet would not lead to any constructive action but would promote the cold war and create an unfavourable atmosphere for talks on other questions." On 14 October, *The Tribune* reported that Vasily Kuznetsov, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister had declared on 15 October that "while relations among nations were being improved questions designed to preserve and continue the 'cold war policy' were being raised and fanned at this session."

28. See SWJN/SS/52/pp. 1-25 and 181-196.

29. Nehru met the Dalai Lama on 2 September 1959.

30. India did not participate in the voting on the Resolution proposed by Ireland and Malaya to place "the question of Tibet" on the agenda of the UN General Assembly on 13 October. However, Resolution 1353 (XIV) was adopted by a vote of 45 to 9, with 26 abstentions and the Resolution was passed on 21 October 1959.



its attitude implies, although it does not say so precisely, that we should give up our policy of non-alignment. We are told that this is a moral issue and we should stand up for the right, whatever the consequences. I hope that none of our policies is based on a denial of the moral aspect, though I must confess that there is little of this in international affairs. But to talk grandiloquently in such matters without any regard for consequences is hardly the proper approach. It is the approach of passion and unreason and if pursued, this would lead us to the pit of cold war.

12. So far as our border with Tibet-China is concerned, we have taken adequate measures for its protection. No one can guarantee the absolute protection of a border 2500 miles in length. But for all practical purposes, it is adequately protected, and any attempt at aggression will be difficult to maintain. I have no apprehension on that score, and I do not think there is going to be a major conflict there.

13. We are having at present a high-level conference in Delhi with Pakistan in regard to our eastern border with Pakistan.<sup>31</sup> This conference has been the outcome of a proposal made by President Ayub Khan when he met me at Palam some weeks ago.<sup>32</sup> I cannot say definitely what the result of this conference will be, but I have a feeling that the approach on this occasion is a serious one and that efforts will be made to lessen the tensions on the border and perhaps to go some way towards solving our problems there. During the last many weeks there has been no incident on these eastern borders of ours.

14. In Pakistan there was a strange development a little while ago when General Habibullah, who was No. 2 in the Army and expected to become Commander-in-Chief very soon, was suddenly made to resign.<sup>33</sup> It is difficult to understand why this happened. It indicates, however, that military regimes essentially lack stability and move from one extreme step to another.

15. This year has been a very abnormal and unhappy one for us because of floods. Assam, Kashmir, Andhra, Gujarat, Saurashtra, Maharashtra and a number of other places suffered from severe floods. Last of all and worst of all came the floods in West Bengal and Orissa. West Bengal has undergone and is still undergoing a terrible experience. In all these floods, our Army and Air Force have done good work and brought relief to many. But, apart from our defence

31. See SWJN/SS/52/p. 19.

32. On 1 September 1959.

33. General Habibullah Khan Khattak, father-in-law of Ayub Khan's eldest son, was Chief of Staff; but Ayub Khan chose Musa Khan for the position.

forces, all of us should try to help in some way or other in bringing relief to the vast numbers who are in distress.

16. The question of the division of the present Bombay State has been very much before the public recently,<sup>34</sup> and yet no decision has been made. An informal discussion of this matter between a few of us suddenly opened the door to widespread speculation. That itself indicated how full the public mind was of this subject. While it is true that there has been no decision yet, there can be little doubt that a division of the Bombay State is highly likely to take place. We have been anxious, however, that no such major step should be taken till all its inevitable consequences have been fully considered and full consultation has taken place. It would be unfortunate to take the major step and leave unresolved questions in its train.

17. At the beginning of this month, I went to Rajasthan to participate in what I consider a historic ceremony. This was the transfer of a good deal of power and authority to the panchayat samitis. In Andhra I took part in a like ceremony and inaugurated it.<sup>35</sup> Thus Rajasthan and Andhra have become the leaders among the States in this movement towards decentralisation and the investment of responsibility and authority for all developmental purposes on the panchayat samitis in their respective areas. I have no doubt that this is a right step and that this will spread over other parts of India. It is a far-reaching step and it is quite possible that many difficulties will arise. It will lead probably to a new set-up completely in these rural areas. New persons will come to the front and it will not be easy for the city dwellers to throw their weight about in the rural areas quite too much as they have done in the past.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

34. It was formed during the Chandigarh session of the AICC meeting. See SWJN/SS/52/ pp. 55-76.

35. At Nagaur on 2 October 1959 as recommended by the Balwantray Mehta Committee and at Shadnagar in Andhra Pradesh on 11 October 1959.



### 3. To Chief Ministers

October 26, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

As I write to you, the subject probably uppermost in your minds is the recent grave incident in Eastern Ladakh where a conflict took place between some of our men and Chinese troops.<sup>36</sup> This resulted, insofar as we know now, in nine deaths of the Indian police force and ten of our policemen were captured by the Chinese. One person has not been accounted for. The Chinese have offered to arrange to send back the ten persons they hold and to hand over the bodies of the dead. Some arrangements to this effect are likely to be made within the next few days.

2. This is obviously a matter of the gravest concern both in the present and the future. It is natural, therefore, that there should be a strong reaction in the country of indignation and resentment. We all feel that but, just because this is a very serious matter, we cannot allow ourselves to be swept off our feet and to act in an excited manner. One can afford to be excited when a matter is of no high concern, but that luxury cannot be indulged in when the consequences of any action are likely to be far-reaching.

3. Till August last our checkpoints in our frontier areas were held as follows: on the N.E.F.A. border by the Assam Rifles; on the Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab borders by the respective State Police forces; in Ladakh, chiefly by a certain border police especially organised for this purpose. None of these border posts were directly under the Army at that time.

4. In August we decided to make the Army responsible for the protection of this entire border area. This was immediately given effect to on the N.E.F.A. border. This did not mean any change-over from the Assam Rifles to Army men on the spot but the general command and the direction were taken over by the Army. I might add that the Assam Rifles are an excellent force especially trained for functioning in these mountain areas.

5. Our Army Headquarters decided for the time being to leave the other frontier areas in charge of the various police forces that were functioning there, intending gradually to change over later. This applied to the Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab border forces. It also applied largely to the Ladakh

36. Chinese armed guards attacked an Indian patrol near Kongka Pass on 20 October 1959. According to the second White Paper, seventeen Indian policemen were killed and several others seriously injured.



area, although our Army had one or two important checkposts directly under its charge there.

6. Some idea should be formed of this Ladakh area and terrain. Leh, the capital of Ladakh, is about 11,500 feet above sea level. Going from there towards the north and east, land rises and goes up to 18,000 feet with mountain peaks which are higher. In Eastern Ladakh where the recent incident occurred, the land is between 14,000 and 17,000 feet altitude. It is treeless and even without grass. It is on the other side of the main Himalayan range and hardly has any rain or snow. The outlook is thus dreary in the extreme with bare rocks, though this has a very definite beauty of its own. I visited this place about four or five years ago at Chushul where our Air Force people had improvised an airstrip. The barren, empty and forbidding aspect of the land there was certainly an impressive sight. At the same time it was rather oppressive. The air was exceedingly clear, far clearer than you can find it anywhere else except on the very high mountains. The result of the clarity of this atmosphere was to mislead people about distances; all perspectives were wrong. A place which might be five miles away appeared to be a mile distant.

7. The place where the conflict with the Chinese troops took place is a three weeks' hard journey by mountain tracks from Leh. We have an airfield at Chushul which can be used when conditions are favourable, but Chushul itself is about sixty miles or more from the place of this recent incident. On the other side, that is, the Chinese side, the terrain is somewhat better because we have crossed the principal mountains and the plateau of Tibet and the highlands of the Chinese Turkestan lie there. Even that is by no means easy going, but it is far easier and more accessible from the other side. We hear of Chinese roads being built in Tibet and near and across our border. These roads are of the simplest type. All that is done there is to level them to some extent and to place some kind of road marks. The ground is so hard because of the cold that it is almost like stone or cement. It requires little treatment. These roads are of course hard going, but they can be used by trucks or lorries.

8. Before the recent Tibet rebellion which began in the spring of this year, the number of Chinese troops in Tibet was not very large and most of them were concentrated in Central and Eastern Tibet. Probably Western Tibet had a small number also. After the rebellion the Chinese poured large numbers of troops into Tibet and they spread them out all over in order to crush the rebellion. In this way their forces gradually reached our frontiers both south and west of Tibet. Apart from crushing the rebellion, the object was to cut off refugees from escaping and to prevent any contacts with elements across the border which, the Chinese thought, might be aiding the rebels. Thus the Chinese troops came into direct touch with our frontier at N.E.F.A. Fortunately we had

established a number of checkpoints there and it was not possible for them to advance any further without a conflict. As you will remember, there was such a conflict at Longju village on the N.E.F.A. border.<sup>37</sup> There was no other or any major conflict along that border. Meanwhile they spread out to the Western Tibet border. This is a vast indefinite border where the Chinese claim a good deal of territory beyond our frontier line. We had a few checkpoints but they were not actually on the border, but some distance away from it. Gradually, in the past two or three years we have established a few checkpoints, but a great part of this territory, which is largely uninhabited, had no checkpoints or border forces. It has been a difficult and adventurous task to set up these checkpoints during the past few years. In effect it meant high skill and great endurance for our men in addition to various types of dangers having to be faced. These posts were established by our border police which consists of a fine selected body of men, usually mountain folk, who could stand that climate and terrain. Their leaders were often of the type that ventures to go up high mountains. They used to go for long patrols across these mountains lasting weeks and months and return and report. It was impossible for them to cover all the ground. This was indeed almost the first attempt for this kind of investigation and survey as previously all these vast areas had been rather neglected and ignored because of the great difficulty of access and also because no danger was apprehended there.

9. You will remember that on two occasions in the last two or three years there was some trouble with the Chinese at a few distant places. A few of our men were apprehended by the Chinese and later released, the Chinese of course always claiming that they were on their territory and we had intruded into it.

10. Last year, that is, in the summer of 1958, some of these border patrols of ours went very far in the North and East and almost right up to what we claim to be our frontier. They did not come across any Chinese posts, except what I have mentioned above on the northern side. In winter it is exceedingly difficult to move about in these areas. Therefore, normally, patrolling, etc., takes place in the short months. This summer we decided to establish some more checkpoints further afield. A few have been established. It was with this purpose in view that a fairly strong party of our border police went eastwards in Ladakh and established a firm checkpoint at Tsogtsalu. They then went forward to a temporary post which is called Hot Springs. This was about six or seven miles further to the east. From there two constables with some porters were

37. See SWJN/SS/51/item 197.



sent to reconnoitre. They did not return. A police party went in search of them and returned without any information. The next morning, on the 21st of October, another party of about twenty men on ponies went again in search of these two constables. Soon after they had gone, the remaining policemen under their officer decided to follow them on foot. These were about fifty. Thus two parties marched forward separately and possibly by slightly different routes but more or less in the same direction. After going about six or seven miles, the first party spotted a Chinese force entrenched at the top of a hill. The second party meanwhile approached from a slightly different direction and came in sight there. When our first party reached the base of the hill, the Chinese attacked them apparently with two-inch mortars and hand-grenades and inflicted the casualties mentioned above. In fact, that party of twenty of our men was completely disabled as some were killed and others were captured. Some casualties were also inflicted on the Chinese, but we do not know how many these were. What our second party did was not quite clear. Probably they joined in the firing from a distance. It was the second party that ultimately got away and came back to our checkpost with about fifty of their men.

11. These are roughly the facts as we know them now. Possibly some more details will be available within the next few days which will enable us to understand what happened on that day more clearly. At present our police force occupies our checkpost firmly.

12. As a result of this tragic incident, we have naturally given the most earnest thought to this situation and are evolving plans as how best to deal with it. The Army authorities have been put directly in charge of every kind of operational or other activity in this area as in other areas. The police will continue to function there, but under the Army's authority and direction. There appears to be no immediate danger to our existing checkposts. What we shall do in the future will depend on many factors. We shall try to strengthen our checkposts and to send them farther wherever this is considered feasible. In war or in any situation which is of the nature of war adventurist tactics do not pay. If we were to follow the advice of some of our excited people or some of our newspapers, we would get entangled in the most hopeless difficulties and be caught in very disadvantageous positions. Therefore, we have to frame our policy with firmness and at the same time with due direction, so that it might bear results.

13. The recent incident resulting in conflict was probably unplanned on either side. That is, no actual conflict was intended just then or expected. I do not suppose that it was the result of any special directions from the Chinese Government. There was no time for it even. But the basic fact remains that the Chinese forces had established their checkpost there and must have had orders to hold it if there was a conflict. When did the Chinese get there? It is difficult



to say, but it is clear that they were not there in the summer of 1958. Very probably they were not there in the winter of 1958-59. I imagine that they got there in the late summer of 1959. The policy of the Chinese Government appears to have been to creep forward with their forces and to occupy any of these empty areas where there was no opposition. So, following the suppression of the Tibet rebellion, their forces gradually came into what we consider our part of Ladakh and what the Chinese say is their part of Tibet or Chinese Turkestan. Presumably, they wanted to get possession of as big a part of this empty and more or less uninhabited area as they could without a conflict and to establish themselves firmly there. It was not difficult for them to do so as the terrain was more suitable for them and some of their principal military centres in Western Tibet were not far off.

14. It may be asked why we did not go there first. The question is a relevant one. But it was no easy matter for us to spread out there without being completely cut off from our bases in Central Ladakh. The problem of going there was difficult enough. The logistic aspect of giving them supplies was even more difficult unless arrangements were made on a very big scale. Whether it would have been desirable for us to lock up and isolate a good part of our Army in these distant areas is a matter on which opinions may differ.

15. Anyhow, we have to face the position as it is. We have in fact to face a powerful country bent on spreading out to what they consider their old frontiers, and possibly beyond. The Chinese have always, in their past history, had the notion that any territory which they had once occupied in the past necessarily belonged to them subsequently. If they were weak, then they could not enforce their claim, but they did not give it up. If they were strong, then they tried to enforce that claim and seize territory with the firm conviction that they were in the right and they were only taking back what belonged to them. Most countries, I suppose, have a rather one-sided view of their rights and responsibilities. The Chinese certainly have that one-sided view in ample measure. That past view has now been perhaps confirmed by the present Communist Government there and a sense of growing strength has given them an additional measure of arrogance.

16. It may interest you to learn that just about this time of the incident at Ladakh, the Chinese Government informed us that they had changed their mind again and would take a big part in our Agricultural Exhibition in December next.<sup>38</sup> Previously they had agreed to take part and then backed out of it. This action of theirs had been much criticised not only in India but abroad, and they

38. From 11 December 1959 to 14 February 1960 in New Delhi.

felt that because of this they should revert to their previous decision to participate.

17. About this time also, that is, two or three days ago, I received a letter from Premier Chou En-lai couched in very friendly language, inviting our Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan to pay a visit to China.<sup>39</sup> The Vice-President has no intention of going there in the near future. Apart from the fact that he is engaged till about the middle of next year, he does not think it proper to go there after recent happenings and in view of the mood of our country.

18. I mention these two incidents to show these different trends in Chinese policy. They are both there. The Chinese would not willingly come into conflict with India. But at the same time they are not likely to change their basic policies merely to please India or anyone else. Their thinking, in spite of or because of their communism, has reverted to the old imperial days of China when they considered themselves the "Middle Kingdom", the centre of culture and enlightenment and the other nations on their fringes were to be treated in a superior and patronising way, provided they recognised the broad fact of China's superiority. In the old days, even when Ambassadors went to the Chinese imperial Capital and made formal presentations or gifts, these were considered as a tribute from other countries.

19. We have to face a fairly difficult situation in the present. But what is of far greater concern to me is the future that is gradually unrolling itself. I view this not with any fear but certainly with great concern. There is no reason why we should be frightened, and, in any event, the approach of fear is always a wrong one. I think we are strong enough to protect ourselves even though we might have a few knocks. But I do not like the idea of continuing tension and potential conflict between India and China. This is not because I am enamoured of China, but because I am enamoured of India and of peace. The burden of constant friction on a long border with a powerful country will be great and even worse than that burden will be the spirit of hostility that this arouses and which leads us to think in wrong directions.

20. I am asked both by some of our own countrymen and by people abroad: are you still going to adhere to your policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence?<sup>40</sup> Some say that our policy has failed. I entirely disagree. Far from failing, this policy has had, in a sense, marked success in the world as a whole and has contributed, I think, in some small measure, to the favourable developments that are taking place in the Western world as between the two

39. On 24 October 1959. See item 174 in this volume.

40. For example, by H.N. Kunzru, P.N. Saprú, and K.M. Munshi in the Rajya Sabha on 20 September 1959, or in the foreign newspapers like *The Times* (London) on 24 October 1959.



mighty powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Of course, there are many other factors. But we have helped a little. This is of great consequence to the world's future, and indirectly it even affects the situation in Asia because a general improvement in the world situation must necessarily react on the situation in Asia. It is a fact, however, that our attempts at friendship with the Chinese Government have failed and there is unfortunately some actual and a great deal of potential conflict in the air. To say that this is due to our policy of non-alignment is to misunderstand the situation completely. Any other policy would not have prevented this happening but would have accelerated it and made it more difficult for us to play the part we did in the furtherance of world peace. Even today, and indeed at any time, I am convinced that that policy of non-alignment and an attempt at peaceful co-existence with all nations is the correct one. That does not mean our being complacent or our not taking all necessary and feasible steps to meet any dangers that might confront us.

21. The alternative to this is our plunging into the cold war and thereby weakening ourselves in every way and, at the same time, vitiating the progress that has been made in the Western world towards understanding and the lessening of the cold war. Only unthinking persons can suggest any change in our basic policy. For us, in a moment of excitement or weakness, to join the ranks of the cold war protagonists and to seek military alliances would indeed be a tragic failure not only of our policy but of all that India has stood for. Even so, we would not gain that security which we desire. In fact, our security will be much more gravely imperilled, and no other country, however great it may be, can help us, in our hour of need. If unfortunately the situation between India and China worsened and this led to a war, no one can help us directly in any measure. Probably what would happen is that that war would develop into a world war and the vast destruction and even annihilation which that entails. That is a poor kind of help that we would get.

22. We are naturally full of our own troubles on the frontier and angry at the aggressive policy of China. That is a major development for us, and yet the really big thing that is happening in the world is the gradual change in the relations between the Western nations and the Soviet Union. After all, in the present the two big countries that count are the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. Any coming nearer to each other of these two countries is a matter of vast significance for the future of the world. What will happen I do not know. All I can say is that the trends are hopeful, and we should not do anything to come in the way of these promising developments, but should rather help them.

23. It is true that China does not fit in with this picture and probably the Chinese Government is not terribly keen on the success of these trends. I regret to say that I rather doubt if the Chinese Government are anxious for a peaceful



world. Certainly the Soviet Union is terribly anxious for peace and so are the Western countries. It is said by many people who ought to know that there is some kind of a rift between the Soviet Union and China. There may be something in this, but we must not exaggerate it as both those countries have to rely on one another a great deal and cannot afford to break. But the fact still remains that their policies are not wholly in line with each other and that the Soviet Union has not approved of much that has happened in China recently.

24. If this is the position in the world, it becomes important that we should encourage the work for peace that the Soviet Union as well as the Western countries are engaged in. For us to take any action which upsets this work will be bad for us and bad for the world. So far as we are concerned in India, we have had consistent goodwill from the Soviet Union and even in our recent conflicts with China, the attitude of the Soviet Union towards India has been, on the whole, favourable.

25. There are many other subjects on which I should like to write to you, but this letter has grown long enough. I shall deal with other matters later.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## **(b) Speeches**

### **(i) Jaipur Tour**

#### **4. At Rajasthan University: Widespread Education<sup>41</sup>**

Mr. Chancellor,<sup>42</sup> Vice Chancellor,<sup>43</sup> Friends,

On such occasions ... (noise... "I am not making this noise"... laughter and applause).

On such occasions the first problem I have to face always is the language I should use. We are living in a transitional period in many ways and also of course in the use of languages. Normally, of course, in any country in a university

41. Speech, Jaipur, 2 October, 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

42. Gurmukh Nihal Singh.

43. G.C. Chatterjee.

more especially, and elsewhere too, one would presume that the language used is the language of the country. Not that the university should approach the question of language in a narrow minded way. But as I said, we are passing through this transitional stage and we shall have to put up for some time, the use of more than one language on such occasions and there is no harm in that provided we know what we are aiming at? Provided we know that this is transitional stage with regard to language as well as others.

I am happy to be here today because Rajasthan and Jaipur particularly attract me and mould me somewhat emotionally whenever I come here. My object in coming to Rajasthan on this occasion has been principally, as you perhaps know, in connection with the grant of considerable powers to village panchayats and this afternoon I shall go to Nagaur for this purpose. This is a very definite and praiseworthy advance that this state has made, because if you look at our multifarious activities, there are many things of course that are being done, but in a sense the most important I think are, on the one side, education, and on the other, this raising the living of our villages, not only in the material things, but making them self-reliant, making them confident and making them share the burden of the Government. Rajasthan has passed through many changes in vicissitudes from the days of purely personal rule of a maharaja. In that personal rule, gradually, was change, somewhat till there came these democratic institutions. Now we are going through another stage of taking democracy in reality, and not only in some kind of constitutional theory too, to the village; and this is an important development which I have no doubt will spread throughout India. So I came principally for that and we chose an auspicious day for this great step forward, this day is the 2nd of October which forever will be connected with Gandhiji's anniversary of birth and this morning before I left Delhi from Palam Airport, I paid a visit to Rajghat and spent some time there so that I might begin the day well. But it is not by paying visit to Rajghat, and occasionally participating in some prayerful function that we honour the memory of Gandhiji, but to try, by trying to imbibe some, something of the essence of the spirit of that mighty person. I feel sure that he would be happy at these changes in the villages that we are trying to bring about, because his mind was always with the humblest and with the kisan in the village.

Now coming to this particular function, as I have just said, perhaps the most important and vital thing happening in India apart from this real rural development, it is education, is the spread of education at various levels, perhaps most important of all is, at the lowest level—primary education (where millions and millions of boys and girls, I do not quite know the number, there is a big number even now), secondary education, college education, university education. We discuss and we argue about the systems of education and there



are so many people who criticise our present methods. I have also criticised them and no doubt we will all go on criticising them and gradually perhaps changing them. But the main thing is that in spite of all this criticism this mighty change is coming over India—the spread and widespread of education, secondary and university education going down to village after village, spreading more and more looking towards science and technology. Because what we have got to bring about in India, as in many countries of the East, is a change and a very big change from traditional ways of thinking what might be called the modern scientific technological ways. I do not mean to say that traditional ways of thinking were bad or that we should discard them entirely, certainly not. It is one thing to hear, or to profit by our heritage of the past as we must, it is another thing to be made a prisoner by the past. Because the moment you know yourself to be made a prisoner by the past, you cease to grow and become almost embalmed in the past. So the past should always be with us to inspire us, and indeed whatever we are today we are the results of that past. It is the past that conditioned us and our forefathers in our country. So let us respect that past, honour it and profit by it. Nevertheless, we have to live in the present and we have to live here for the future and we have to do this at a time of the most tremendous changes in the world. We are trying to catch up in India to the changes that came in the world a 100 and 150 years ago. That is the industrial revolution that came to Western Europe to begin with, began in the 18th century and carried on in the 19th century. Remember that this industrial revolution made a tremendous change. Before this industrial revolution came i.e. say 150 years ago, there was not much difference in terms of material conditions between the countries of Western Europe and the countries of Asia. In some ways, even materially, the countries of Asia were supposed to be a little better off. Then suddenly something happened, that is called industrial revolution. What does it mean? It does not mean work a little machine here and there, it means gaining access to nature's powers, it means exploiting the mighty powers that lie hidden in nature. We begin with the steam and the steam engine, you come to electricity, you come to so many things, you come to atomic energy today. These are mighty forces of nature which come into the grasp of man and they change the whole face of things. As a result of that Western nations become powerful, become rich and the gap between them and the non-industrialised nations becomes tremendous, ever growing gap. Now we are trying to bridge that gap we are trying to utilise these forces of nature, understand them through science, through technology, we use them and thereby create wealth for our people and allow them opportunities, ever more and more, of leading what might be called the "good life". Now we do not imagine for an instance that I consider that the good life consists only of material well-being; I do not. I think purely material



well-being without any moral, ethical or spiritual basis is a shallow thing and likely to lead to social evils and even disaster for a nation. And do not imagine that the growth of Western Europe, Europe or America to material well being was devoid of a moral or ethical content. This would not prosper that way. There was a moral ethical content in Europe which kept it to a large extent balanced.

Now any way, we are doing that, and we are doing it at the moment when another mighty revolution is constantly coming over the world and stage the shape of additional changes all the time. We get into the jet age of travel, we get into the space travel, for the first time in the world's history someone from the earth sends something which reaches the moon. This is an extraordinary thing and it hits at the head of so many superstitions which many of our people adhere to. They talk about grahans and eclipses and beat tom toms and go stand on one leg in a river to bathe to save the moon; it would be far better if they try to save themselves before they tended to save the moon. So you see we have to get out of that kind of traditional, not so much traditional, thinking although it is important but even more so with the traditional frame work, economic and social frame work we cannot progress. We have to put an end to let us say the jagirdari system or the zamindari system. Not because we dislike jagirdar or zamindar, but because you cannot progress with their assistance in the modern world. We have to put an end to the power of the rulers, in the maharaja's dress, because we cannot progress in the modern world with the people like that hanging on and doing, performing, no useful function in society. In future, only those should count who perform useful functions in society and it does not matter who their fathers, grandfathers and great grandfathers were.

So you see, the thinking changes and so we have to go through not only one revolution but two. The whole we have to cover the track of the 19th century and having reached the middle of the 20th. We have to function in this jet age, atomic energy age and the like, and we shall see the world changing rapidly before our eyes, and we have to keep pace with it. How can we do it? Oh yes through education ultimately. Firstly, the vast reservoir of education which begins from the primary stage, out of which comes the secondary stage and then more specialised education in the universities. Now there is a problem everywhere, even in the West, of a certain conflicting tendencies between two types of education what is called well, the literary type and the scientific and technological type. And each type develops a certain kind of culture, it is slightly different from the other. Much thought is being given in Western countries to these two cultures, developing separately without knowing anything about each other. If that is so, even in a country like England we have the cultural classics

and cultural literary traditions on the one side, a very important thing in the building up of a nation, and the culture derived from modern scientific mathematical, technological thinking which is something rather different, and both going rather, both rather, rather not only not understanding each other but rather looking down upon the other. We create a curious dichotomy, a curious state of affairs, and if that is so, as I said as in England, much more is going to be so in a country like India which is much more traditional minded and which is now going forth on this voyage of discovery, of scientific, of this world of science and technology, because we are bound to go forward we are going there, we have to find therefore some kind of synthesis, some *samanvaya*, and like, of these to a certain extent the Indian outlook, call it what you like philosophical outlook, has always made it easier this approach to *samanvaya*, to a synthesis. We do not deny that another person has the truth as some, some philosophical or religious systems do which think that they have the monopoly of truth and all others are in darkness. That is not the Indian way, Indian way is more tolerant. It has the advantage of tolerance and it has also the disadvantages of a vague amorphousness which leads people to complacency, and doing nothing, nothing much. So we take both advantages and disadvantages. Well, these thoughts came to me because I have come here to open a library and a library of course is the biggest university of all. Every library is a kind of a university, where people can go and learn about this world and many other worlds too and so a library is always fascinated me and one of my misfortunes has been that I do not find time to read much now when there is so much to read in this changing world. There is much to read in the wisdom of the ancients. Certainly and there is much to read in this newly developing knowledge and learning and wisdom of the moderns and one wants to keep pace and understand that if one does not have time for all this, it is rather distressive. But unfortunately I have become a prisoner of events and I cannot satisfy my own wishes and yearnings to read as much as I would like to even so I cannot read, I like to be in a library to look at books and sometimes to browse into them, and I hope that here in your university library it would not be merely a show piece but something vital and living and that you will get many sparks of life from it because you, specially by the young men and young women, who study in this university, will have to bear heavy burdens in the future and would have to solve many problems pertaining to India, pertaining to Rajasthan, pertaining to yourselves and you can only solve them by preparing your minds and bodies further. You have to face much stiffer examinations as all your university examinations are likely to be. The examination of life, the examination of the nation in the world, today is a tremendously difficult examination, where you cannot impose on anybody.



It is a real quality of a nation that tells. Neither the numbers, you are 400 million inhabitants, nor all your past heritage. No, unless you possess some of the heritage yourself, you have it any way. It is the quality of the human being in India—man and woman that will count in the world. If that quality is good, it is well for India, if it is not then you will slide down in the scale of nations in spite of your shoutings and slogans and the resolutions that you may pass. And I hope that the young men and young women of Rajasthan will remember this. Rajasthan is a peculiar example of many things which a nation values sentimentally. The stories of courage and unsurpassed bravery come to our minds and fill up our minds with excitement and also the stories of unsurpassed folly come to our minds when we think of Rajasthan—their petty quarrels of petty things, of stupid things, their lack of unity and their feudal structures and all that. The result that all the unsurpassed courage failed because it was associated often with folly. No country can progress. We must have courage, courage to face everything. We must have, intelligence, we must have a little bit of wisdom, we must see the larger pictures, we must not get lost in some little corner of ours where we live and think that is the world. We have to have an integrated picture of India because there is no hope for us in any part of India unless there is a hope for India as a whole. Therefore, we have to work for India as a whole. And indeed a time comes when we have to work for the world as a whole, when the world hangs together.

Well, I hope that as I have said, this library and this university will throw out vital sparks which will light the flame in many minds and hearts. [Applause]

## 5. At the Rajasthan Flying Club: Air Force Rally<sup>44</sup>

भाइयो और बहनो और बच्चो,  
मैं अभी पूछ रहा था कि वहाँ, ये राजस्थान फ्लाईंग क्लब में पिछली बार कब आया था तो उन्होंने बताया मुझे कि सन चौवन में आया था, पाँच वर्ष हुए। और चार साल इन्दौर में ये रैली हुई थी, उसमें गया था मैं। तो आज इत्तफ़ाक़ से मेरा यहाँ आना हो गया। वो खुशी है मुझे कि इस रैली में मैं कुछ थोड़ा-सा उसका आखिरी हिस्सा देख सका।

आप लोग आते हैं दूर-दूर से इसको देखने, एक तमाशा समझ के, लेकिन कहाँ तक आप लोग इसके पीछे देखते हैं, ये क्या है। हवाई जहाज़ उठे, कलाबाज़ियाँ खायीं, पैराशूट किया,

44. Speech at the Air Rally, Jaipur, Rajasthan, 2 October 1959. AIR taps, NMML.

तरह-तरह की बातें कीं, पाँच-छै सौ मील की रफ़्तार से आपके सामने उड़ के गये, ये सब क्या माने हैं, ख़ाली एक तमाशा है कि कुछ और है। ये आपको समझना है। एक तो ये बात, और दूसरे जो लोग इसको करते हैं। जो हमारे पाइलट्स वगैरह चाहे आपके एयर क्लब के, अलग एयर क्लब्स के यहाँ आये हुए हैं, या हमारे एयर फ़ोर्स के लड़के, दो पहलू हैं। पहली बात तो ये है कि ये एक नये ज़माने को आप को दिखाते हैं। माना कि नया ज़माना भी अर्से से आ रहा है हल्के-हल्के, लेकिन रोज़ ज़्यादा आता है और रोज़ दुनिया को बदलता है। और हम और आप भी उसके साथ नहीं बदलेंगे, पहले दिमागी तौर से और फिर और तरह से तो हम पिछड़ जायेंगे, याद रखने की बात है। एक मेरे देखते-देखते मेरी उम्र में हज़ारों फ़र्क़ हुए हैं ज़माने में। इसी को आप देखें उड़ने को, तो मुझे याद है जब मैं स्कूल में पढ़ता था, तो मुझे बहुत जोश चढ़ता था सुन कर कि कुछ अमेरिका में या कुछ और जगह लोग उड़ने लग गये हैं, शुरूआत थी। और मुझे ये भी याद है कि मैं शायद, जहाँ तक याद है मुझे, 1910 में...1910 में, जर्मनी में एक नुमाइश थी हवाई जहाज़ों की, लेकिन उस ज़माने के हवाई जहाज़ एक अजीब थे वो, एक ढाल पे आते थे और ढाल पे आने से कुछ रफ़्तार उनको मिल जाती थी और कुछ उठ जाते थे, उठ के एक सौ-दो सौ गज़ उड़ के वो गिर जाते थे, क्योंकि शुरूआत थी उस वक़्त और इम्तहान हो रहे थे। तो सौ-दो सौ गज़ उड़ें, और फिर गिर जायें, फिर ढकेल के ले जायें पहाड़ के ऊपर, फिर ढाल के लायें, इस तरह से हो रहा था। और उसके छै महीने बाद मैंने देखा हवाई जहाज़ों को उड़ते हुए पेरिस के ऊपर शहर के। इस तेज़ी से तरक्क़ी हुई है। फिर वो बड़ी लड़ाई आ गयी और लड़ाई के ज़माने में बहुत ख़तरे होते हैं, बहुत नुक़सान होते हैं, लेकिन बहुत तरक्क़ी होती है, तरक्क़ी के माने क्या? क्योंकि उस वक़्त जब एक मुल्क अपनी जान के लिए लड़ता है तो सारी ताक़त, वो जानता है उसकी जीत और हार इसमें है कि कौन ज़्यादा हथियार, किसके पास ज़्यादा बड़े हैं, मज़बूत हैं और ये एक नयी चीज़ उस ज़माने में आयी थी, यही हवाई जहाज़, एरोप्लेन। तो जिस मुल्क के पास ज़्यादा मज़बूत हथियार होता है, वो जीतता है। आजकल की दुनिया का हाल ये है। ख़ाली हिम्मत से नहीं काम चलता, हालाँकि हिम्मत तो अच्छी चीज़ है। तो मैंने इसको अपनी उम्र में देखा इस तरह से हवाई जहाज़ों की तरक्क़ी करते, बढ़ते, और अब एक नया ज़माना आ गया जिसको कहते हैं जेट, जेट क्या हैं? ये तो मैं ये आपको नहीं समझा सकता, लेकिन आपने जेट एयर क्राफ़्ट देखा, वो जो आपके जिसमें ये क्या कहते हैं। पंखा-पहिया, क्या है प्रोपेलर, नहीं है। आपने देखा जो बेहद तेज़ गये, पाँच सौ मील की रफ़्तार से उड़ के आपके सामने से गये, कई दफ़रे गये, उठे, ऊपर एकदम से आसमान पर चढ़ गये, आपने देखा कि नहीं, कि उसमें कोई पंखा-सा नहीं, प्रोपेलर; दूसरी तरह से वो चलता है। अब हल्के-हल्के हवाई जहाज़ उस तरह से चलने [लगे] कहीं ज़्यादा तेज़, हज़ार मील, और आपने शायद सुना कि नहीं या ग़ौर किया कि नहीं, जब एकदम से एक ज़ोर की आवाज़ आयी थी, बादल के गरजने की या जो कुछ कहिए वो है जब एक हवाई जहाज़ की तेज़ी ये आवाज़ की, साउण्ड की रफ़्तार से ज़्यादा हो जाती है तो एक अजीब बात होती है। वो कहते हैं साउण्ड बैरियर को तोड़ना, वो एक ज़्यादा अब तेज़ हो जाती



है, तो उसमें किया वो तेज़ी से उतरा जहाँ ज़्यादा हुई, तो एकदम से बड़ी एक ज़ोर की आवाज़ आयी, शायद आपका ध्यान भी न गया हो उस वक़्त, तो ।

तो गरज़ कि आप देखें कि किस तेज़ी से दुनिया बदल रही है । एक और बात आप सोचें, दुनिया तो बहुत तरह से बदल रही है, लेकिन एक पहलू को आप देखें कि सफ़र करने के तरीक़े या कोई चीज़ कहीं से एक जगह से दूसरी जगह भेजने के तरीक़े कैसे बदले हैं ? पुराने ज़माने में, फ़र्ज़ करो दो हज़ार बरस हुए, तीन हज़ार बरस हुए कैसे लोग सफ़र करते थे तेज़ी से, तेज़ी से, शायद तेज़-से-तेज़ रफ़्तार एक घोड़े पर चढ़ के होती होगी, मैं समझता हूँ, गाड़ी पे भी हो तो उससे हल्की होगी, घोड़े पे, आप कोई ख़बर भेजना चाहें तो तेज़-से-तेज़ तरीक़ा, एक तेज़ घोड़े पर भेज दीजिए; दो-तीन हज़ार बरस हुए उसके बाद आप देखें कि एक ज़माने तक वो ही रहा; कोई तरक्की नहीं हुई, कोई फ़र्क़ नहीं हुआ; एक सौ बरस हुए अभी, या सवा सौ बरस हुए, अगर आप यहाँ जयपुर से दिल्ली जाना चाहते तो कैसे जाते ? तेज़-से-तेज़ घोड़े पर जाते, कोई फ़र्क़ नहीं हुआ, चाहे आप अशोक के ज़माने में हिन्दुस्तान को देखें या और एक सौ-दो सौ-डेढ़ सौ, सवा-सौ बरस के ज़माने में, रफ़्तार आदमी के सफ़र की तेज़-से-तेज़ घोड़े की थी । अपनी टाँग की या घोड़े की टाँग की, ऐनिमल पावर । और फिर एकदम से फ़र्क़ आने लगते हैं । फिर रेल चलने लगती है स्टीम से, फिर मोटर चलने लगती है, हवाई जहाज़ चलने लगते हैं, उनमें तरक्की होती है इधर ख़बर भेजने के लिए आप तार भेजते हैं, आप टेलीफ़ोन करते हैं, आप रेडियो पर सुनते हैं; आप सोचें कि सब पिछले एक सौ बरस से कम की चीज़ें हैं, बल्कि बहुत कुछ पचास-साठ बरस की, तो हज़ारों बरस में जो बात नहीं हुई थी, वो पिछले सौ बरस में हुई है, दुनिया बदली है, और जिन मुल्कों ने इसको समझा है, जिन मुल्कों ने इससे फ़ायदा उठाया है, उनकी ताक़त बढ़ी है, उनकी खुशहाली बढ़ी है तो हमें समझना है, पूरी तौर से । ख़ाली तमाशा नहीं देखना है, बल्कि इस ज़माने में घुसना है । ज़माने में घुसने के माने हैं एक दिमाग़ से अपने जिस्म से तैयार करके ।

तो मुझे खुशी होती है जब हमारे नौजवान ये एयर क्लब्स बनायें और उसमें देखें । मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक बन पड़े हरेक लड़के और लड़की को मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए एक ग्लाइडर पर जाने का और सीखने का, बड़े एरोप्लेन तो ज़्यादा पेचीदा हैं, लेकिन ग्लाइडर पर तो हरेक को मिलना चाहिए, लड़के और लड़की को मौक़ा और उसके बाद और और क्रिस्म के हवाई जहाज़ों पर जायें । तो यहाँ एयर रैली हुई, हिन्दुस्तान से लोग जमा हुए और एक-दूसरे का कुछ मुक़ाबला किया, कुछ लोगों को इनाम मिले; अच्छा है और होने चाहिए एयर क्लब हिन्दुस्तान में ।

कुछ बहुत तेज़ी से ये बात बढ़ नहीं रही है और आपने देखा कि हमारे एयर फ़ोर्स के कुछ लड़कों ने भी अपनी करामात आपको दिखायी । काफ़ी ये बातें मुश्किल हैं और काफ़ी ये आपको मालूम नहीं होता है, काफ़ी ख़तरे हैं इसमें, जान पे खेलते हैं जो लड़के हमारे एयर फ़ोर्स में हैं, हर वक़्त जान पर खेलते हैं अपनी, याद रखिए आप । इसमें बहुत आरामतलबी नहीं है, या एक ख़तरे से बचना जो आदमी डरते हैं ख़ैर, हर वक़्त समझते हैं, ख़तरे से भागते हैं ।

उसकी गुंजाइश आजकल की दुनिया में नहीं है, खासकर हमारे एयर फ़ोर्स में, हिम्मत वाले लोग चाहिए, इसी तरह से मुल्क तरक्की करता है और हमारे यहाँ हैं, बहुत अच्छे हैं वो, तो ऐसे लोग हमें और चाहिए। और खासकर खुशी हुई मुझे दो लड़कियाँ पायलट्स थीं। होना चाहिए। कोई खाली, खाली लड़कों के लिए खेल नहीं है, लड़कियों के लिए भी है, ये सब है, उनकी हिम्मत की आजमाइश है, उनका सीखना। खैर, जिन जिन लोगों को प्राइजेज़ मिले, उनको खास तौर से मुबारक, जिन लोगों को नहीं मिले, उनके साथ हमदर्दी। उम्मीद है कि आइन्दा कभी मिल जायेंगे उन्हें, और फ़्लाईंग क्लब्स जो यहाँ जमा हुए हैं, मैं चाहता हूँ, मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि उनकी तरक्की हो, लोग और आयें, सीखें और नये नये फ़्लाईंग क्लब इस मुल्क में बनें।

जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Brothers, Sisters, and Children,

I asked someone here when had I visited the Rajasthan Flying Club last and was told that it was five years ago, in 1954. I attended the Air Rally held in Indore last year. I came here by chance today and am glad that I could see the tail end of the show.

You have come from far and wide to watch an air rally thinking of it as a show. But how far do you understand its underlying significance? You saw aeroplanes taking off and performing feats in the air, parachutes being dropped, and all kinds of things. What does it mean? Is it merely for show or is there something else behind it. You must try to understand this. There are two angles to this. For one thing, the pilots who take part in this show from various air clubs or the air force are symbols of a new age. I agree that the new era has been taking shape for a long time. But the changes are gradually taking place in the world. If we fail to change with them, mentally as well as in other ways, we will become backward. In my own life-time, thousands of changes have taken place before my very eyes. When I was in school, flying was in its infancy and I would get very excited when I used to hear about the experiments that were taking place in the United States and elsewhere. I also remember that an exhibition of aeroplanes was held in Germany in, I think, 1910. In those days, the planes were very strange-looking and would come down a slope before taking off and fly for a hundred or two hundred yards before falling to the earth. Flying was very much in the experimental stage. Six months later, I saw aeroplanes flying over the city of Paris. The progress was remarkably speedy.

Then came the World War which caused great havoc but at the same time, there was considerable progress too. Nations' fighting for their very survival and fully aware that victory depended on which side had the more lethal



weapons, soon perfected the technique of flying. Today the country with the stronger weapons is the victor. Sheer courage alone will not do though it is a good thing.

Thus I have seen in my own life-time, the progress that has taken place in flying. Today we are in the jet age. I cannot explain all the details to you. But you have seen jet aircraft. They have no propellers and as you saw they fly at terrific speed, at five-six hundred miles an hour. I do not know if you have heard it but at one point, there was a sound like that of crash of thunder. That was the jet breaking the sound barrier—that is, when its speed exceeds that of sound. I do not know if you noticed it.

In short, you can see how rapidly the world is changing and in more ways than one. The modes of transport and travel have been completely revolutionised. In the olden days, two or three thousand years ago, the fastest mode of transport available was on horseback. Messages had to be sent in this manner. This state of affairs continued for centuries without any change till about a hundred years ago. If anyone wished to travel from Jaipur to Delhi, in the times of Asoka or as recently as a hundred years ago, the fastest mode was horse-back. Then suddenly, there were changes, with steam-rails and motorcars and gradually aeroplanes making their appearance. Their speed is increasing day by day. Telegraph and telephones carry messages very rapidly, almost instantaneously. Radio is another means of communication. All this has occurred within the last 100 years or so after the situation being unchanged for thousands of years. The countries which took advantage of these changes have become strong and powerful and wealthy.

So we must understand that this (Air Rally) is not merely a show. We must take a plunge into the modern age which requires preparation and training, mental as well as physical. I am happy to see our young men forming air clubs and so on. I want that as far as possible every single boy and girl must get an opportunity to learn gliding or flying which is more complicated. But everyone can learn gliding and then graduate to other kinds of aircraft. It is a good thing to hold air rallies in which fliers from all over India congregate and some receive prizes and what not. However, the progress is very slow.

You saw some of our lads from the Air Force doing very complicated feats which are pretty dangerous. I do not know if you are aware of it but they are taking great risks all the time. There is no scope for rest or relaxation or shrinking from danger. Those who are afraid of dangers or shrink from taking risks have no place in the world today, especially in the Air Force. We need men of courage for that. Our Air Force is very good and we need more men of that calibre. This is how a country progresses. I was particularly happy to see two girl-pilots taking part. It should not be confined to boys alone. Girls must also show their mettle.

Well, anyhow, congratulations to the prize-winners and sympathies to those who did not win. Let us hope they will win another time. I hope that everyone who has taken part in this show will progress and new flying clubs will be opened all over the country. Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]

## 6. Police and the People<sup>45</sup>

पुलिस के अफ़सरो और जवानो,  
आज यहाँ आ कर मुझे खुशी हुई कि मैंने इस काम में एक हिस्सा लिया और जिन्होंने बहादुरी दिखाई थी उनको प्रेज़िडेंट के मेडल और इनाम और मेडल मिले। पुलिस का काम अक्सर ख़तरे का होता है, लेकिन ख़ास तौर से एक सरहदी सूबे में ज़्यादा ख़तरे होते हैं। राजस्थान में कुछ तो यों भी, और कुछ सरहद की वजह से, डकैती के सवाल बढ़े हुए थे, अब कुछ क़ाबू में आये हैं। तो इसी सिलसिले में हिम्मत दिखायी हमारे जवानों ने, और उनको ये मेडल वगैरह मिले हैं। तो मैं उनको मुबारकबाद देता हूँ और इस बात की तरफ़ आप सभी का ध्यान दिलाता हूँ कि पुलिस का काम नाज़ुक है, ख़तरा भी उसमें है, और अगर बुरी तौर से काम हो तो उससे हानि भी पहुँचती है जनता को, दोनों तरफ़ बात है। ये काम ज़भी अच्छी तरह से हो सकता है जब कि पूरी तौर से सहयोग हो पुलिस में और आम जनता में। असल में पुलिस कोई अलग चीज़ तो नहीं है, आम जनता ही से लोग जाते हैं, ट्रेन्ड किये जाते हैं, सिखाये जाते हैं अपने काम में, ताकि अपना काम अच्छी तरह कर सकें। विशेषकर पुलिस का काम है जनता से सम्बन्ध रखना, और चाहे वो मामूली काम हो रोज़मर्रा का, या सरहद पे हो, या डकैती के खिलाफ़ हो, उसमें जितना ज़्यादा सहयोग हो जनता का, एक-दूसरे पर भरोसा हो, उतनी कुशलता से वो काम होगा। इस बात को हरेक को याद रखना है।

अभी मुझे एक थैली मिली, 6051 रुपये की मिली जो पुलिस के फ़ोर्स में लोगों ने जमा किया है कश्मीर और और जगह जहाँ-जहाँ बाढ़ पीड़ित लोग हैं, उनकी सहायता के लिए। तो उसके लिए बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद। अच्छा है, एक तो ऐसे मौक़े पर सहायता देनी अच्छी है, दूसरी ये सहानुभूति, ये हमदर्दी, ये विचार, कि एक-दूसरे को सहायता देना, जब वो तकलीफ़ में हों, कोई भी हमारे देश में हों, वो हमारा साथी है, हमारा भाई या बहन है। ये अच्छी बात है जिससे हमारे देश की एकता बढ़ती है और वो मज़बूती से संगठित होता है। तो मुझे खुशी हुई कि यहाँ की पुलिस फ़ोर्स ने ये रुपया जमा किया। आज के से ज़माने में हमारे देश में, कश्मीर में बहुत बाढ़ आयी, आसाम में, और कित्ती और जगह दक्षिण में पश्चिम में आयी और काफ़ी वहाँ सहायता की आवश्यकता है, तो इस रुपये का ठीक इस्तेमाल होगा।

45. Speech at the Police-Jawans' meeting, 3 October 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.



आपकी आज परेड भी देखी मैंने। अच्छी परेड थी, शान की थी और ढंग से आपको देखा किस तरह से आप चलते हैं, खड़े होते हैं, काम करते हैं। उसका अच्छा असर मेरे ऊपर हुआ। (तालियाँ)

तो अब, आज मैं यहाँ आया था शायद आप जानते हों, खास तौर से, कल आया था, एक काम के लिए। क्योंकि एक यहाँ राजस्थान में, एक बड़ा क़दम उठाया गया है हमारे गाँव में पंचायतें, पंचायत समितियाँ, फिर ब्लाक हैं वो सब गाँव के हैं और फिर एक ज़िले भर का प्रबन्ध है और बड़ा क़दम ये उठाया गया है कि उसमें बहुत अधिकार काम करने के, टैक्स जमा करने के, वो वहाँ के रहने वालों की समितियों को दे दिये गये हैं और उन्हीं के हाथ में ज़िम्मेदारी काम करने की और काम का खर्चा जमा करने की, दे दी गयी है। ये एक बड़ी भारी बात हुई। यानी लोकतन्त्र इस तरह से फैला।

देश में लोकतन्त्र, जनता का राज, जभी हो ठीक हो, जब फैल जाये। खाली बड़े-बड़े अफ़सर ऊपर से करें या बड़े-बड़े मन्त्री करें, ये ठीक नहीं हैं, क्योंकि उससे इतने बड़े देश में एक-दूसरे का हाल भी नहीं मालूम होता। इसलिए हम देश भर में चाहते हैं कि हमारी ग्राम की पंचायतें और उनको ऊपर की जो पंचायतें और समितियाँ हों उनके हाथ में अधिक अधिकार हों, वो देख-भाल करें, उन्नति करें, तरक्की करें, हमारे मशविरे से, अफ़सरों के मशविरे से, सलाह से, मदद से। लेकिन ज़िम्मेदारी उठावें। तो ऐसी हालत में जो हमारे अब नये ज़िम्मेदार लोग गाँव में काम करेंगे ज़िले तक में उनका एक नया सम्बन्ध पुलिस से होगा और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि वो सम्बन्ध अच्छा होगा, सहयोग का होगा, पुलिस फ़ोर्स भी उनको पूरी सहायता देगी, पूरा सहयोग उनसे करेगी, पूरा उनका आदर करेगी, और वे भी पूरा भरोसा पुलिस फ़ोर्स पर करेंगे। फिर से आप लोगों को धन्यवाद, मुबारकवाद।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Police Officers and Jawans,

I am happy to be here today to participate in the presentation ceremony of the President's gallantry award. The work of the police is often dangerous, particularly in the border states. Rajasthan has faced the problem of dacoity generally and also because of the border. Now it has been brought under control. Our jawans have shown great bravery in tackling this problem for which these medals are being given. I congratulate them and would like to draw your attention to the fact that the work of the police is delicate and full of grave dangers. If they do not function properly, the police can do great harm to the people. When there is full cooperation between the police and the people, they can work well. In fact, the police are not something apart from the people. They are recruited from among them and trained in police work. The most important task of the

police is to maintain contact with the people. Whether it is the ordinary day to day routine or border policing or anti-dacoity, the greater the cooperation and mutual confidence and trust between the people and the police, the better the quality of the work will be. Everyone must remember this.

I have been given a purse of Rs 6051, collected by the police force for relief work in Kashmir and other places. Thank you very much. For one thing, it is a good thing to help the afflicted people. Secondly, the expression of sympathy for affected people caught up in some disaster anywhere in the country is a very good thing, because it knits the country into one and fosters unity. So I am happy that the police force has collected this money. There have been floods in Assam and Kashmir and in many places in the South and the West and help is needed. This money will be well utilised.

I witnessed the grand parade you put up and was impressed by your department and style of functioning. [Applause]

I came here as you perhaps know for a very special purpose. Rajasthan has taken a major step in introducing panchayat raj and giving greater autonomy to the village panchayats including the collection of taxes. The panchayat samitis have been given the responsibility of collecting taxes and spending the money for development work. This is a great step in the spread of democracy.

Democracy can flourish only when it spreads at the grass roots level. It is not proper that all responsibility and powers should vest in the ministers and high officials. We want that the village panchayats and the panchayat samitis above them should be given greater responsibilities which they can discharge with the help and guidance of officials. In this new situation, I hope that there will be close contacts between the police and the people in the rural areas. There should be closer cooperation between the police and the people in the rural areas. There should be closer cooperation between them and I hope that the police force will help the people and treat them with respect and they in turn will repose their confidence in them. Thank you once again and congratulations. Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]



## (ii) Bombay Tour

**7. To Kamani Industries, Kurla: Industrialisation<sup>46</sup>**

I was reminded a little while ago that I have visited the beginnings of this firm in 1945. I was a little surprised to learn, to hear of this, and for the moment I did not remember this visit, because up to 1945 I was a resident of the Bombay State, in Ahmednagar Fort, where I spent about three years. But I have now a vague recollection of going to Jaipur soon after my release, and then visiting the beginnings of this particular industry. Since then, naturally, I have often heard of the Kamani Brothers, of the work they were doing, and realised that they were advancing and progressing. But today's visit has given me a visual picture of this work, and may I tell you in confidence, that I have been impressed. [Applause]

Obviously, this firm which started a little before the last Great War, has progressed considerably, and has become one of the important basic firms running this important industry in India, not only supplying many of the articles required in India of this particular type now like these towers, transmission towers, but even approaching successfully outside markets. That is a very creditable achievement and it is an achievement in a line which is particularly important to our country.

Probably, nothing is very important and so many things that are important for India—but probably nothing is more important than power. Power, of course, in various kinds and shapes and for the moment, I am referring to energy transmission; power is energy, or energy is power, call it as you like. And as I have often said that one of the fairly simple ways of finding out how far a country has progressed industrially, is just to find out how much power it produces, nothing else. You need know nothing about the country except just one figure how much power it produces; and that will give you some picture of where the country is, in regard to industrialisation, industrial undertakings. If we produce power as we must, we must have the wealth to produce it. Indeed that applies to anything. The days of thinking of setting up an industry relying almost wholly on outside suppliers of machinery, of the machinery required and the technique required, and the so-called “know how” required. Those days were necessary, of course, for some time; but they are not good enough

46. Speech at the Kamani Industries Limited, Kurla, Bombay, 4 October 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

today. You cannot progress industrially fast, if you are always dependent upon the supply of machinery from outside, or the technical knowledge and “know how” from outside. That is why one of the most important things that the country has to do is, to build up a big machine building plant or plants, to supply these requirements and thereby, of course, also to build up the knowledge, the experience, the know-how for carrying on these operations. That is the basic approach to the problem of industrialisation. Otherwise all other approaches are superficial. Important [...] no doubt, and it may be for sometime we have to do the superficial thing before you can do the other thing. That is a different matter. But one must realise that when you wish to really industrialise the country, or go ahead in a big way in developing all manner of industries in a country, you have to start from the foundations up, not from the third, fourth, fifth storey and gradually come down.

There is sometimes an argument about this matter, though I have failed to understand the reason for that argument. The argument may have some value if we would think in terms, in very long terms—a hundred years or so, of some kind of gradual progress towards industrialisation, which is, starting from the top storey and going down to the foundations later. That is something, which is put forward by some of our friends as being a simpler operation. The other being, of course, that you start, you lay stress on the foundations first. Naturally, all these are not mutually exclusive approaches; because really we have to do everything, more or less at the same time. But there is the question of emphasis. And it is important that one realises where the emphasis should lie.

Now what is our general outlook? We talk about five-year plan, about all kinds in private sector and public sector and many other things. And we talk of the socialistic pattern of society and of the capitalistic structure or free enterprise. And all these words take a certain, not only the ordinary dictionary meaning, but something more than that, because words have histories behind them. That history gives a shape and a meaning to that word which a dictionary can never give you. That is why, it is next to impossible, as people should know, to translate from one language to another anything that is important. Of course, you can translate a chair and a table and a lawn and a house in these words—but to translate really, essentially it is very difficult. Because words are not just words of certain syllables, but words have histories behind them and you can never translate the history of a word in another language. The other language has its own words of histories behind them. You may sometime translate the spirit of it. The moment you are too literal, you miss the sense. So, I say, all these words about which we argue, sometimes very heatedly, have got histories behind them. And sometimes passions attach themselves to these words. People get excited. And when a person approaches to anything in an excited way, his mind ceases



to work clearly and logically, he is too excited for that. One has to be a little calm in order so that the mind might work calmly; and we find in our political and other arguments sometimes passionate and excited approach, and words being used which are very good words, no doubt but which have got covered by so much sentiment and sometimes passion that it is difficult to read. It is always better I feel when considering any problem, to avoid as far as possible, the use of these, if I may call them, passion covered words. Try to avoid their use, because then you can deal with the problem in a simpler way.

I shall tell you a little story. Here in Bombay city just twenty years ago we met, what was called, the National Planning Committee, which had been constituted by Shri Subhash Chandra Bose as Congress President and he had been good enough to nominate me as the Chairman. When we met it was a peculiar mixture, that Committee. There were some eminent industrialists in it, some financiers in it, businessmen, engineers, some people prominent in government, some Trade Unionists, I believe one or two Communists or near Communists, Socialists; and it was a very peculiar mixture. I did not quite know how this very—that mixed set-up could function. They were the advocates of large scale industries and they were the advocates of cottage industries only and nothing more. So, now the first day we met, some people said, “Now let us be clear of what we are going to do. Let us define our objectives in clear and precise terms, in ideological terms.” Well, I allowed the discussion to proceed. The moment people started talking about ideologies, they warmed up, they grew excited, and the argument did not seem to me to lead anywhere. Well, I suggested to them at the end of the first day or the beginning of the second day, why not consider this matter apart from ideologies. What do you want? What do we want? Well, first of all we want the primary necessities of life for our people in India. Food, clothing, housing, education, health and work. These are the primary necessities of life, to everyone—and opportunity to be given to everybody. Now I said “Forget ideologies, forget these passion covered words and sit down and discuss food, for the population of India. Discuss clothing for the population of India. How much it works out? And we have to produce that food, and we have to produce that cloth, and we have to produce houses for them to live in, and the education for them and health services. So that the suggestion was that each subject should be taken up without reference to ideologies. And we did discuss these. And I was astonished and very much pleased to find that the differences became very few when we discussed facts of the situation instead of high ideologies because the facts were more or less stable facts. There were, at that time, I don’t know, 350 million people living in India, and we have to provide food for them. Well, let us calculate that. We have to provide clothing for them. Let us calculate that. Of course, there were



differences here and there. But the amount of common agreement in that very mixed crowd was a surprising because people were not discussing ideologies, but were discussing factual conditions and what to do? As I said, there were differences, of course, there are different ways of approach. But even those differences were toned down.

I always remember that, because it has seemed to me that whenever a problem comes up which is so tied up with these, so-called ideological differences, it is better to discuss it without those passion covered phrases and words, and that, if I may say so, applies not merely to India in our problems but it applies in the international sphere. People have got used to certain slogans and phrases which have lost all meaning; they have become so stale and flat by use, and yet international problems of war and peace are simple problems. Simple in the sense that anybody can understand that peace is good and war is bad and terrible. Specially, in the age of atomic and nuclear weapons; yet we get tied up like a politician get tied up in all kinds of arguments and can't get out of them. They cannot eat their own words which they said previously, and the result is that they go from crisis to crisis.

Now with this preamble, I would beg of you to consider the basic problem of India. You may consider it in bits and pieces but that is not quite good enough. Because one has to understand the full picture, not a corner of a picture, and the basic problem of India, well, is, and of other countries like India which are not adequately industrially and scientifically developed, it is a problem of under-development and poverty coming from it. That is a basic problem.

We see, on the other hand, industrially and scientifically, and technologically developed countries which have many many problems but which have not got the problem of poverty before it. They have solved that problem and they go on increasing the well being of their people because they have developed the apparatus to do so. Scientific, the technical, the industrial, call it what you like. They have solved that problem of poverty. They have solved the problem of providing the necessities of life to everybody. Because the problem which the United States of America or England or the Scandinavian countries or some others have to consider is completely different from the problem of India or other somewhat underdeveloped countries. The whole, the whole economy of the country is different, the whole approach is different and the whole thinking has to be different, because they are dealing with completely different types of problems which come from an affluent society. From a society which has solved the basic problems of the production in terms of providing the necessities of life to the people. Therefore, they are an affluent society. Therefore, they have to think or they ought to think in terms of not of scarcity but of an affluence which is very different yardstick to apply. We have to think in other terms.



Now, how are we to get out of this underdevelopment, this state of poverty? Presumably the answer is clear. That is that, we must also develop. It is an obvious thing to say so. We must develop our wealth producing capacity. Wealth producing capacity from land, from industries or any other way you like. How do we do that? How other countries have done it? By applying scientific techniques, scientific knowledge, technical advances too. That is how the countries of Europe or America have done it. And it is obviously a straight forward thing to do. Science—What is science? It is not some mystery. It is a knowledge. The more knowledge you have as to how to do things better, the better the results. Obviously it is clear. The better techniques you have, the more better the results you achieve. It is obvious. And basically you will find that these techniques of modern science are utilised for the purpose of using the forces of nature.

Nobody knows what the nature has in the way of forces because we go on discovering them from time to time. I suppose one of the major revolutionary discovery of man has been to discover fire, and the use that fire could be put to. Agriculture and the use of that agriculture put to. These are the basic discoveries. Another mighty discovery is the use of the wheel. We take these things for granted, of course, for thousands of years. But these were the basic discoveries, just like in the realm of the mind. One of the basic fundamental discoveries was made in India, the discovery of the zero sign—very simple thing. Every child knows it. But the whole of mathematics is based today on the zero sign and the decimal system following from the zero sign. Some unknown genius in India discovered the zero sign. And all that follows from it.

Well, gradually, you go on, But broadly speaking, conditions in the world, so far as the use of nature's powers were concerned remain much the same; did not change much. They began to change with what is called the industrial revolution. When steam came in; one of the simplest things but which was used for complicated purposes. Later electricity came in. You see, a man begins to utilise that energy in the powers of nature. By understanding them, there is no mystery about it. Anybody can do it, once you find out. Now we come to the atomic age, the atomic energy, that is, you probe into and find out the sources of power. You use coal, and iron, for different, purposes. Coal was there, iron was there before too. And you have changed the world. The industrial revolution has changed the world and the electrical revolution brings about further changes; the atomic revolution, will no doubt change it still further.

So the problem for us is, to utilise these scientific advances and techniques and to utilise them as rapidly as possible. Because we cannot take a hundred years of processes, of advance and greater wealth production, because meanwhile, things are not static, things are moving forward rapidly. Among



other things, there is the question of population, which is moving forward rapidly and which means, of course, more consumers, more food for them, more clothing for them, more everything for them, more education for them, more health for them. So that, unless our wealth producing capacity marches forward far more rapidly than the population increase, we remain where we are and we may go backward even. That is the problem before us.

Some of us may sometimes be very pleased to thinking that we are a nation of 400 million people in India. But that is a terrifying fact too. The 400 million people have to be provided for, in every way because the world has ceased to think now of providing for an upper stratum of people and leaving the rest to themselves. All social thinking now takes in its sweep the whole community, the 400 million people, and in every measure of progress has to be forecast in terms of India's 400 million people and no less. And they are increasing. It is an astonishing fact that the problems that has come to us, because of these 400 million people. I was calculating the other day, the gift; we have free and compulsory education up to the age of fifteen, I think fourteen or fifteen plus, of course, the higher education—after that higher secondary and college and university and technical and all that. How many people would be involved in it? I was astounded to find out that would involve both as the teacher and the taught, 100 million people. Think of the figure—one hundred million boys and girls being taught by. I don't know by, millions of teachers, naturally of all grades—primary, secondary, college, university, technical and all that. That is a quarter of our population is engaged in teaching and being taught. It is awfully wrong as it goes on increasing. So we have to meet this challenge, and you cannot meet it by going slowly in this direction or that direction. If we can meet it, we can only meet it in the most carefully organised and planned way.

Nobody has ever heard of a war being fought in terms, if you will forgive my saying so, in terms of "private enterprise". Nobody would think of it. The country would be defeated in no time; not because of lack of ability, but because the ability would not be constructive or directed in one particular channel to win the war and to hammer out everything else.

When a nation is in peril, as you know at war, the nation directs all its energies to that end, to win that war, and it plans and even it makes hundred mistakes or a thousand mistakes, but its plan is to win the war. And there is the question coming up of the grand strategy and tactics and all that; how to win the war is a major thing. Now if you plan, therefore, if you have any major task to do, such as we have in India, and what bigger task there can be, then today these 400 million people? If you have that major task to do, you cannot leave it to chance. By chance, I mean to individuals or groups functioning separately; good people functioning separate. You have to plan, so that their activities may



produce the best possible results, to give you victory in that struggle, in that war; war against poverty, war against unemployment, war against whatever you like. Therefore, we can raise production. Inevitably we arrived at that conclusion, otherwise you are not thinking logically, reasonably or scientifically in scientists' conclusion. Now, it may not, and it is not possible to plan perfectly, because the material we have to plan with is uncertain, that is true. You can plan for building a bridge or a sky-scraper building. More or less your engineers know the strength of the steel and the strength of this and that, they plan for it, and they allow for every risk to make the bridge. But when you plan for a nation, the materials we have to use are human beings, apart from other things; and no human being is like any other human beings, not like that two bricks being used. They are different. And the human being may be a hero or a coward. He may be a strong man or a weak man, there are infinite variations. So planning for these has any number of uncertain factors. It is true, nevertheless, one has to plan and gradually when approaches not [sic] certainty ever, but greater probabilities with greater experience.

I give you an instance. For instance, nobody I take it, factually nobody can say, no married couple can say in Bombay whether their next child is going to be a boy or a girl. The mathematical chances may be even, or whatever they are. But while nobody can say that about single married couple, you can fairly, safely prophesy what the ratio of boys and girls for the whole population of Bombay will be in the year, or in India. See in any particular instance, you are quite uncertain. But if you take a large enough number like the population of India or the population of Bombay, you can say with a measure of certainty that there will be so many boys and so many girls; this will be the ratio during the year. So that, while human beings differ so greatly, nevertheless, when you calculate there are certain factors which are relatively common; and gradually with experience, we approach a measure not with a certain measure, but of a reliable results. So we plan, and though-so-called "private enterprise" and "private sector" and "public sector" comes in you cannot plan with an economy which is completely private enterprise. The private enterprise may be the best in the world. Simply because, the very idea behind the private enterprise is freedom to do what you like and go that direction you like, which comes in the way of plan. They can plan, they do. In war time private enterprise fixed in the war strategy, undoubtedly it does. It has to fit in.

I have given you examples of the United States of America, or a Germany. See, wonderful progress of the United States of America. Of course, colossal production made a success. Germany in the last dozen years, astounding success all the time. Of course I can also give you an example of, made a success after the war destruction of the Soviet Union, also have made a success in building



up after the destruction of the war. In all these cases the common factor is the very large reservoir of private trained persons, private trained technically trained, scientifically trained people, under the pressure of events. It doesn't matter whether they were working for the communism or capitalism. You have got the trained persons there; they can produce certain results. They did produce results in Germany, and in the Soviet Union, or in Japan, they have different economies. But the point is that, if you look at the America and its colossal success in production you have to see the background of America, the period it took to do that, and all kind of other things. We have not got that background, we have not got that time we have got the tremendous population fisher on us all the time. I hope I am not wrong in saying so. But I have a vaguely recollection that in the beginning of this century even in the United States of America, the hours of work were nearly eleven hours a day in many occupations. So I get somewhere. Tell me who is going to put up eleven hours a day work? Obviously not—nobody should. I know and yet even in a country like the United States of America which has happened in the beginning of this century—fifty years or so sixty years ago. There were sea changes that have come about in Germany. Take the period after the war, this last war, when they hardly had a sitting which was not being broken down completely and state rubbles—housing situation itself. There was no housing situation, as you know, there were no housing situation at all. Broadly speaking, I mean there were, of course, some houses. But at many places there were no houses. It is just an absence of it. And they had no resources paradoxically, except one thing; they have trained human beings, a capacity for hard work, and amazing capacity for hard work and trade. They did provide houses. Practically speaking, I don't know how did they live without those houses. In those first few years they worked night and day, eleven hours a day worked about it because they were determined to make good after their defeat in the war. And after that several years have passed and set their industrial machine functioning only then they turned to building houses and given amenities and all that.

Now, these are very special cases and I think behind all that lies ultimately, the trained human being, and the capacity to work. Heart, that is a realisation of obligations, not merely demands; the moment in a social group everybody is demanding; the employer demanding more and more profits, and the workers demanding more and more amenities or other things; and when the total capacity to pay is limited, the things go to pieces there are conflicts. They go to pieces. So, all this there is no good to compare India with the United States of America or Germany or a Japan or Soviet Union or China. We have our own problems and we have to solve them in our own way. We can learn from America or Russia certain things. Certainly we do learn. We hope to learn. But, we have to



solve them in our own way and that real solution must considerably lie in greater wealth and production, by more scientific techniques, in other words, by the advance of science and technology.

Remember this that all the machines that you may put up here in the Kamani Works or elsewhere which you get from abroad, you may put them up, and you may make them function. But the man who works that machine is far more important than the machine, and takes far more time to be trained. You may have a huge iron and steel works and you may put them up in four years time, five years time. But the man who will be in charge of the steel works will take at least twenty years of training because we can't produce him out of a hat. It may be easy thing to go and borrow a man from America or a Germany or Japan or some other place. That is a different matter to pay him a hiring. But if you have to produce them and that's what you have to do because, ultimately we have to produce men, trained men. They make machines, machines don't make men.

So look at these problems in this way, and you will find that you are driven to certain, not absolutely certain conclusions, but certain conclusions which appear to be reasonable—which can be changed from time to time with greater experience. You are driven first of all to a planned approach to these problems. Secondly to certain basic sectors of your economy, call them what you like—strategic sectors or [what not]; being controlled in the interest of that planned economy. That is why certain industries being largely controlled or state-owned for the purposes of planning and the rest; and the very wide field is left open for, what is called, “private enterprise”. But even that “private enterprise” has to fit in that planned approach. Otherwise, we are fighting a great war without any strategies, without any tactics. And the war is a pretty difficult. It will be difficult to avoid this war. It is not a question; it is no good of bringing an argument from the United States of America in success of private enterprise there. It has no meaning here. They have succeeded in their attempts 150 years ago and we are in the middle of that war today and we have to win. And if we do not win and go fast enough we are overwhelmed—if by nothing else—by the growth of population. We have been driven to that we have no choice left. There may be many choices in between their major conditions that you may lay down. So, there should be, and there really is, if you approach peacefully no vital conflict between what is called the public sector and the private sector. There is a very definite difference in the mental approach to the problem. But if you get away with the passions of the words there is no terrible conflict. As a matter of fact in a growing economy of India there will be more and more. The private sector has enormous fields opening out to it and with far greater certainty—the risk that the private sector takes gets less and less in a planned economy.



They have got definite markets to explore so that really in that sense, it is far more advantageous but all that has to be seen about it is [...] difference. And their approach has gradually to change from that of acquisitive society to that of cooperative society. Certainly people want profit. I agree. Every employer or worker wants incentives to work. Nobody expect people to become angels when they choose to work. We take people as they are. Nevertheless we must try to build up a framework of society which helps the cooperative instinct rather than the acquisitive instinct. I think you will forgive me the moral of this discourse because my mind is filled with these problems. And when I think about them I discuss them—only the other day we met in Chandigarh to consider the report of Congress Sub-Committee on Planning and generally approved it.

Now I have been much interested and sometimes even fascinated to read press comments of one type, may go on repeating the same thing, and generally in a depreciative tone. That on the one side, they are vague and general—they are not precise; absolutely dates, this and that, are to be done by this date. Well, these are general approaches. These are not good enough. Congress tries to take shelter under vagueness. On the other they say these people are not too definite and precise in taking us to the pit alone. Now which is correct? The fact of the matter is that inevitably when you approach these problems you can't bring out in larger theories every time you discuss them which after all you proceed to consider them more or less on existing data—not on a new data. It may, if you will forgive me for a personal touch. Last year I published a collection of old letters that that I received. I call it *A Bunch of Old Letters*. Reading through those old letters and proofs and otherwise I was surprised to find what I have written or said twenty years or twenty five years ago. I was quite surprised because it seemed to me quite typical even today. I don't know whether it is a virtue or not, but it showed a remarkable consistency in my thinking. I admit it, may not be a virtue. Because in a changing world I think our thinking should take place with changing events. But then that applies even more so to, the advocates of what is called, the "free enterprise". Because they think, as far as possible I can see, broadly speaking in terms of conditions in the 19th century. And we are at the moment in the middle of the 20th century when people are making some kind of attacks on the Moon. I don't suppose the "private sector" will take all that on. That is beyond its capacity. So many other things are getting beyond the capacity of the private sector. It can't do it. But let it do what it can do and there is a tremendous field for it to do but keeping that broad approach. Because the society is changing, and there is not the shadow of doubt, that the 19th century society is not that of the 20th century. The society of and more especially, conditions prevailing in the American States in those days were very very peculiar conditions. We can't produce them in India today



or in any other country. So we have to solve our problems in our own ways and solve them keeping always not ideologies in view; you may, of course, use those terms. I shall use them and I shall continue to use the term "socialism", because it conveys something definite to my mind, not precise, rigid, but definite. It does convey to me a certain sense of equality, fraternity, brotherhood of the people, and I want that in India.

I had, had enough until this business of caste system of one at the top of the other and one with a longer mark on his forehead than the other and considering himself superior. Or the caste system which was introduced which was not introduced, but anyhow encouraged in our country, in our services, by the British. Very definite caste, in the I.C.S., in the P.C.S., there is something else, there is something else, and that caste system comes in, it is practically difficult to get rid of it. You may give up the terms. But the idea remains. It is going, of course, gradually it will go. So the caste system, inter-class relations—employer and employee. It is a class relation really not caste. But, everything here that takes the colouring of the caste is a more rigid thing than even the class. The class you may change. Caste you can't easily change. So I want to get rid of all this.

I want this country to have a society to develop into this larger cooperative commonwealth, people cooperating in the largest measure with incentives; no doubt with profit motives if you like. You can't entirely do away with it. But not that fierce acquisitive motives that capitalist function normally in a full fledged capitalist society. Of course, they do not function anywhere in the wide world today, because modern capitalism itself has been so much influenced by these social or socialistic ideas that the capitalism of the middle of the 20th century is different from the 19th century capitalism. Undoubtedly it is different. And it will no doubt differ and will go like that because it is the changing that is the urge of the time. But the difficulty is that while the capitalism changes in America our noted capitalists in India still live in the 19th century. They can't get out of it. They think in those lines. Well, anyhow here is the venture, Kamani Brothers of this firm which is, which appears to be, and I have no doubt is, a very successful venture in certain new fields, and I congratulate them upon it. [Applause]

Now observe I am going to pull this. Did anything happen? (Bell and clapping) Foundation stone has been laid—so we are informed. [Applause]

## 8. In Bombay: Public Meeting<sup>47</sup>

प्यारे भाइयो और बहनो और बच्चो,

कई महीने बाद मैं बम्बई नगर आया हूँ, और जैसे अभी हमारे साथी मिस्टर शाह<sup>48</sup> ने आपसे कहा कि इन महीनों में बहुत सारी बड़ी बातें हुई, अच्छी और बुरी, और फिर उन्होंने ये भी कहा कि शायद आप में से कुछ लोग देखना चाहते हैं कि जवाहरलाल नेहरू क्या चीज़ है, तो वो चीज़ आपके सामने हाज़िर है, और आप उसका मुलाहिज़ा करें, उसको तराजू में तोलें और गज़ से नापें। एक बात है कि और बातों में मैं चाहे बदलूँ या नहीं बदलूँ जब-जब आपके पास आता हूँ तो उम्र कुछ बढ़ जाती है, वो रुकती नहीं, क़ाबू में नहीं है।

ये बात ठीक है कि पिछले महीने में बहुत बड़ी बातें हुई, और ऐसी बातें हुई जिनसे काफ़ी परेशानी हुई। अभी थोड़े दिन हुए हमारे पार्लियामेंट का, पार्लियामेंट का सेशन ख़तम हुआ, छोटा सेशन था कोई एक-डेढ़ महीने का, लेकिन उस डेढ़ महीने में भी एक पोटली मुसीबतों की हमारे सिर, कन्धों पर रख दी गयी। रोज़ कोई-न-कोई नयी बात पेश हो परेशान करने वाली, और उसका बोझा उठाना पड़े। क्या-क्या बातें हुई इस ज़माने में आप ज़रा देखें, शायद मुझे सब याद भी न हों? एक तो मोटी बात यही है कि सब में पहले आसाम में और कश्मीर में बहुत ज़बरदस्त बाढ़ आयी, बहुत बड़े ज़ोरों से आयी, तबाही लायी, उसके बाद और और जगहें। आप जानते हैं, आपके बम्बई राज्य में कितनी जगहें, सूरत की तरफ़, महाराष्ट्र की तरफ़, उधर विदर्भ में, चारों तरफ़, बाढ़ ने आ के ज़ोर दिखाया, मुसीबत आयी उससे, और प्रदेशों में भी ये हुआ। अभी आज के अख़बार में आपने पढ़ा होगा कि बंगाल में बड़ा साइक्लोन आया और बिलकुल बहुत बड़े हिस्से को बंगाल प्रदेश के उजाड़ कर दिया। अजीब हालत है कि इस तरह के, हमारे लोगों पर, मुसीबतें आती हैं और उनका हमें सामना करना पड़ता है। घबराने से तो काम चलता नहीं, न? आप माफ़ करें मेरा कहना, बैठ कर माला जपने से काम चलता है? उसका सामना करना पड़ता है। बग़ैर घबराये, बग़ैर परेशान हुए।

अब आप मुझे अच्छी तरह से आप लोग जानते हैं मेरे ऐब और जो कुछ थोड़ी-बहुत मुझ में अच्छी बातें हैं, ख़ूबियाँ हैं, दोनों आप जानते हैं। ये भी आप जानते हैं कि ये कम-से-कम अख़बार वालों ने मुझे बदनाम कर रखा है, ये कह कर कि मुझे गुस्सा बहुत बढ़ जाता है। हाँ कभी-कभी बढ़ जाता है, मैं मानता हूँ कि बिलकुल ग़लत बात नहीं है, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ गुस्सा तो मुझे बढ़ जाता है, लेकिन मुझे परेशानी कम होती है, हाथ-पैर ठण्डे मेरे नहीं हो जाते, चाहे जो भी कुछ हो। तो ख़ैर, हमें इस आजकल की दुनिया में, अजीब दुनिया में रहना है। कैसी दुनिया है? हमारे देश के जो बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न हैं, वो तो हैं ही सामने और उसके बारे में मैं आपसे कुछ कहूँगा भी, लेकिन याद रखिए, एक तरफ़ से दुनिया ये है कि एक प्रकृति के कोप

47. Speech at Chowpatty, Bombay, 4 October 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

48. Manubhai Shah, the Union Minister for Industry.



को, बाढ़ आये, मुसीबत आये, अकाल कहीं आये, चारों तरफ़ से बातें हमें घेरें, और दूसरी तरफ़ से, और दूसरी तरफ़ से आपने पढ़ा होगा कि कोई फ़िक्क की बात नहीं है। वो प्रेस वालों की तरफ़ हमला है, वो समझ लेंगे। वो काफ़ी तगड़े हैं, अपने को बचा लेंगे। भीड़ ज़रा धक्का दे रही थी।

तो दूसरी तरफ़ आपने अभी कुछ दिन हुए सुना होगा कि वो रूस का भेजा हुआ एक तीर चाँद पर पहुँचा, एक रॉकेट। अब उसके एक रॉकेट वहाँ पहुँच जाने से तो बम्बई शहर पर कोई ख़ास असर नहीं हुआ, न हमारे देश पर हुआ, लेकिन फिर भी वो एक नये, एक नये ज़माने की पुकार आ गयी...एक...एक...(आप, आप हट जाइए सामने से, बैठ जाइए ज़रा थोड़ा)...तो एक नयी दुनिया खुलती आती है। ज़रा आप सोचें, नयी दुनिया, नयी शक्तियाँ, प्रकृति की निकलती आती हैं, आदमी के हाथ में। अब तक हम चर्चा करा करते थे ऐटम बम का, ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी का और रोज़ बढ़ते-बढ़ते कहाँ आ पहुँचे, जहाँ कि चन्द्रमा भी आदमी की पहुँच में हो गया। कहते हैं लोग कि थोड़े दिन बाद, थोड़े वर्ष बाद, लोग यहाँ से, हमारी पृथ्वी से, चन्द्रमा जायेंगे, घूमने, देखने, शायद और भी तारों पर जायें। तो आप देखें कि कितनी क्रान्तिकारी दुनिया है आजकल, और उस क्रान्ति के पीछे क्या है? इन्सान का दिमाग़ है, विज्ञान है, साइन्स है, इस क्रान्ति के पीछे। क्योंकि दुनिया में कोई इतनी बड़ी क्रान्तिकारी चीज़ नहीं है जो जित्ता कि विज्ञान है, और उसी विज्ञान ने दुनिया को बहुत कुछ बदला है, और रोज़ और तेज़ी से बदलती जाती है। हमें ये बात अच्छी तरह से समझनी है। हमारे पास सवाल आते हैं, बहुत सारे सवाल हमारे सामने आते हैं और उन पे हमें विचार करना है, उनका हमें फ़ैसला करना है। लेकिन इस बात को अगर हम भूल जाते हैं कि हम एक इन्क़लाबी और क्रान्तिकारी ज़माने में रहते हैं कि जब दुनिया पलट रही है, बदल रही है, तो हमारे सवाल ठीक ढंग से हमारे, हम समझेंगे नहीं, क्योंकि बदलते हुए ज़माने में हमारे दिमाग़ को भी बदलना चाहिए, नहीं तो हम, नहीं तो हम, उन बातों को समझेंगे नहीं जो होती हैं दुनिया में।

हमारे सामने सवाल हैं, बड़े-बड़े सवाल हैं। सब में बड़ा सवाल तो हमारे देश की उन्नति का है, आर्थिक उन्नति, पंचवर्षीय योजना, फ़ाइव इयर्स प्लैन वगैरह। उसको कैसे हम करें? कैसे न करें? उसमें अलग-अलग राय है।

अभी एक-दो दिन हुए मैं वहाँ पंजाब में, पंजाब की राजधानी चण्डीगढ़ में हम थे।<sup>49</sup> वहाँ विचार कर रहे थे, कांग्रेस की ओर से, एक कांग्रेस की सब कमेटी की ओर से, एक योजना निकली थी, बनी थी, प्लैनिंग के ऊपर उस पर विचार किया और उसको स्वीकार किया, उस पर प्लैनिंग कमीशन विचार करेगा। कांग्रेस का जलसा जो होने वाला है वहाँ बंगलोर में,<sup>50</sup> वो विचार होगा, क्या बातें हैं? ये हम सोच रहे हैं, विचार कर रहे हैं, लोगों से सलाह कर रहे हैं, मशविरा कर रहे हैं कि किस ढंग से हम चलें, क्योंकि सवाल बड़े पेचीदा हैं। चालीस करोड़

49. On 26-28 September 1959 for the AICC. See SWJN/SS/52/pp. 55-76.

50. From 14 to 17 January 1960.

आदमियों का उठना, चलना, आगे जाना। ये भी, जो वहाँ चण्डीगढ़ में चीज़ आयी थी, कब शुरू हुई? पार साल ऑल इंडिया कांग्रेस कमेटी ने एक सब-कमेटी मुकर्रर की, विचार करने की, उन्होंने विचार किया, बहुत कुछ बनाया, पेश किया, फिर सामने कांग्रेस के बहुत सारे मित्र, बहुत सारे लोगों की, जिनसे कांग्रेस का सम्बन्ध भी नहीं था प्रोफ़ेसर इकॉनोमिस्ट वगैरह, उन लोगों को बुलाया कि उनकी सलाह ली, सलाह से हमने, वहाँ उटकमण्ड में वहाँ एक, एक सेमिनार हुआ उसके बाद फिर विचार हुआ तो कमेटी को रिपोर्ट निकली।<sup>51</sup> वो कमेटी की रिपोर्ट कोई पत्थर की लकीर तो नहीं है कि बस एक-एक कॉमा, फ़ुलस्टॉप उसका वैसे ही रहे। ये तो सब हल्के-हल्के भारत की जनता के विचार इकट्ठे होते जाते हैं और इसलिए ये छपता जाता है कि लोग उस पर विचार करें, सोचें, अपनी राय दें, ताकि जो निश्चय हो बाद में, जो जहाँ तक पक्की हो सकती है बात, पक्की हो, और मुझे इसमें कोई विरोध नहीं है इस बात में, कि इसकी टीका हो, टिप्पणी हो, लोग करें। दिखायें कहाँ कमी, कहाँ नहीं है। इसी तरह से कोई बात पक्की होती है। हमारा ढंग काम करने का नहीं कि ऊपर से कोई हुकूमत आ जाये कि सब लोग उसको आँखें बन्द करके, कान बन्द करके स्वीकार कर लें। इस तरह से प्रजातन्त्र नहीं चलता, कम-से-कम हम नहीं चाहते चले। तो मुझे बिलकुल स्वीकार है कि उसकी टीका-टिप्पणी हो नुक्ताचीनी हो, लेकिन इस कोशिश से कि एक चीज़ हम बनायें, क्योंकि हमें बनाना है, हमें नया भारत बनाना है। ये नहीं ख़ाली कि एक हर चीज़ को हम तोड़ें, बनायें नहीं, तोड़ें।

अब इसी ज़माने में एक नया दल पैदा हुआ है, स्वतन्त्र पार्टी और बड़ी अच्छी बात है, स्वतन्त्र पार्टी बने और भी बने जितनी पार्टियाँ बनें, उता अच्छा है।<sup>52</sup> हर एक को कोई घर मिल जाये रहने को और अच्छा ही है। कोई ख़ाली न रहे। तो मुझे कोई एतराज़ नहीं है स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के होने में, लोग समझते हैं मुझे कुछ नागवार गुज़रता है। नहीं, मुझे सब बातें ग़वारा हैं, सही रास्ते पर चलने वाले, ग़लत रास्ते पर चलने वाले, वो भी ग़वारा हैं। हाँ, मैं ज़रूर चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक हो सके लोग मेरी राय में सही रास्ते पर चलें। तो स्वतन्त्र पार्टी का होना मैं अच्छा ही समझता हूँ। क्योंकि इससे लोगों को विचार करना पड़ेगा, क्या सही है, क्या ग़लत है? ये अच्छा होता है। और स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के बड़े नेता वो राजगोपालाचार्यजी, जो हमारे बड़े नेता, पुराने वयोवृद्ध आदमी, जिनका आदर है, जिनसे प्रेम है। अब मैं उनसे क्या बहस करूँ? लेकिन ये बात सही है कि आज नहीं पिछले दस, बीस, तीस वर्ष में उनका बहुत कुछ साथ रहा कांग्रेस में, लेकिन अक्सर उनकी राय में, और बहुत सारे लोग हम लोगों की राय में अन्तर रहा। आज की बात मैं नहीं कहता, तीस बरस की, पच्चीस बरस की आपसे बात कहूँ, ट्वेण्टीज़ में, फिर उसके बाद थर्टीज़ में, फिर उसके बाद फ़ोर्टीज़ में। हम उस वक़्त जेल में थे। तो जो उनकी राय थी, उससे हम सहमत नहीं थे। तो मेरा मतलब ये है कि किसी का आदर करना, किसी

51. See SWJN/SS/49/p. 245.

52. Formed by C. Rajagopalachari and N.G. Ranga on 1 August 1959.



से प्रेम रखना ये माने नहीं है कि हम आँखें बन्द करके उसकी बात मान लें। मैंने तो यहाँ तक भी एक बदतमीज़ी की थी, मैंने और औरों ने कि कभी-कभी महात्माजी से भी बहस किया करते थे हम, उनकी बात जब समझ में नहीं आती थी। तो, तो कोई आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है कि हमारे बड़े नेता राजा जी उनमें और हमारी राय में कुछ अन्तर हो, कोई आश्चर्य नहीं है, क्योंकि जब हम अहमदनगर के क़िले में थे तब भी अन्तर था, जब पहले हम, उसके पहले कहीं और जेल में, जेल के बाहर थे तब अन्तर था, [...] तो बार-बार हो चुका है। तो इसलिए, इसमें कोई एक-दूसरे को बुरा-भला कहने का सवाल नहीं आता। हमें सोचना है, मेरी राय में, जो स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के सामने उन्होंने रखी हैं बातें, वो कोई खास किसी कहीं देश को कहीं ले जाने वाला रास्ता नहीं है, ये मेरी राय है। बहुत सारी बातें स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के कहते हैं, कांग्रेस के विरोध में। वो बात तो, मैं समझता हूँ, कुछ ग़लतफ़हमी से कहते हैं। जैसे वो कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस ये चाहती है, या गवर्नमेंट चाहती है कि बस एक केन्द्रीय हुकूमत हो, सब आँखें बन्द करके उसका कहना मानें।<sup>53</sup> अब केन्द्रीय हुकूमत तो है ही, बम्बई राज्य की भी हुकूमत है, और भी है। लेकिन मेरा पक्का विश्वास ये है कि लोकतन्त्र ऊपर की हुकूमत से ख़ाली नहीं होता, बल्कि नीचे जनता से शुरू होता है। मैं नहीं समझता इसको भी काफ़ी कि हर चार-पाँच बरस बाद एक बड़ा चुनाव हो और आप चुन लें और फिर आप ठण्डे हो कर रह जायें। इसलिए हमारी नीति है, जो राजा जी कहते हैं उससे भी दूर जाती है कि डी-सेण्ट्रलाइज़ेशन ही शक्ति का, पावर का फैले, ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का और हमने उन्हीं रेज़ोल्यूशन में जिसका चर्चा बहुत होता है नागपुर का, जो प्रस्ताव थे, उसमें ज़ोर किस बात पर दिया, पंचायत के ऊपर, दूसरे सहकारी संघ, कोऑपरेटिव पर, तीसरे स्कूल पर गाँव में, तीन चीज़ें हमने कहा कि गाँव में हों और पंचायत को अधिकार दिये जायें, नाम के लिए पंचायत नहीं, अधिकार हो उसको टैक्स लगाने का, रुपया जमा करने का, खर्चने का, आर्थिक और गाँव के आर्थिक जो काम हों, उसको सहकारी संघ देखें।<sup>54</sup>

आप देखिए, सारी कोशिश ये कि शक्ति फैल जाये आम जनता में, न कि बैठ के ऊपर के कुछ अफ़सरों में हो। सहकारी संघ का चर्चा हुआ, हम नहीं चाहते कि उसमें सरकारी अफ़सर का दखल हो बहुत। सलाह हो, मशविरा हो। तो सारी हमारी कोशिश है कि आम जनता के हाथ में बागडोर हो। अब ज़ाहिर है कि आप एक बड़े देश को चलाना चाहते हैं, तो एक केन्द्रीय हुकूमत होगी और मज़बूत होनी चाहिए, नहीं तो देश के टुकड़े-टुकड़े हो जायेंगे। प्रदेशों की गवर्नमेंट मज़बूत होनी चाहिए, नहीं तो काम नहीं चल सकता। क्योंकि आजकल की ज़िन्दगी, जीवन, पुराने ज़माने का नहीं रहा। पाँच सौ बरस या हज़ार बरस पुराने का। आजकल

53. According to *The Tribune* of 15 September, Rajagopalachari said in Madurai on 14 September that "the result of one party running all the Governments at the Centre and in the States had resulted in the vitiation of the Constitutional provision of autonomy for the States and all power had been concentrated at the Centre."

54. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 164-221.

का जीवन बहुत पेचीदा हो गया है, समाज का जीवन। आपका बम्बई शहर है, अरे साहब, अगर क्रायदे-क्रानून न हों तो एक चौराहे पर आपकी सारी ट्रैफ़िक का जैम हो जाय, क्रायदे-क्रानून से चलती है न? तब तक रुकती है, दूसरी चलती है, नहीं तो सब जैम हो जाये। आप कह दीजिए हरेक को जहाँ जो चाहे गाड़ी ले जाये और जैम हो कर ही रह जाये, कोई निकल ही न सके। तो क्रायदे-क्रानून बनाने पड़ते हैं जब समाज, जब बहुत लोग इकट्ठे होते हैं, समाज पेचीदा होता है और आजकल की दुनिया बहुत पेचीदा है, आप जानते हैं। तो इसलिए उसमें केन्द्रीय हुकूमत को तो होना ही है मज़बूत, हुकूमत प्रदेश की, हुकूमत का होना है, लेकिन हमारी इच्छा है कि अधिक-से-अधिक शक्ति और काम करने का मौक़ा आम जनता को मिले और आम जनता की सब में, सब में नीचे की संस्था पंचायत है।

अभी परसों मैं राजस्थान में था। और राजस्थान में एक बहुत बड़ी बात हुई।<sup>55</sup> राजस्थान भर में। वहाँ एक बड़ा सम्मेलन था। कौन जगह थी वो? नागौर। नागौर में। नागौर ज़िले में एक बड़ा सम्मेलन था जहाँ सारे ज़िले के चुने हुए सरपंच और प्रमुख और प्रधान, सरपंच तो पंचायत के सरपंच और प्रधान थे, पंचायत समितियाँ हैं कई पंचायतों के और प्रमुख थे जो एक ज़िले की सब पंचायतों के प्रमुख चुने गये, वो सब लोग जमा हुए थे, कई हज़ार, सारे राजस्थान से। क्योंकि कल-परसों के दिन जो कि बड़ा शुभ दिन था, महात्मा जी की जयन्ती का दिन था, हमने एक बड़ा क्रदम और बड़ा क्रान्तिकारी क्रदम राजस्थान में उठाया। राज्य की बहुत कुछ ताक़त, बहुत कुछ काम करने, बहुत कुछ क्रानूनी शक्ति और काम करने का मौक़ा हमने पंचायतों को दे दिया। जितना काम, ये योजनाएँ हैं, डेवलपमेंट का है, सब कुछ पंचायतों को दे दिया। यानी डिस्ट्रिक्ट एक गाँव को तो छोड़िए, एक डिस्ट्रिक्ट तक का भी काम अधिकतर पंचायत, पंचायत समितियाँ करेंगी और उसमें सरकारी अफ़सर सलाह देंगे उन्हें ज़रूर, क्योंकि सलाहकार हैं, वो देंगे, लेकिन सारी ज़िम्मेदारी पंचों, सरपंचों, प्रमुख, प्रधान के ऊपर छोड़ दी, ये छोटी बात नहीं है और आप कहें, जैसे लोग कहते हैं कि साहब वो तो आपस में झगड़ा करेंगे, लड़ेंगे और आप कैसे दे देते हैं उनको? तो हो सकता है झगड़ा करेंगे, लड़ेंगे, दलबन्दी करेंगे, लेकिन इसी तरह से सीखेंगे भी वो। तो असल में जनतन्त्र की बुनियाद यही होती है कि नीचे से ही...और मुझे विशेषकर इस बात की खुशी है कि ऐसी बात हुई ऐसे शुभ दिन, गाँधीजी की जयन्ती के दिन, क्योंकि हमेशा वो चाहते थे कि गाँव वालों को अधिकार मिले, बहुत दूर से उनके ऊपर हुकूमत न चले। मुझे विश्वास है कि जो राजस्थान में हुआ, वो सारे देश में सब प्रदेशों में होगा। राजस्थान ने पहले इस क्रदम को उठाया, और उसके बाद, उसके बाद मैं आपको बता दूँ, मैं कुछ रोज़ में जा रहा हूँ, थोड़े दिनों में, कोई एक सप्ताह में आन्ध्र प्रदेश जा रहा हूँ,<sup>56</sup> वहाँ भी यही होने वाला है, निश्चय हो गया है। तो राजस्थान और आन्ध्र ने...इन बातों में हिन्दुस्तान के वो अगुवा बन गये। खैर, मेरे लिए सब प्रदेश एक-से हैं और मैं समझता

55. On 2 October 1959.

56. Nehru was in Andhra Pradesh from 10 to 14 October 1959. See SWJN/SS/52/ items 12-17.



हूँ कि अगर कोई अच्छा काम कोई, कोई भी प्रदेश करे तो और प्रदेश भी उससे सीखेंगे और आगे बढ़ेंगे। तो आप देखें, मैं फिर इसको दोहराता हूँ कि किस तरह से हमारी इच्छा है कि लोकतन्त्र कुछ नीचे से चले। ऊपर हो, ऊपर गायब थोड़े ही हो सकता है। आजकल की दुनिया में ये हो सकता है? लेकिन असल में उसकी जड़, बुनियाद गाँव से है, समितियों से है, पंचायतों से।

अब एक और उसका पहलू है जिसका बहुत लोगों ने गुल मचाया है कि हम सहकारी संघ कहते हैं। अब हमने क्या कहा नागपुर में कि सहकारी संघ हर गाँव में बने, कोऑपरेटिव, छोटे-छोटे बनें, जिनके हाथ में सारा आर्थिक काम उस गाँव का हल्के-हल्के आ जाये।<sup>57</sup> पहले कोऑपरेटिव बनते थे तो उनका काम था ज्यादातर जैसे अंग्रेजी में कहते हैं क्रेडिट कोऑपरेटिव, एक बनिये का काम करना, रुपया क़र्ज़ा देना, लेन-देन करना, ये काम था, और कई चले, बम्बई में तो खासे-अच्छे चले, मद्रास में भी चले, और प्रदेश में बहुत अच्छे नहीं चले। अब हम चाहते हैं वो कोऑपरेटिव खाली क्रेडिट न हो, वो तो हो ही, बल्कि और बातें भी करें, यानी जित्ता भी आर्थिक काम है...फ़र्ज़ करो, एक आप किसान को लें, किसान को क्या काम है? किसान को अच्छे बीज चाहिएँ, अच्छी खाद चाहिए, फ़र्टिलाइज़र चाहिए, अच्छे-अच्छे हल चाहिएँ, छोटी-छोटी मशीन चाहिए, अपने खेती के काम के लिए, जिससे वो अच्छी खेती कर सकें, और नयी-नयी चीज़ें। अब कोई मामूली किसान हमारा, उसके पास इती शक्ति नहीं है, एक किसान के पास जिसके पास शायद दो एकड़ ज़मीन हो, एक एकड़ ज़मीन हो, उसके पास शक्ति नहीं है [कि] वो सब बड़े-बड़े काम कर सकें, कोई अच्छा हल मँगाएँ, वो सब अच्छे बीज मँगाएँ, वो नहीं हो सकता है, लेकिन सौ किसान मिल कर काम करें सहकारी संघ में तो उनकी शक्ति बढ़ जाती है फ़ौरन। मोटी बात है, कहीं भी आप काम करें, हो जाती है। तो वो उनकी खेती अच्छी होने लगती है, सारी दुनिया में इसीलिए कोऑपरेटिवज़ फैले हैं, किसानों में, कृषकों में, फ़ार्म्स में, सारी दुनिया में चाहे वो, चाहे वो कैपिटलिस्ट दुनिया हो, चाहे वो सोशलिस्ट दुनिया हो। क्योंकि ये तो एक मामूली बात हो गयी कि कोऑपरेटिव के ज़रिये से काम करना। मैंने आपसे कहा, दूसरी तरफ़ ले लीजिए उसी किसान का, उसको बेचना है। बेचता है, एक किसान बेचे तो अगर उसके ऊपर दबाव हो कभी कम में बेच दे, जो कोई साहूकार को उसका बेचना पड़े, उसका फ़ायदा साहूकार को हो उसको न होये, ये दिक्कतें। लेकिन अगर सहकारी संघ हो तब फिर सहकारी संघ उसकी देख-भाल कर सकती है और जो बेचने में लाभ हो उसी का लाभ होता है किसी और को तो नहीं जाता। तो इस ढंग से सहकारी संघ तो आवश्यक हैं, और मैं...मुझे आश्चर्य होता है कि कोई साहब भी सहकारी संघ का विरोध करें। आज नहीं, आज से कोई मैं समझता हूँ तीस वर्ष हुए, यानी स्वराज के पहले हिन्दुस्तान की जब अंग्रेज़ी सरकार यहाँ थी, तो उन्होंने एक कमीशन बनाया था एक खेती के बारे में, उसमें अंग्रेज़ भी

57. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 173-181.

थे हिन्दुस्तानी भी थे,<sup>58</sup> उस कमीशन की रिपोर्ट में ये लिखा था, कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान का ऐग्रिकल्चर, खेती की तरक्की करनी है तब सहकारी संघ के द्वारा हो सकती है, अगर सहकारी संघ कोऑपरेशन नहीं आता तो हिन्दुस्तान के खेती के लिए कोई भविष्य नहीं है। ये तीस वर्ष की बात है, क्योंकि मोटी बात है। एक यहाँ हिन्दुस्तान में बात क्या है? हिन्दुस्तान में बात ये है कि हमारे यहाँ आदमी ज़्यादा है ज़मीन कम है। ज़मीन भी बहुत है, लेकिन उससे अधिक आदमी हैं और आदमी बढ़ते जाते हैं, चालीस करोड़ हमारी आबादी है और उसको आप बँटवारा कीजिए सब लोगों में, तो क्या एक-एक आदमी की कित्ती पड़ती है, एक एकड़, डेढ़ एकड़, दो एकड़, दो एकड़ जो कुछ पड़े, और उसमें पहाड़ हैं, जंगल हैं, क्या-क्या है।

अब आप दूसरे देश को लें। आप अमेरिका को लें। अमेरिका में भारत का, आप देखें, भारत का ढाई गुना बड़ा देश है। यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स भारत का तिगुना, ढाई गुना है और भारत की आबादी आधी से कम है वहाँ, तो फ़र्क़ हो गया न, देश बहुत बड़ा आबादी काफ़ी कम। यानी जो एक सम्बन्ध होता है जो रेशियो है आबादी में कित्ती ज़मीन है वो अमेरिका के रेशियो में ज़मीन बहुत ज़्यादा है, लोग कम हैं। हमारे रेशियो में लोग बहुत ज़्यादा हैं, ज़मीन कम है। रूस को आप ले लीजिए, इसमें पूँजीवाद और कम्युनिज़्म वगैरह का सवाल अलग है, ये आप, आप देखिए हर देश में रेशियो क्या है आबादी का ज़मीन से। रूस भी एक लम्बा-चौड़ा देश है। उधर योरप से ले के पूरब एशिया तक फैला हुआ है, बहुत बड़ा। हिन्दुस्तान का वो भी तिगुना-चौगुना है और उसकी भी आबादी भारत की आबादी की आधी है। तो वहाँ भी ज़मीन बेहद है। तो वहाँ के प्रश्न दूसरे हो जाते हैं। हाँ, हमारे यहाँ ज़मीन बहुत सारी होती, तो हरेक के पास पचास-सौ एकड़ ज़मीन होती तो सवाल हमारा दूसरा हो जाता है। दूसरे ढंग से हम उसको करते, लेकिन वो बात नहीं है हमारे पास न है, और हम ये भी नहीं चाहते कि बड़े-बड़े ज़मींदार थोड़े-से हों, बाक़ी लोग भूखे रहें। इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि बड़े ज़मींदारों की प्रथा हमने ख़तम की, छोटे फ़ार्म्स हों, अच्छे हों, खुशहाल हों, और अच्छा काम करें, अच्छा पैदा करें, और ये भी कोई नयी बात हमने नहीं की, हमने जिसको कहते हैं सीलिंग ऑन लैण्ड...ऐसे-ऐसे देशों में छोड़िए, साम्यवादी और समाजवादी देश, जापान तो समाजवादी नहीं है, जापान में किसने, अमेरिकन लोगों ने, अमेरिकन अफ़सरों ने इस लड़ाई के बाद सीलिंग ऑन लैण्ड लगाया, जब किसी ने आज तक अमेरिकन अफ़सरों को तो नहीं कहा साम्यवादी या समाजवादी, लेकिन जिस मुल्क में आबादी ज़्यादा है जैसे जापान में है, हमारे देश में भी, ज़मीन कम है, वहाँ कुछ-न-कुछ प्रबन्ध करना होता है, नहीं तो दूसरी तरफ़ ये होता है कि मुट्ठी भर आदमी बहुत अमीर हो जायें, और बाक़ी दबें, तरक्की देश की नहीं होती, इसलिए हमारे लिए आवश्यक हो गया कि हम अपने देश में कोई, कोई किसी तरह की एक, एक ऊपरी, एक अटकाव डालें, जिससे अधिक ज़मीन किसी के पास न रहे। क्या हो? वो ज़मीन तो है अच्छी

58. The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, appointed in 1926 and reported in 1928.



ज़मीन, बुरी ज़मीन, कहीं पच्चीस एकड़, कहीं तीस एकड़, कहीं बीस एकड़, जो कुछ भी हो। इसके माने नहीं हैं कि उस आदमी की हम आमदनी को बन्द किया चाहते हैं, या कम किया चाहते हैं। क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं वो और काम पचास कर सकता है। अब्बल तो उसी ज़मीन को अच्छी तरह से चलायेगा, उसकी आमदनी दुगुनी-तिगुनी हो जाये, वहाँ ग्रामोद्योग शुरू करें, छोटे कारखाने शुरू करें, हजार काम करें जो आजकल नहीं होते। आप जानते हैं ये कि इस वक़्त भारत के लिए एक बड़ी कमज़ोरी की बात ये है कि हम जितना पैदा करते हैं एक एकड़ ज़मीन से उसका दुगुना, तिगुना, चौगुना और दुनिया में देश करते हैं और कौन देश अमेरिका को छोड़िए, अमेरिका है या इंग्लैण्ड है, या फ़्रांस है या जर्मनी, इजिप्ट, मिस्र देश भी हमारा दुगुना पैदा करता है, तिगुना, क्यों? चीन करता है, कोई-न-कोई बात है न? हम पिछड़ गये। तो गरज़ कि ये आवश्यक हो गया हमारे लिए कि हम इससे, ये जो सिलसिला हमने शुरू किया था ज़मीन के लैण्ड रिफ़ॉर्म जिसे कहते हैं, उस काम को पूरा करें।

अब ज़ाहिर है जब आप कोई ऐसा काम उठाते हैं तो कुछ लोगों को उसमें हानि होती है, कुछ लोगों को नुक़सान होता है, लेकिन अधिक, अधिकतर लोगों को लाभ होता है, और असली बात ये है कि आप एक ऐसा नक़्शा बनाते हैं जिससे देश की उन्नति होती है, ये दुनिया की बात है हर जगह। इसमें मैं आपको बताऊँ, कोई समाजवाद, साम्यवाद भी बहुत कम अंश है इसमें। जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा जापान तो साम्यवादी, समाजवादी देश नहीं है, वहाँ भी ये किया गया। क्योंकि देखा जाता है कि क्या रिश्ता है ज़मीन का आदमियों से, कितने लोग हैं और वो तो पुरानी ताल्लुक़ेदारी और जागीरदारी तो चल नहीं सकती आजकल की दुनिया में। तो आप, मजबूर हो कर आपको ये करना पड़ता है। तो ये हालत है। तो इसको आप करते हैं और इसको भी आप करते हैं। तो हमारे हिन्द भारत में अधिकतर लोगों के पास...बहुत कम लोग हैं जिनके पास पाँच एकड़ ज़मीन है, थोड़े हैं। अधिकतर लोग मेरे प्रदेश में, उत्तर प्रदेश में एक एकड़, दो एकड़ ज़मीन है। अब एक आदमी जिसके पास एक एकड़, दो एकड़ ज़मीन हो, उसकी शक्ति नहीं है कि कोई नयी मशीन लगाये, कोई नया बीज लाये, नया ये करे, वो करे, उसकी ताक़त ही नहीं है। लेकिन सहकारी संघ में आ कर उसकी ताक़त बढ़ जाती है, मिल कर काम करने से, और उस सहकारी संघ को सरकार भी मदद कर सकती है। कहाँ तक करोड़ों आदमियों को अलग-अलग सहायता करें, लेकिन सहकारी संघ में सरकार उसकी मदद करती है, पैसा देती है उसको, क़र्ज़ा देती है, उससे बढ़ती है। क्योंकि हमें अपनी खेती के काम की साइण्टिफ़िक करना है, विज्ञान से, विज्ञान से फ़ायदा उठाना है। जैसे और देशों में तरक्क़ी हुई है ऐग्रिकल्चर में, वैसे हमें अपने देश में भी करनी है। तो ये, अब आप देखो, ये स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के हमारे भाइयों ने गुल-शोर मचाया कि ये लोग आप लोगों की ज़मीन छीन लेंगे ज़बरदस्ती और ये लोग इस तरह से हल्के-हल्के साम्यवाद ले आयेंगे। बहस, बहस से कोई मतलब नहीं, हमने साफ़ कहा, दो बातें हमने कही थीं, एक तो ये कि हम चाहते हैं तीन बरस के अन्दर एक-एक गाँव में सहकारी संघ या कोऑपरेटिव हो, उसमें कोई ज़मीन छीनने का सवाल तो कभी है ही नहीं और उसमें ये भी नहीं था कि लोग मिल कर खेती करें।

अपनी-अपनी अलग-अलग खेती करें, लेकिन सहकारी संघ के द्वारा अपने आर्थिक काम करें, बजाय साहूकार और बनिये के द्वारा। सब मिल कर करें। इससे उनका लाभ है। उसमें सरकार उनकी मदद कर सकती है और बहस करें। अब आप देखें, स्वतन्त्र पार्टी इसका कोई चर्चा ही नहीं करती, बस गुल मचाना कि ज़मीन छीन लेंगे, क्यों? क्योंकि हमने कहा था कि इसके बाद हमारा ध्येय ये होना चाहिए कि जहाँ-जहाँ बन पड़े, जहाँ स्वीकार करें, वो सहकारी संघ मिल कर खेती करें, यानी अपनी, यानी अपनी ज़मीन के मालिक रहें वो। उनसे मिलकियत कोई नहीं लेता है। लेकिन मालिक रह कर दस-बीस-पचास आदमी मिल कर करें तो उससे क्योंकि, तो उससे ज़्यादा कमायेंगे, उनका हिस्सा ज़्यादा पड़ेगा, ज़मीन उन्हीं की रहेगी। क्योंकि बात यही है जो मैंने अभी आपसे कहा, कि एक एकड़, डेढ़ एकड़ ज़मीन अलग-अलग खेती करे बेचारा, उसके पास शक्ति नहीं करने की, आगे बढ़ने की, कभी बढ़ नहीं सकता और कितनी ज़मीन हमारी ज़ाया हो जाती है, छोटे-छोटे खेतों के बीच में ज़ाया हो जाती है। खैर, हमने कहा कि बाद में, वो भी अभी का सवाल नहीं है, जहाँ लोग पसन्द करें, इसको कर सकते हैं, और मेरी राय में वो अच्छी चीज़ है और करना चाहिए। लेकिन ये निश्चय खुद करेंगे जो फ़ार्मर्स हैं, जो किसान हैं, मैं थोड़ी कल्लूंगा उनकी तरफ़ से और ये भी हो सकता है कि कहीं ये चीज़ चलेगी अच्छी तरह से, कहीं नहीं चले, देखने की बात है, कोई हर जगह एक रंग थोड़े ही लगाया चाहते हैं। तो इसके ऊपर बड़ा गुल-शोर मचाया गया है कि हम ज़मीन छीन लेते हैं और सब मिल कर सरकार के ऊपर हुकुम से होगा, किसी की राय नहीं, यानी जो बातें हम कहते हैं उसके बिलकुल उलटी बात कहें। मैंने आपसे कहा यही कि हम सारे शक्ति को, पावर को, सरकारी शक्ति को वहाँ को, वहाँ की पंचायतों को दे रहे हैं। कोई दिल्ली और बम्बई से नहीं चलेंगे, उन्हीं को दे देंगे। हाँ, क्रायदे और क़ानून बनेंगे दिल्ली और बम्बई में, ये बुनियादी बात है। क्योंकि हमारी सारी इस पर दृष्टिकोण देखने का तरीक़ा है कि ज़्यादा अधिक-से-अधिक फैला दें हम, राजनैतिक इन्तज़ाम और आर्थिक शक्ति को, किसानों में, ग्रामों में।

आखिर में, अब बम्बई शहर बड़ा सुन्दर शहर है, लेकिन भारत बम्बई शहर नहीं है, भारत गाँव है, लाखों गाँव हैं और बम्बई शहर की तरक्की हो, बड़ी खुशी की बात है, लेकिन भारत की तरक्की, उन्नति जभी होगी, जब भारत के पाँच लाख गाँव उठ खड़े होंगे। भारत के पाच लाख गाँव जभी उठेंगे, जब वहाँ की जनता के हाथ में ज़िम्मेदारी हो, अधिकार हो, खुद कुछ कर सकें, जायें। ये नहीं कि बैठे हुए हैं कि सरकार करेगी। ये बड़ी बुरी बात है कि सरकार का इन्तज़ार करना, करने का, खुद करना चाहिए। सरकार का कर्तव्य है सहायता करे, मदद करे, ठीक है। लेकिन खुद करना है। अगर हमारे पाँच लाख गाँव निश्चय करें, कुछ थोड़ा भी निश्चय करें, कि हम साल भर में ये करेंगे तो उसको आप कहिए पाँच लाख दफ़े हो जाता है वो। सरकार करे दस-पाँच-बीस गाँव में करे, पाँच लाख में तो नहीं कर सकती। इसलिए ये बुनियादी बात है कि लोग जागृत हों, लोगों के हाथ में ज़िम्मेदारी हो, चाहे वो ग़लत क्यों न चलें? चाहे ठोकर खा कर गिरें, कुछ हर्ज नहीं, सीख लेंगे वो। लेकिन हम नहीं चाहते कि सब अफ़सरी काम हो, अफ़सरी काम रोज़-ब-रोज़ कम हों। अब ये बात, मैं जिस बात पर ज़ोर दे



रहा हूँ इसी बात पर हमारे स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के लोग कहते हैं, यही बातें चाहते हैं कि मैं इसका जवाब क्या दूँ? वो तो गलत बातें कहते हैं जिससे कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं।

लेकिन दूसरी बात पर अब मैं आता हूँ। वो ये कि हमारे सामने बड़े-बड़े सवाल हैं। आप सुनते हैं, आप सुनते हैं, फ़र्ज़ कीजिए कि अभी कुछ रोज़ से हमारे लोगों में एक नया प्रश्न आया है जिसने उनको परेशान किया कि वहाँ हमारी सीमा पर तिब्बत और चीन की सीमा पर कुछ झगड़ा-फ़साद शुरू हुआ और अजीब-अजीब बातें हुई हैं। वो किताब में भी लिख कर कुछ निकली हैं, और शायद दो-चार-पाँच-सात दिन में एक और किताब दिल्ली से निकले जिसमें हमारा पत्र-व्यवहार जो हुआ है चीनी गवर्नमेंट से, उसका चर्चा हो।<sup>59</sup> मैं चाहता हूँ जनता को सब मालूम हो। अच्छा, इसके निस्वत मैं कुछ और आपसे कहूँगा। लेकिन जो बात इस समय मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ, वो ये है कि हमारे लिए क्रोधित होना, गुस्से होना, हमारे बड़े-बड़े प्रस्ताव पास करना फिर किसी दूसरे देश की धमकी नहीं होगी। हाँ, हमारी भावनाएँ निकलती हैं उससे, लेकिन आप जब एक महान देश है चीन, या कोई और महान देश हो, क्या आप अपने नारों से उस पर असर डालेंगे। ज़ाहिर है, आपके नारे की आवाज़ उतनी दूर नहीं पहुँचती, एक-दूसरे को आप सुनायें। तो इसका तो यही होता है उपाय कि हमारे देश की शक्ति बढ़े। शक्ति क्या चीज़ है? कुछ लोग कहें कि अपनी फ़ौज को बढ़ाओ, हाँ फ़ौज एक निशानी है शक्ति की। लेकिन असल में फ़ौज निशानी नहीं है। फ़ौज के पीछे क्या चीज़ है जो शक्ति होती है? आजकल की फ़ौज कोई पुराने ज़माने की फ़ौज तो नहीं है। जिस देश में बड़े कारखाने हैं, इण्डस्ट्री फैली है, अपने सब सामान, चाहे फ़ौज का, चाहे और, पैदा करता है देश, उसकी ताक़त है, नहीं है तो उसकी ताक़त नहीं है, सीधी बात ये है। तो इन सब सवालों को हल करने के लिए घूम-घाम कर हम आते हैं इस बात पर कि अपने देश की अन्दर की शक्ति कैसे बढ़ायें? एक गरीब देश की शक्ति कम होती है, क्योंकि...हाँ, उसमें दिल हो, हिम्मत हो, माना, और जो कोई हिम्मत वाला देश हो, वीर देश हो, कभी गिरता नहीं वो चाहे गरीब हो, चाहे कुछ हो, लेकिन आखिर में ये फ़िज़ूल बात है। आप एक आदमी को एक लाठी दे दीजिए और तीर-कमान दे दीजिए और फिर कहिए, तुम वीरता से एक तोप का सामना करो, फ़िज़ूल बात है। तोप का सामना लाठी नहीं कर सकती। तोप तक पहुँचते ही नहीं वो आदमी। इसलिए एक जब देश की उन्नति की ज़रूरत है। अब आप सोचें एक मोटी बात, इसको आप याद करें कि आज से आप अगर दो सौ बरस पहले जायें और आप मुकाबला करें भारत का, या एशिया के देशों का, और यूरोप के देशों का तो बहुत अन्तर आप नहीं पायेंगे, बल्कि अगर कोई अन्तर था, तो भारत अगुवा था। यहाँ के कारखाने चलते थे। आजकल के कारखाने, बड़े मशीन के नहीं, लेकिन बड़े-बड़े मैन्यूफ़ैक्चरर्स थे और अंग्रेज़ लोग जो भारत में उस समय आये, अंग्रेज़

59. See, Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed Between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959. White Paper* (n.p., n.d) [New Delhi, 1959].

या फ्रेंच या और लोग। वो आये थे यहाँ का सामान खरीदने के लिए याद रखो, अपना सामान बेचने को नहीं। यहाँ का सामान खरीद कर वहाँ ले जाने को आये थे, दो सौ बरस हुए। अच्छा, फिर आप देखें डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए एकदम से रंग कुछ बदलने लगा, हमारे और यूरोप के रिश्ते का, क्योंकि यूरोप में एक नयी बात शुरू हो गयी। वो नयी बात थी विज्ञान। हम बैठे रहे, पुराने ढंग से न हम कुछ, न हम आगे, हमें इस बात की फिकर नहीं है कि हम कुछ विज्ञान को देखें, हम नयी बातें सीखें। हम तो समझ गये थे कि हमको जो कुछ सीखना है, हम पहले से ही सीखे हुए हैं। दुनिया बदलती गयी, हम वैसे ही रहे। दुनिया में, छोटी-सी बात में आपको बताता हूँ। दुनिया में किताबें छपने लगीं। अब किताब का छपना बड़ी भारी बात है; विद्या का फैलाना, इल्म का फैलाना, बड़ी भारी बात है, प्रिंटिंग का आना। दुनिया में आयी, किताबें छपीं। कई सौ बरस तक दुनिया में किताबें छपती रहीं, हिन्दुस्तान में एक किताब नहीं छपी। क्या वजह है इसकी? इसी से मालूम होता है कि हमारा देश पिछड़ गया, गिर गया था, और एशिया के देश। पहले अकबर बादशाह के दरबार में या जहाँगीर के मुझे इस वक़्त याद नहीं ठीक-ठीक कुछ मिशनरीज छपी हुई किताबें यूरोप से लाये, और उनको दिखायीं। तो देखा, उनकी दिलचस्पी हुई, लेकिन किसी ने कोई कोशिश नहीं की कि यहाँ भी कोई छापे। यानी हममें एक जागृत बुद्धि नहीं रही थी कि हम नयी चीज़ को समझ सकें, नयी चीज़ को पकड़ सकें, आगे बढ़ें। पुराने ढंग से चलते गये हम।

तो इसीलिए मैंने आपने कहा डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए यूरोप में विज्ञान आया और विज्ञान के ज़रिये से नयी-नयी चीज़ें बनने लगीं, नयी शक्तियाँ आयीं। उन्होंने अपने लोहे का, कोयले का प्रयोग करना शुरू किया ज़ोरों से। इससे, भाप से, स्टीम से और कलों से और उससे अंग्रेज़ों के देश की शक्ति बढ़ी, बहुत बढ़ी, बढ़ने लगी; उनकी फ़ौजी शक्ति बढ़ी, उनकी दौलत बढ़ने लगी और उस फ़ौजी शक्ति से आ के उन्होंने फ़तह किया हमारे देश को, और इस तरह से वो अमीर देश होते गये। तो अभी सौ-डेढ़ सौ बरस की बात है, बहुत पुरानी बात नहीं है और इस तरह से उनकी शक्ति और ताक़त और दौलत बढ़ती गयी यूरोप की, ख़ाली अंग्रेज़ों की नहीं, और नतीजा क्या हुआ कि आजकल यूरोप में, आप देख सकते हैं, कि लोग खुशहाल हैं, उनके सामने बड़े सवाल हैं, लड़ाई के, शान्ति के, लड़ाई हो क्या हो? लेकिन लोग खुशहाल हैं। किसी को खाने की कमी नहीं होती, किसी को कपड़े की कमी नहीं है, आम तौर से घर रहने को है, पढ़ाई सबों को मिलती है, एक-एक बच्चे को, स्वास्थ्य की देख-भाल है, जिसको कहते हैं वेलफ़ेयर स्टेट, तो वहाँ हो गया है। तो क्यों? इसलिए कि उन्होंने विज्ञान को... उसका पीछा किया, नयी दुनिया को समझे वो, कलें बनायीं, मशीन बनायी और दुनिया की नयी शक्तियों को पकड़ के उनको काम में लाये, चाहे वो स्टीम हो, चाहे वो इलेक्ट्रिसिटी हो, चाहे ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी हो; ये सब बड़ी महान शक्तियाँ हैं प्रकृति की।

अच्छा, अगर हम चाहते हैं इस काम को करना, अपने देश से ग़रीबी निकालना, तो ज़ाहिर है कि सिवा इसके कि हम विज्ञान से लाभ उठायें और विज्ञान के जो बच्चे हैं ये सब, टेक्नॉलोजी, टेक्नीक्स, नये-नये तरीक़े काम करने के, हम नहीं कर [...] सकते। हम विज्ञान



को लायें तो हम अपने खेतों से जित्ता आप पैदा करते हैं उसका दुगुना-तिगुना करेंगे। हमारे सामने कोई सवाल खाने की कमी का हो ही नहीं सकता, जैसे और देशों ने किया, और जैसे हमारे यहाँ भी हो रहा है। हम लायें, हमारा धन-दौलत बढ़ेगी, एक छोटे कारखाने, बड़े कारखाने, वो बढ़ेगी और कोई चारा नहीं है। आप कोई नक़्शा बनाइए, आप नहीं आगे बढ़ सकते, जब तक कि आप हिन्दुस्तान में, इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन को, इण्डस्ट्रियल क्रान्ति को नहीं लाते। वो तो आ रही है अब तो ज़ोरों से आ रही है और आयेगी, लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ आप इस बात को समझ लें, कोई चारा नहीं है। अच्छा अगर आप इसको लाते हैं तो कैसे लायें? लोगों पे छोड़ दें, लोगों पे छोड़ दें लाने के लिए, या कोई ऊपर से खास कोशिश हो, योजना बने? ज़ाहिर है, बाज़ लोग कहते हैं कि साहब, अमेरिका में कैसे आयी, जर्मनी में उन्होंने कैसे कर लिया? तो मेरा जवाब ये है कि अमेरिका और जर्मनी में एक-डेढ़ सौ बरस में उन्होंने किया और वो उनको समय मिला। क्योंकि उस समय तक उनके यहाँ लोकतन्त्र भी नहीं था, पूरी तौर से, तब उन्होंने किया। लेकिन एक देश में पूरी तौर से लोकतन्त्र हो जाये, और आम लोगों की माँगें ख़ूब बढ़ें तब आप समझें कि वो उस तरह से दबा के आप उनसे काम ले सकते हैं, नहीं हो सकता और अगर हो, सौ बरस, डेढ़ सौ बरस हमारे पास नहीं हैं, इसलिए ये आवश्यक हो जाता है कि इसमें ऊपर से समाज के लिए प्लानिंग हो, नक़्शा बने, सरकार कर सकती है, सबों से मशविरा ले कर। अगर हरेक पे छोड़ दो जो तुम्हारा जो चाहे करो, तो बहुत सारी भली बातें हों, बहुत सारी ग़लत बातें हों।

तो इसीलिए ये बहस आप सुनते हैं पब्लिक सेक्टर, प्राइवेट सेक्टर। एक फ़िज़ूल बहस है। क्योंकि दोनों को बहुत जगह है। लेकिन ये बात समझ लीजिए कि दोनों को नेशनी [नेशनल] प्लेन ही...उसके अन्दर काम करना उसमें, ज्यों-ज्यों हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति बढ़ती जायेगी और तेज़ी से बढ़ेगी। इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं, दोनों बढ़ेगी। लेकिन हाँ, कि ये भी सोचना है कि वो जो बढ़े तब कैसे? इस ढंग से बढ़े कि जो हमारे देश में एक तस्वीर ये है हमारे सामने, वो क्या है? आपके सामने क्या तस्वीर है? ये तस्वीर है कि देश में बहुत सारे, बहुत सारे लोग नीचे हों, ग़रीब हों, कुछ अमीर हों, वो तो नहीं है? हमारे सामने तस्वीर ये है कि देश में जहाँ तक बन पड़े, सब लोग खुशहाल हों, सब लोगों को बराबर का मौक़ा मिले। जैसे आप सभी को इस वक़्त बराबर का मौक़ा मिल रहा है पानी में भीगने का। हाँ, कुछ लोग छाता लगा लेते हैं, बच जाते हैं लेकिन बहुत उससे फ़ायदा नहीं होता। तो बराबर का मौक़ा मिले बढ़ने का जैसे कि क़रीब-क़रीब यूरोप के देशों में हो गया है और अब आप देखें, कि जो बात यूरोप में हुई, वही बात रूस में हुई, हालाँकि एक साम्यवादी देश है, दूसरे पूँजीवादी देश हैं। तो इसमें जो फ़र्क़ है, वो फ़र्क़ हुआ ये कि दोनों ने विज्ञान का पीछा किया जा के। विज्ञान, विज्ञान इस बात को नहीं देखता कि साम्यवाद क्या है, पूँजीवाद क्या है? आप लोगों में से लड़के हैं नौजवान, यूनिवर्सिटी में पढ़ते होंगे, आप वहाँ साम्यवादी केमिस्ट्री और फ़िज़िक्स और बायोलॉजी नहीं पढ़ते हैं। आप विज्ञान जो है उसको पढ़ते हैं, या आप कोई और या अगर अमेरिकन, अगर अमेरिकन रॉकेट फेंकते हैं और रूस रॉकेट फेंकते हैं तो चाँद पर विज्ञान से दोनों फेंकते हैं, उसमें न कैपिटलिज़्म

आता है, न कम्युनिज़्म आता है। तो इस बात को हमें समझना है और अगर हम, अगर हम बढ़ना चाहते हैं तो हमें बढ़ना है, इसी तरह से सोच-समझ के और नीचे से बढ़ना है और एक हवा पैदा करनी है, वैज्ञानिक हवा और नये-नये टेक्नीक्स हैं, नये तरीके हैं, नयी मशीन हैं। जो बाहर से ख़रीदने नहीं हैं, हमें बनाने हैं। कैसे हो ये? इसलिए कि हमारे यहाँ बुनियादी चीज़ें हम करें। बुनियादी चीज़ें क्या हैं? शक्ति पैदा करना, पावर, लोहा पैदा करना और बड़ी-बड़ी मशीनें यहीं बनाना, हमें बाहर नहीं जाना पड़े। ये बुनियादी बातें हैं।

अब ये बातें प्राइवेट सेक्टर नहीं कर सकता और प्राइवेट सेक्टर करे तो उसकी शक्ति इतनी बड़ी हो जाये कि देश का गला घुटे, यानी हमें नहीं उचित मालूम होता है। तो प्राइवेट सेक्टर को तो बहुत मैदान है, हम उसको चाहते हैं बढ़े, बेशुमार बढ़ सकता है और बढ़ेगा। लेकिन बागडोर हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति की, आखिर में, जनता के प्रतिनिधियों के हाथ में होनी चाहिए, पार्लियामेंट के हाथ में होनी चाहिए और इसलिए ये आवश्यक है कि पब्लिक सेक्टर, जो मज़बूत जगह है, वहाँ क़ायम हो और रोक-थाम करे कि कोई लोग नाजायज़ फ़ायदा न उठाये।

तो ये [इस] सवाल में मैं अधिक नहीं आता, ये मोटी बातें हैं और मुझे, मैं हैरान होता हूँ कि स्वतन्त्र पार्टी मैदान में कूदी आ के और ऐसी-ऐसी बातें गोल कहने लगी, बहुत सारी बातें अच्छी हैं। हाँ, उन्होंने कहा हम ईश्वर पर भरोसा करते हैं, बड़ी खुशी की बात है। बड़ी खुशी की बात कि ईश्वर पर भरोसा सभी को करना चाहिए, लेकिन उसी के साथ अपने बाहुबल पर भी भरोसा करना चाहिए। जो ख़ाली ईश्वर पर भरोसा करते हैं और कुछ और नहीं करते, वो निकम्मे लोग होते हैं। ईश्वर नहीं चाहता कि लोग, बस कुछ न करें, ख़ाली-ख़ाली भरोसा औरों पर करें। इस तरह कोई देश नहीं बनता। तो ये बातें तो गोल बातें हैं, सभी दल कह सकते हैं। असल बुनियादी बात है कि किस आर्थिक नीति से हम चलें और मैं कहता हूँ आपसे मुझे विश्वास है और आप भी विचार करें कि जो स्वतन्त्र पार्टी कहती है आर्थिक नीति की, वो, वो एक ऐसी निकम्मी चीज़ है कि आजकल दुनिया में कोई भी कह सकता है ज़रा हिम्मत से, कोई समझदार आदमी इसको पेश नहीं कर सकता है भारत के लिए। एक चीज़ आजकल के अमेरिका के लिए अच्छी हो, हो सकती है, क्योंकि अमेरिका ने बड़ी तरक्की की है, डेढ़ सौ बरस में। एक चीज़ इंग्लैण्ड के लिए या जापान के लिए अच्छी हो, हो सकती है, लेकिन जो सवाल हमारे सामने भारत में हैं, इत्ती जनता, इत्ती ज़मीन और पूरी तौर से हमारे यहाँ राजनीतिक स्वतन्त्रता, जनतन्त्र, जिसके माने हैं सब लोग जागृत हो गये हैं। शक्ति उनकी नहीं बढ़ी, लेकिन माँगें उनकी बढ़ गयीं, हरेक माँगता है, चाहे मज़दूरी, चाहे डिविडेन्ड्स, चाहे तनख्वाह, हरेक माँगता है अधिक-से-अधिक हो। तो वो आये कहाँ से? जनता पैदा करेगी तभी तो आयेगा। कहीं बाहर से, आसमान से तो नहीं टपकता है? जो देश, अपने परिश्रम से जनता पैदा करती है, उता ही खर्चने को है, उतना ही प्रॉफ़िट में जा सकता है, सेलरीज़ में, वेजेज़, और कोई है ही नहीं। अब हमारे देश में ये जागृति हो गयी हरेक माँगने की, और जो माँगते हैं, ठीक है, लेकिन ठीक नहीं भी है जब देने को नहीं है।



जर्मनी की मिसाल मिलती है कि जर्मनी ने अभी लड़ाई के बाद कैसे अपने को बना लिया। आपको मालूम है किस तरह से बनाया है? खैर, एक तो जर्मन लोग बहुत सीखे हुए आदमी, आज नहीं सौ-डेढ़ सौ बरस से, बहुत। लेकिन उन्होंने दिन और रात काम किया, मेहनत किया। उन्होंने कोई न ज्यादा मजदूरी माँगी, न प्रॉफ़िट्स माँगे किसी ने भी, काम-काम-काम करके उन्होंने अपने पुराने कारखानों को फिर खड़ा कर दिया लड़ाई के बाद, फिर दौलतमन्द हो गये। तो परिश्रम से ये होता है और इसको छोड़ देना जिसको कहते हैं अंग्रेजी में या फ्रेंच में लैसे-फ्रेयर छोड़ देना, हरेक जो चाहे वो करे, वो आर्थिक, वो आर्थिक नीति आजकल के ज़माने में किसी देश में नहीं चलती। किसी क्रदर अगर चलती है तो अमेरिका वगैरह में जो कि, जिन्होंने एक माने में जो पार पहुँच गये हैं, इन सब सवालियों के। हमारे देश में तो चल ही नहीं सकती, मैं बहुत दावे से कहता हूँ, स्वतन्त्र पार्टी से या किसी पार्टी से। अगर वो चीज़ यहाँ चलायी जाये तो देश की तबाही है और हरेक की तबाही है। हम कभी आपके यहाँ सवालों को हल नहीं कर सकते और मैं हैरान होता हूँ कि ऐसी बातें जो कि कोई भी आजकल का वैज्ञानिक नहीं मंज़ूर करता, लोग पेश करते हैं।

तो, हमने, हम ये पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाते हैं। कौन बनाते हैं उसे? कैसे बनती है? अभी-अभी तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना को अभी करीब-करीब दो वर्ष और हैं, और एक, एक-डेढ़ वर्ष से इसका चर्चा हो रहा है। मैंने आपसे कहा कांग्रेस में किते इसमें विचार हैं, हमारे पास किते लोगों से हम सलाह लेते हैं, हम चाहते हैं कि ग्राम पंचायतें सलाह दें, हम चाहते हैं यूनिवर्सिटी से प्राफ़ेसर्स, प्लैनिंग रखें, बनायें, बनाते हैं। हमारे पास साइण्टिस्ट्स प्लानर हैं, इंजीनियरिंग प्लानर हैं, एजुकेशनिस्ट प्लानर हैं, हज़ार लेबर प्लानर और हर देश के हमारे प्लानर्स से, वैज्ञानिक लोगों से हमने सलाह ली। हमारे पास लोग आते हैं, हमारे प्लैनिंग कमीशन में, अमेरिका से, जर्मनी से, आयरलैण्ड से, फ्रांस से, इंग्लैण्ड से, रूस से, चीन से, जापान से, यूगोस्लाविया से, इन सब देशों से आये लोग, आते हैं, सलाह देते हैं। लेकिन उस सब सलाह का नतीजा क्या हुआ? ये हुआ, हम उनसे बहुत सीख सकते हैं, लेकिन सबमें बड़ा सबक जो हमने सीखा, और उन्होंने कहा वो ये कि तुम्हारे देश की हालत और तुम्हारे देश के सवाल अमेरिका और जर्मनी और इंग्लैण्ड और रूस के नहीं, वो तुम्हारे देश के सवाल हैं, इसलिए तुमको अपना रास्ता ढूँढ़ना पड़ेगा, अपनी आर्थिक इकोनॉमिक नीति, इकोनॉमिक नीति, तुम्हें खुद चलानी है। क्योंकि एक अमीर देश की इकोनॉमिक नीति एक होती है, गरीब देश की दूसरी होती है। एक इण्डसट्रियाइज़्ड समाज की नीति एक है, एक ऐग्रिकल्चरल समाज की दूसरी है।

हमारे सामने सवाल, लीजिए ये कि रोज़गार का है, अनयेम्प्लॉयमेंट का है, बड़ा भारी सवाल है, उस पर हम विचार करें और उसको हम कैसे करें? यानी उसको वो बुनियादी तौर से विचार करना है न कि जैसे मौक़े मिलें आइन्दा? क्यों, क्यों इस वक़्त इंग्लैण्ड में अनयेम्प्लॉयमेंट नहीं है, क्यों रूस में नहीं है? मैं हमेशा आपको दो मिसालें देता हूँ, एक पूँजीवादी मुल्क की, एक साम्यवादी की, क्योंकि दोनों के पीछे साइण्टिफ़िक तरीक़ा है आजकल

की टेक्निकल बातों से लाभ उठाने का। महज़ ये नहीं है कि जो चाहे जी कर ले और विज्ञान को हम भूल जायें। आजकल की दुनिया वैज्ञानिक है और अगर आप उसको नहीं समझते और हमारे यहाँ अगर आम लोग, आम जनता विज्ञान को नहीं समझती तो हम पिछड़ जायेंगे, खाली चन्द प्रोफेसर्स की बात नहीं है, खाली थोड़े-से विद्यार्थियों की बात नहीं है, हमें लाखों... इस तीसरी योजना के लिए, तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिए हमें तीन लाख इंजीनियर्स चाहिए। हमें मालूम नहीं कितने साइण्टिस्ट चाहिए। इस समय हमारे पास... हमने बहुत कोशिश की है कि हमारे पास एक लाख इंजीनियर्स हो गये हैं और आप याद रखें, और और कहीं [...] बेरोज़गारी हो, अनयेम्प्लायमेंट हो, इंजीनियर्स में नहीं होगी, क्योंकि उनकी आजकल की दुनिया में आवश्यकता है। साइण्टिस्ट्स हमारे बढ़ते जा रहे हैं तेज़ी से। बहुत अच्छे नौजवान हैं, इंजीनियर्स भी, साइण्टिस्ट्स भी आपके यहाँ बम्बई में। हमारे ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी की जगह है, उसमें अब भी कोई एक, मुझे याद नहीं, कोई हजार-डेढ़ हजार अच्छे साइण्टिस्ट्स हमारे काम करते हैं और बढ़ते जाते हैं। लोग कहते होंगे, क्या फ़िज़ूल इत्ते लोगों को जमा कर लिया, शान दिखाते हो कि हम भी ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी करते हैं। ये फ़िज़ूल बात है। हम कोई शान किसी को दिखाते नहीं हैं। हम ग़रीब मुल्क किस को शान दिखायें, लेकिन हम जड़ डाल रहे हैं अपने मुल्क में उस नयी दुनिया की जो विज्ञान से चलती है, जो ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी से चलती है, नहीं तो हम फिर पिछड़ जायेंगे और हमने अच्छी जड़ डाली है और इस वक़्त ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी के मामले में, अलावा चार-पाँच देशों के, पाँच या छे समझ लीजिए, दुनिया में जो आगे हैं... सब में आगे तो ख़ैर, अमेरिका और रूस है, उसके बाद अंग्रेज़ हैं, फिर फ़्रांस है और कैंनेडा और इटली, दो-एक और हों... उसके बाद फिर भी गिनती आजकल भारत की हो गयी है। तो ये एक बुनियाद डालनी है आइन्दा की तरक्की की। वो बड़े-बड़े मकान वहाँ बनाना नहीं, लेकिन वो जो हज़ारों हमारे नौजवान लड़के और लड़कियाँ इस वक़्त साइन्स सीख रहे हैं, इस वक़्त टेक्नॉलोजी सीख रहे हैं, वो जड़ हैं और जिते अधिक वो सीखेंगे उते ही हम तरक्की करेंगे, क्योंकि आख़िर में सीखे हुए आदमी से तरक्की होती है, मशीन से नहीं, ना उससे कि आप जर्मनी से किसी को किराये पर ले आयें किसी इंजीनियर को काम करने के लिए। थोड़े दिन के लिए काम चल जायेगा, हमेशा नहीं। तो इस ढंग से आप इस प्रश्न को देखें और इस ढंग से अगर आप देखें तो जो ढंग स्वतन्त्र पार्टी कहती है, वो एक अजीब एक, एक-एक पुराना नक्शा होता है जिसका आजकल की दुनिया से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं रहा, आजकल के भारत से विशेषकर। अजीब एक, एक तमाशा-सा हो जाता है कि आप जा कर थियेटर में पुराने ज़माने का तमाशा देख लीजिए। आजकल के ज़माने से उसका कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है, और मैं तो हैरान होता हूँ, पढ़े-लिखे आदमी आजकल के, कुछ [...] इन बहकी हुई बातों में पुराने ज़माने की पड़ जायें, मेरी बात समझ में नहीं आती। लेकिन हाँ, मैं नहीं चाहता कि आप मेरी बात को मान लें बग़ैर समझे।

मैं चाहता हूँ आप आजकल की दुनिया को देखें, समझें पूरी तौर से और इन बड़े सवालों को जो हमारे सामने हैं कि एक तरफ़ से चालीस करोड़ आबादी हो गयी और हर साल मालूम नहीं पचास-साठ लाख बढ़ जाती है। सोचो तो आप, ये ताली की बात नहीं है कि पचास-साठ



लाख बढ़ जाना आबादी, ज़रा फ़िक्र की बात है और [...] इसीलिए हम इस बात पर ज़ोर दे रहे हैं, फ़ैमिली प्लैनिंग पर, यानी रोक-थाम कर बच्चे हों। हों, ज़रूर हों, लेकिन रोक-थाम के हों और क्योंकि आप खुद सोच लें आपके परिवार में कोई आदमी बड़ा अमीर हो तो उसकी तो फ़िक्र नहीं, जो अमीर नहीं है और उसके बहुत सारे बच्चे हों, न वो उनको ठीक तौर से पढ़ा सकता है, न उनका पालन-पोषण कर सकता है, न बच्चों की देख-भाल ठीक होती है। वो ठीक नहीं है। अगर, अगर ठीक हो, गिनती के हों तो आप उन्हें सँभाल कर रख सकते हैं, वो भी अच्छे होते हैं, तगड़े हों। तो फ़ैमिली प्लैनिंग की भी बड़ी आवश्यक बात है।

लेकिन ख़ैर, वो तो होना चाहिए, लेकिन असल चीज़ ये है कि हम अपनी देश का धन-दौलत बढ़ायें। धन-दौलत के माने सोना-चाँदी नहीं है। धन-दौलत के माने सामान जो आप पैदा करते हैं। अन्न आप पैदा करें, ग़ल्ला आप पैदा करें देश में, वो धन है। आप कारख़ाने से कपड़ा बनायें या चर्खे से कपड़ा बनायें, वो धन है देश का। आप कारख़ाने से कोई चीज़ बनायें, जो नयी चीज़ बनती है वो धन है देश का। रुपया, पैसा, सोना, चाँदी — ये तो व्यापार की चीज़ें हैं, हेरा-फेरी की। असल चीज़ [नहीं]। अमेरिका धनी देश है, क्यों? इसलिए नहीं कि उसके पास सोना-चाँदी बहुत जमा है, है जमा उसके पास, लेकिन बहुत नहीं, बल्कि इसलिए कि हर साल जो वो पैदा करता है, अपनी ज़मीन से और कारख़ानों से, वो इतना माल है कि हरेक के लिए काफ़ी है और, और दुनिया को फेंकता है चारों तरफ़। तो इसीलिए हमें अपनी, अपनी पैदावार बढ़ानी है, प्रोडक्शन, आवश्यक चीज़ों की, आवश्यक चीज़ों का हो जाये, तो और चीज़ों का भी बढ़े। पहले आवश्यक चीज़ों का बढ़े। आवश्यक चीज़ें क्या हैं? आप सब जानते हैं, पर सब में पहले खाने का सवाल है, ग़ल्ला; दूसरा है कपड़ा, वस्त्र पहनने को हो; तीसरा है घर रहने को हो; चौथा पढ़ाई हो; पाँचवाँ स्वास्थ्य हो; छठा काम हो, हरेक, हरेक तगड़े आदमी और औरत के लिए काम करने को हो, बेकार कोई न हो। ये चीज़ें हरेक को मिलनी चाहिएँ।

पढ़ाई बड़ी आवश्यक है, और पढ़ाई ही से ये सब बातें हो सकती हैं जो मैंने आपसे कहा। मैंने जो आपसे कहा कि एक वैज्ञानिक दुनिया हो हमारी, क्या माने उसके? कहाँ से आये? पढ़ाई से। और पढ़ाई, एक तो हरेक बच्चे को पढ़ने का मौक़ा मिले अच्छी तरह से, आठ-दस बरस उसकी पढ़ाई हो, उसके बाद फिर चुने हुए लोग और आगे बढ़ें। हायर कोर्सेस हों, टेक्निकल कोर्सेस हों, कॉलेजेज़ हों, यूनिवर्सिटीज़ हों, वो भी लाखों और करोड़ों की तादाद में हों, क्योंकि काफ़ी तादाद में हमारे ऊँचे दर्जे के साइण्टिस्ट, इंजीनियर और ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटर और हर काम करने वाले हों। एक मुल्क की आप शक्ति देखा चाहते हैं तो मुल्क की गिनती से नहीं होती है, आप समझ लें। हम चालीस करोड़ आदमी, कोई हमारी ताक़त नहीं है। मुल्क की शक्ति होती है कि उसमें कितने लोग ऊँचे दर्जे के हैं, ऊँचे दर्जे के सीखे हुए, ऊँचे दर्जे के काम करना जिनको आता है। अगर मैं नहीं जानता, फ़र्ज़ कीजिए कि हिन्दुस्तान में, कोई बड़ी आपत्ति आये और हमारे देश के ऊँचे दर्जे के लोग दस हज़ार आदमी मर जायें, ख़त्म हो जायें, उनका अन्त हो जाये एकदम से, क्या हाल देश का हो? आपको बहुत फ़र्क़ नहीं पड़े, लेकिन



आपका देश गिर जाये, अगर दस हजार ऊँचे दर्जे के आदमी, और ऊँचे दर्जे के मैं सभी को गिनता हूँ, हर क्रिस्म के, हर पेशे के आदमी जो ऊँचे दर्जे के हैं, तेज़ दिमाग के हैं, चाहे वो साइण्टिस्ट हों, चाहे ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटर हों, चाहे पॉलिटिशियन हों, चाहे वो इंजीनियर हों, चाहे जो कुछ हों, चाहे कारखाना चलायें। अगर दस हजार आदमी आपके ऊँचे दर्जे के मुल्क से एकदम से गायब हो जायें तो आपके मुल्क का दर्जा गिर जाये, हालाँकि गिनती में आप कम नहीं हों। तो एक-एक मुल्क की क्वालिटी वो गिनी जाती है, उसके किते सीखे हुए लोग हैं। इसीलिए एजुकेशन बहुत ही ज़रूरी है, क्योंकि वो ऊँचा करती है क्वालिटी के लोगों को, और ख़ाली ऐसी नहीं कि आम लोगों को ऊँचा करती है, लेकिन ख़ास-ख़ास लोगों को बहुत ऊँचा कर देती है। अगर अमेरिका या इंग्लैण्ड या रूस इस वक़्त ऊँचे देश हैं, [तो] इसलिए कि काफ़ी वहाँ ऊँचे सीखे हुए हैं। तो एजुकेशन और ये तालीम बहुत ही आवश्यक है, और इस सिलसिले में, मैं आपसे कहूँ कि हमने हमेशा इस बात को सामने रखा है कि ये बच्चों को, बच्चों की तालीम में आती ही है, लेकिन ख़ाली स्कूल भेज देना काफ़ी नहीं है, चाइल्ड वेलफ़ेयर। क्योंकि आजकल के बच्चे कल का भारत होंगे आपके, अगर वो ठीक-ठीक उन्हें मौक़ा न मिले, तब वो, वो कल का भारत ठीक नहीं होगा और बच्चे के मामले में क्या और बड़े के मामले में क्या? ख़ाली खाना-पीना मिलना काफ़ी नहीं है। मैं काफ़ी देखता हूँ, हमारे मित्रों के बच्चे और ख़ासकर अमीर आदमियों के बच्चे, ग़रीबों के कम होता है ये, कि कैसे वो निकम्मे हो जाते हैं? खाना-पीना काफ़ी मिलता है उन्हें, लेकिन उनकी अच्छी ट्रेनिंग अपने घर में नहीं मिलती, निकम्मे बच्चे हो जाते हैं और अपने माँ-बाप को भी परेशान करें औरों को भी। ये बच्चों का कसूर नहीं है, ये माँ-बाप का कसूर है, अगर निकम्मे हो जायें, कि उनकी ठीक तौर से ट्रेनिंग न दें। तो चाइल्ड वेलफ़ेयर — ये एक बुनियादी चीज़ है और मुल्क को अपने सामने रखना चाहिए ये, बच्चों की देख-भाल। आज कल तो आप जानते हैं, बम्बई शहर में तो देख-भाल कुछ हो, स्कूल हों, देहातों में नहीं हैं, लेकिन हमने ये पक्का इरादा किया है कि इस तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्त तक, सारे लड़के-लड़कियाँ सात वर्ष की, छह वर्ष की उम्र से ले कर ग्यारह तक, सब स्कूल जायें। हम चाहते हैं चौदह-पन्द्रह तक जायें, लेकिन पहला क़दम ये है, फिर उसके बाद में बढ़ाते जायेंगे। ग्यारह-बारह-तेरह-चौदह-पन्द्रह करेंगे। ये भी आप समझते हैं इसके माने क्या हैं? मैं आज एक और जगह कह रहा था, अगर हमारे सारे बच्चे इस समय पन्द्रह वर्ष की उम्र तक, छै से पन्द्रह वर्ष की उम्र तक स्कूल जायें और उसके बाद उनमें से बहुत अधिक जायें और सेकेंड्री स्कूल और कॉलेज जायें, और यूनिवर्सिटी बहुत कुछ लोग जायें, सब नहीं, चुने हुए लोग और टेक्निकल इंस्टीट्यूट्स वगैरह, तो आप क्या समझते हैं किते लोग उनकी पढ़ाई को चाहिएँ और किते पढ़ने वाले होंगे? अगर आज कल की भारत की आबादी चालीस करोड़ गिनी जाये, “फ़ोर हण्ड्रेड मिलियन्स,” और अगर ये सब लोग पढ़ने और पढ़ाने वाले हो जायें। आप सोचें हण्ड्रेड मिलियन्स बड़ा भारी नम्बर है और इसका बोझा मुल्क को उठाना पड़ता है, उठाना पड़ेगा। ये सब बड़े बोझे हैं, कैसे उठ सकते हैं? ये जभी उठ सकते हैं, जबकि आपके देश में काफ़ी धन पैदा हो, वेल्थ पैदा हो, सामान पैदा हो, कारखाने



से, ज़मीन से, वही असल है। तब ये सब देश इन कामों को उठा सकता है, नहीं तो नहीं उठा सकता, खाली प्रस्ताव से तो नहीं, कुछ तनाख्वाहें बढ़ा देने से तो नहीं, उससे तो और कमी हो जाती है। एक देश बढ़ता है, कहा जाता है, सेविंग से और इनवेस्टमेंट से। जित्ता पैसा आप बचायें अपने खर्च से और उसको लगायें देश की तरक्की में, उता ही देश बढ़ेगा, क्योंकि जितना आप कमाते हैं, सारा देश कमाता है। अलग-अलग अगर उता हो वो खर्च, बिलकुल उता ही, कुछ बचे नहीं, तो कुछ तरक्की के लिए [...] नहीं बचता तो वो सब खर्च हो गया और अगर खर्च ज्यादा [हों] कमाई से, ज्यादा खर्च, तो दीवाले निकल जायेंगे उसके। तो अगर आप उन्नति चाहते हैं तो ये आवश्यक हो जाता है कि जितना देश कमाये, उससे कम खर्च। बच रहे उन्नति के लिए। वो सेविंग है और सेविंग की इनवेस्टमेंट हो। कैसे इन्वेस्टमेंट हो? पचास ज़रिये हैं। ये भी इन्वेस्टमेंट है। इन्वेस्टमेंट खाली कारखाने में नहीं है, इन्वेस्टमेंट है आदमियों में, इन्वेस्टमेंट है स्कूल में, एजुकेशन में, बड़ी भारी, बड़ी अच्छी इन्वेस्टमेंट है। पढ़ाने में इन्वेस्ट करना बड़ा अच्छा है। क्योंकि उससे लोग पैदा होते हैं अच्छे होते हैं। इन्वेस्टमेंट है स्वास्थ्य में, हेल्थ में। वो भी अच्छी इन्वेस्टमेंट है, लोग तगड़े होते हैं। तो सेविंग को बचाने की आवश्यकता हो जाती है और इन्वेस्टमेंट को। और अगर आप देखना चाहें कि एक देश कितनी तरक्की कर रहा है, तो देखना होता है कि कित्ता वो बचाता है, कितना इन्वेस्ट करता है। ये इससे मालूम हो जायेगा आपको, कितनी तरक्की करता है, कित्ता उसका कैपिटल फ़ॉरमेशन है? कित्ता पूँजी उस देश की बढ़ती है, उससे आप अन्दाज़ा कर सकते हैं। अच्छा, ज्यों-ज्यों ज्यादा कमाता है, वो उतना ही ज्यादा उसको बचता है, उता ही ज्यादा इन्वेस्ट करता है, उता ही कैपिटल फ़ॉरमेशन होती है।

जो लोग आगे हो गये हैं, फ़र्ज़ करो अमेरिका है, या फ़र्ज़ करो रूस है, दोनों देशों को आप ले लो। वो इत्ती तेज़ी से उसके कारखाने और ज़मीन में काम चलता है, इतना वो कमाते हैं कि उनके पास बहुत बच रहता है। तो उनका कैपिटल फ़ॉरमेशन बढ़ता जाता है, उनका रेट ऑफ़ सेविंग बढ़ा हुआ है और इसलिए बड़े ज़ोर से बढ़ते हैं, चाहे वो ग़लती करें, चाहे वो वेस्ट करें, ज़ाया करें, जैसे अमेरिका में कित्ता ज़ाया होता है, फिर भी उनके पास दौलत फटी पड़ती है, इतना कमाते हैं। तो ये उसी देश में हो सकता है जिसकी ये इण्डस्ट्रियल मशीन ज़ोरों से चल रही है और बढ़ती जाती है। तब गाड़ी चलने लगती है। जिस देश, जो देश, ग़रीब देश, जो ग़रीब गिने जाते हैं, ज़ाहिर है ग़रीबी के माने हैं कुछ बचता नहीं, तो वो ग़रीबी के दलदल में फँस जाते हैं। क्योंकि जब बचता नहीं है वो बढ़े कैसे? बजाय बढ़ने के और वो घटते जाते हैं, पिछड़ते जाते हैं। ये चाहे आप एक ग़रीब परिवार को ले लें, तब भी वही बेचारे का हाल है कि उसकी अपनी ग़रीबी से निकलने में बड़ी कठिनाई है। जो अमीर है, वो और अमीर हो, दुगना अमीर हो जाता है बैठे-बैठे, चाहे काम करे चाहे न करे। वैसे ही जो अमीर देश हैं वो अधिक अमीर होते जाते हैं, जो ग़रीब देश हैं तो फँसे रहते हैं। तो कैसे इस दलदल से निकलें ग़रीबी के, ये बड़ा प्रश्न है। ये बड़ा प्रश्न है, हमारे जैसे देशों के लिए जैसे भारत है या और ऐसे देश हैं आस-पास, सब ऐसे ही हैं। पाकिस्तान है, बर्मा है, इण्डोनेशिया है, सारे एशिया के

देश ऐसे ही हैं सिवा जापान के, जो आगे बढ़ गया है। तो ये सवाल हमारे हैं। ये प्रश्न यूरोप का नहीं रहा, क्योंकि यूरोप [के देश] इस गरीबी के दलदल से निकल गये। वो आज नहीं निकले, हल्के-हल्के निकले, सौ वर्ष में निकले। तो सवाल हमारे सामने अब ये है कि कैसे इससे निकलें, इसको अर्थशास्त्र में कहते हैं [...] “टेक ऑफ़ करना,” एक कूदना, एक छलाँग मारना; समझो गरीबी की दिशा से, ऐसी जगह जहाँ कुछ हाथ-पैर मज़बूत हो गये और हम आगे तेज़ी से बढ़ सकते हैं। “टेक ऑफ़” या कहिए छलाँग मारना। अब वो एक समय तो नहीं होता है, लेकिन हल्के-हल्के वो आता है तो हमारी ओर जब तक आप उसकी नहीं करते, जब तक आप टेक ऑफ़ नहीं करते, उस समय तक जितनी आपकी कोशिश हो बढ़ने की, उते ही आपकी गरीबी देश को खींचती है, बेरोज़गारी, गरीबी खींचती है, यानी आप एक दलदल में, एक स्वॉम्प में फँसे हैं। उस स्वॉम्प से, जब तक आप मज़बूत ज़मीन पर नहीं आ जायें, उस वक़्त तक जो आप कोशिश करते हैं उससे बहुत अधिक फ़ायदा नहीं होता, कुछ लाभ होता है, कुछ फिर आप खिंच जाते हैं। तो कैसे हम उस स्वॉम्प से, उस दलदल से निकल के पक्की ज़मीन पर आयें। “टेक ऑफ़” कैसे हम कर लें पक्की ज़मीन पर कूद के। ये सवाल ख़ुन, देशों के सामने होता है ‘अण्डरडेवलप्ड’ जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा। ये सवाल उनके सामने नहीं है, इंग्लैण्ड के सामने, या रूस के सामने, या अमेरिका के सामने। उनके सवाल दूसरे हैं। तो अगर हम उनकी नक़ल करें या उनके अर्थशास्त्र की नक़ल करें, आर्थिक नीति की तो हमारे सवाल के जवाब उसमें नहीं हैं, सवाल दूसरा है। हाँ, हमारे सवाल के जवाब और ‘अण्डरडेवलप्ड’ देश दे सकते हैं या हम उनको दे सकते हैं। कैसे करें, ये सवाल है? अब ये कोई जादू से तो होता नहीं, ये भी हल्के-हल्के होता है, हल्के, कित्ते ही तेज़ी से करो, समय लगता है और आखिर में उसके करने के लिए धन की ज़रूरत है, सेविंग की ज़रूरत है, कैपिटल फ़ॉरमेशन की ज़रूरत है, लेकिन सब में अधिक सीखे हुए लोगों की ज़रूरत है। सीखे हुए लोग, जो बड़े काम कर सकें, जो साइन्स के हों, इण्डस्ट्री के हों, इंजीनियर्स हों, वगैरह-वगैरह। ऐसे सीखे हुए लोग हों, काफ़ी तादाद में लाखों-करोड़ों की तादाद में, उस बोझ को उठा सकें, नहीं तो नहीं उठ सकता। अब अगर आप एशिया के देशों को देखे और अफ़्रीका के और कुछ यूरोप के भी बाज़ देशों को देखें, साउथ अमेरिका के भी, तो उनमें एक बात पायेंगे कि...चीन देश को इस वक़्त अलग कर दीजिए, क्योंकि उसमें बड़े ज़ोरों से काम हो रहा है, उनका तरीक़ा दूसरा है, मैं उसका, मैं उसके निस्वत कुछ इस समय नहीं कहा चाहता और ठीक-ठीक मालूम भी नहीं क्या हो रहा है, उसको छोड़ दें और जापान को आप छोड़ दें, क्योंकि जापान में उन्होंने बड़ी कोशिश करके पचास वर्ष हुए तरक्की कर गये और देशों को आप देखें तो उनमें आप पायेंगे कि...हिन्दुस्तान ने सब में ज़्यादा तरक्की की है, अपने को इस दलदल से स्वॉम्प से निकालने की और छलाँग मार कर पक्की ज़मीन पर खड़े हो जाने की यानी ये “टेक ऑफ़” करने की, अभी टेक ऑफ़ हमने नहीं किया, हल्के-हल्के करेंगे, कर रहे हैं, लेकिन एक उसकी हमने काफ़ी तैयारी कर ली है, बुनियादी तैयारी। बुनियादी तैयारी क्या होती है? मैंने आपसे कहा, सीखे हुए आदमी काफ़ी हों, ये ठीक है। सीखे हुए आदमी हमारे यहाँ बढ़ते जाते हैं — इंजीनियर और साइण्टिस्ट्स और



कारखाना चलाने वाले और बहुत अच्छे हमारे सीखे हुए कारखाने में काम करने वाले लोग। ये सब सीखे हुए हैं, बहुत अच्छे हैं, और दुनिया वाले जानते हैं जिन्होंने देखा है। ये बढ़ते जा रहे हैं और हालाँकि हमारी चालीस करोड़ आबादी में वो कम हैं, लेकिन फिर भी काफी तादाद में हो गये हैं हमको हिलाने के लिए वो।

दूसरे ये कि हमने एक बुनियाद डाली है 'बेसिक इण्डस्ट्री' की। एक बुनियादी कारोबार, उद्योग-धन्धे। 'बेसिक इण्डस्ट्री' क्या चीज़ है? 'बेसिक इण्डस्ट्री' को मैं नहीं कहूँगा कि आपके यहाँ बम्बई में बहुत सारे कपड़े के मिल हैं, अच्छे हैं मिल, चलें वो भी आवश्यक हैं, मैं उनको बुरा नहीं कहता, लेकिन 'बेसिक इण्डस्ट्री' है जिससे और इण्डस्ट्री बनती हैं। बेसिक इण्डस्ट्री में आयेगा लोहा, लोहे को पैदा करना, शक्ति को पैदा करना, पावर को पैदा करना, जिससे मशीन चलती है, जैसे बिजली की शक्ति है या कोयले की शक्ति है, इसको पैदा करना, तीसरे जहाँ बड़े-बड़े मशीन बनते हैं, मशीन बिल्डिंग इण्डस्ट्री, बड़ी मशीन। यानी अगर हम चाहें लोहे का कारखाना खोलना नया, बड़े लोहे के बनाने का, तो हमें जर्मनी और रूस से नहीं मँगानी पड़े मशीन, हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में बने। तो अब हमने भारत में इन पिछले चन्द बरसों में ये बुनियाद मज़बूत डाली है। हमारे यहाँ आप जानते हैं चार लोहे के नये कारखाने बने हैं और हम चाहते हैं दो और नये बनेंगे, तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में। तो कुछ मज़बूती से हम इसमें...पहले हमारे यहाँ एक कारखाना था। वो जमशेदपुर में। एक और भी थे आस-पास और वो शख्स एक बहुत दूरन्देश था, दूर तक देखता था, जिसने वो जमशेदपुर का कारखाना आज से पचास वर्ष हुए चलाया। जमशेदजी टाटा ने, दूर उसने देखा था, उसने चलाया था, उससे बहुत मदद मिली। अगर वैसे दो कारखाने हमारे पास और होते, इन पिछले दस वर्ष में तो हमारी तरक्की तेज़ी से हो गयी होती। खैर, वो नहीं हुए। अब तो हम तीन-चार नये बना रहे हैं। हम तीन-चार नये बना रहे हैं और उसको बढ़ाते जायेंगे। वो किया। इधर हम ये जो बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ हमारी हैं, पावर पैदा करने की, हाईड्रो-इलेक्ट्रिक पावर, थर्मल पावर, किसी तरह से पावर और इसी सिलसिले में आप याद रखिए हम यहाँ ट्रॉम्बे, ट्रॉम्बे में ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी का बनाने का प्रबन्ध कर रहे हैं। हम कोई ऐटम-बॉम्ब्स तो बनायेंगे नहीं। लेकिन हम अभी से इसकी तैयारी करते हैं, पावर बनाने की, ताकि एक दफ़े सिलसिला वो जम जाये तो हम देश भर में ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी के पावर स्टेशन लगा सकें। आज नहीं दस वर्ष बाद। मुझे आशा है, हमें आशा है कि आज से पाँच वर्ष बाद पहला ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी का पावर स्टेशन होगा, मैं आपसे कहता हूँ। लोग कहते हैं कि तुम महज़ शान के लिए करते हो। इसमें शान कोई नहीं है, हमारे लिए आवश्यक है, कल के भारत के लिए, कोई चीज़ हम अभी करें। हमने 500 करोड़ रुपये अपने लोहे के कारखानों के बनाने में खर्च हैं और इन दो-तीन-चार बरस में...500 करोड़ कोई छोटी रक़म नहीं है, बड़ी भारी रक़म है और उससे हमें कोई लाभ अभी तक नहीं हुआ, लेकिन अब लाभ होना शुरू होगा।

तो मैंने आपसे कहा कि हमारे देश में एक बड़ी बुनियाद डाली है इन बातों ने। एक तो हमने साइण्टिस्ट्स, इंजीनियर्स इत्यादि काफ़ी बनाये हैं; दूसरे, बुनियादी कामों में, यानी लोहा

है और केमिकल इण्डस्ट्री है, मशीन बिल्डिंग इण्डस्ट्री है, पावर है, इनमें हमने काफ़ी जड़ डाली है। अब आइन्दा के क़दम जो हम उठावें, वो ज़रा ज़्यादा आसान हो जाते हैं और हम तेज़ी से बढ़ सकते हैं। इसलिए मैंने आपसे कहा कि हम और एशिया के मुल्कों के मुक़ाबले में चीन और जापान को छोड़ कर और अफ़्रीका के भी कुछ साउथ अमेरिका के मुल्कों के मुक़ाबले में, हम ज़्यादा करीब हैं उस जगह के, उस टेक ऑफ़ पीरियड के जिसमें हम ग़रीबी के दलदल से मज़बूत ज़मीन पे निकल आयें और फिर तेज़ी से हमारी गाड़ी चले, छल्लांग हम मारें। तो ये कैसे हुआ? इसी तरह से हुआ ना कि पिछले इस दस-बारह वर्ष में इसकी कोशिश हुई ज़ोरों से जो आपके साइन्स के लेबोरेटरी सारे में खुले हैं, इंजीनियरिंग इंस्टीट्यूट खुलते जाते हैं, पढ़ाई की तरक्क़ी हुई है। हमारी बड़े-बड़े योजनाएँ हैं, भाखरा, दामोदर, वग़ैरह, वग़ैरह, बिजली की पावर निकालने की, लोहे के कारख़ाने, ये सब बुनियाद पड़ी। अब इसका फल एकदम से आपको नहीं दिखता, लेकिन इसका फल ये है कि बुनियाद पड़ गयी है और इसके ऊपर आप इस इमारत को खड़ा कर सकते हैं। तो एक माने में हम और बहुत सारे देशों से ज़्यादा अच्छी हालत में हैं, क्योंकि हमने बुनियाद डाल दी और आखिर में मैं समझता हूँ कि बुनियाद में एक बड़ी भारी बात ये है कि जो मैंने आपसे शुरू में कही, जो राजस्थान में हुई कि हम वहाँ के देहात की पंचायतों के हाथ में अधिकार देते हैं, क्योंकि उससे एक नयी जान आयेगी यहाँ के ग्रामों में और लोग उस जान को ले कर बढ़ेंगे और उन्हीं गाँवों से हमारे नये साइण्टिस्ट, इंजीनियर और क्या-क्या निकलेंगे। तो आखिर में हमारा असली सवाल तो यही है, देश की तरक्क़ी का, उन्नति का और सब सवाल पिछड़े हैं, क्योंकि जितनी हमारी उन्नति होगी, जितने हम मज़बूत होंगे, हम बढ़ेंगे, उन्ते ही हमारा देश खुशहाल होगा, वेलफ़ेयर स्टेट होगा उन्ते ही हमारी हर तरह से शक्ति बढ़ेगी, और उन्ते ही हम अपनी आज़ादी को बचा सकेंगे, ख़ाली गुल-शोर मचा के नहीं, ख़ाली फ़ौज को बढ़ा के भी नहीं। फ़ौज के पीछे जब इण्डस्ट्रीज़ होती हैं तो फ़ौज की ताक़त है। आजकल वही देश ताक़तवर है जो कि इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़्ड देश है। और देश ताक़तवर नहीं हैं। कोई अमेरिका से बन्दूक ले के, हवाई जहाज़ ले के हमारी ताक़त नहीं बन जाती। अगर हम हवाई जहाज़ बनायें तो ताक़त है, हम हथियार बनायें तो ताक़त है और अगर हमारे पीछे बड़ी इण्डस्ट्रीज़ हों तो वो ताक़त है असल में जो चीज़ें बना सकती है। तो ये सब बातें मिल जाती हैं। आप देखें ये हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना, फ़ाइव इयर प्लैन, वग़ैरह, तो इस पर हमें ध्यान देना है अव्वल, दूसरी-तीसरी ओर बहक नहीं जाना है और इसको आप कर नहीं सकते वग़ैर योजना बनाये, सोचे-समझे; हरेक को छोड़ दें, जिसको कहते हैं, जिसको कहते हैं लैसे फ़ेयर छोड़ दें तो आजकल के ज़माने में कोई मुल्क तेज़ी से तरक्क़ी नहीं कर सकता, न किसी एक में भी आजकल यहाँ तक कि अमेरिका तक में भी वो बात चलती है।

मैं अपने को समाजवादी कहता हूँ। मुझे सोशलिज़्म में विश्वास है। इसके माने ये नहीं कि मैं किसी और, किसी दूसरे सोशलिज़्म की नक़ल करना चाहता हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जो बुनियादी बातें हैं, समाजवाद में उनको स्वीकार करता हूँ कि सब लोगों को बराबर का मौक़ा मिले, सब लोग खुशहाल हों, सब लोगों को तरक्क़ी का मौक़ा मिले और उसी के साथ सब लोग



आज़ाद हों। व्यक्तिगत आज़ादी है, ये नहीं कि मैं एक तरक्की के नाम पर आज़ादी दबाऊँ। मैं इसको नहीं पसन्द करता। तो दोनों बातों की आवश्यकता है, लेकिन दोनों बातों को साथ रखने में, डर होता है कि एक बात कमज़ोर न हो जाये। बहुत ज़्यादा आज़ादी के माने अगर हों एक हरेक आदमी अपने रास्ते पर चले, तो फिर देश कमज़ोर हो जाता है। बहुत ज़्यादा आज़ादी के माने हों कि हुल्लड़बाज़ी हो हर वक़्त, कमज़ोर हो जाता है, ज़ाहिर है। आप देख लें क्या फ़र्क़ है एक फ़ौज में और एक भीड़ में। एक फ़ौज एक ताक़तवर चीज़ है, एक तरफ़ पैर मिला कर चलती है। भीड़ है, वो, हाँ नुक़सान कर सकती है, जला दे सकती है, तोड़ दे सकती है, लेकिन असली ताक़त थोड़ी है। पचास आदमी फ़ौज के आये, दस हज़ार आदमियों को हटा सकते हैं। तो शक्ति होती है डिसिप्लिन में, निज़ाम में।

अब डिसिप्लिन दो तरह का होता है। एक डिसिप्लिन तो होता है जो कि सरकारी डिसिप्लिन है फ़ौज का, ऊपर से रखा गया। अब ऐसा डिसिप्लिन सारी जनता पर, ऊपर से अच्छा नहीं होता और अगर रखो तो फिर आज़ादी निकल जाये। तो फिर कैसा डिसिप्लिन? क्योंकि बग़ैर डिसिप्लिन के आप चल नहीं सकते। फिर दूसरी तरह का डिसिप्लिन एक ही ढंग का है। उस डिसिप्लिन में अपने को डिसिप्लिन करना है। अपने को कोई व्यक्ति करे डिसिप्लिन, समाज अपने को डिसिप्लिन करे, किसी के हुकुम से नहीं, अपने से, अपने निश्चय से, वो आज़ाद लोगों का डिसिप्लिन होता है और वही क्रौमें चलती हैं। उस डिसिप्लिन को आप देख सकते हैं यूरोप के कामों में, क्योंकि डिसिप्लिन क्रौमें हैं, अंग्रेज़ हों, जर्मन हों, कोई हों, डिसिप्लिन क्रौमें हैं, हार में डिसिप्लिन है, जीत में डिसिप्लिन है, काम में डिसिप्लिन है और ताक़त में और कित्ती ग़लतियाँ करें वो, लेकिन एक सेल्फ़ डिसिप्लिन है, उनमें हैं। हममें कम है। हम समझते हैं कि आज़ादी की एक निशानी ये कि हम हुल्लड़बाज़ी करें। बड़े-बड़े डिमॉन्स्ट्रेशन हो, कभी-कभी जला दें, कभी-कभी तोड़ दें, अजीब तमाशा है, ये भी कोई डिसिप्लिन की कोई निशानी है। दुनिया में हम बदनाम होते हैं इससे और ये कोई न तो राजनीति है, न कोई नीति है, ये तो महज़ एक अनीति है, और इससे काफ़ी हमें नुक़सान होता है। तो इस बात को हमें समझना है और ख़ासकर ऐसे मौक़े पर जबकि हम एक, एक फ़ौज बन कर एक माने में, एक लड़ाई लड़ना चाहते हैं। अपने देश की ग़रीबी से, बेरोज़गारी से। तब ये बातें हों तो वो नहीं चलती। तो मैं किसी दल को, किसी दल की निन्दा नहीं किया चाहता इस समय, मेरा काम निन्दा करना नहीं है। लेकिन मैं आपको ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि कोई दल जो कि हर वक़्त शक्ति अपनी तोड़ने की तरफ़ लगाये, हुल्लड़बाज़ी की तरफ़ लगाये, वो मेरी राय में देश की सेवा नहीं करता है। वो ग़लत काम करता है। अगर, आखिर, हमसे कोई ग़लती हो, गवर्नमेंट से हो, ठीक है आपको अधिकार है, गवर्नमेंट को आप बदलें या और जो तरीक़े हैं, आप गवर्नमेंट का ध्यान दिलायें उस पर, ये तरीक़े हैं एक जनतन्त्र में, जनता के राज्य में। ये तरीक़े कि ज़बरदस्ती, हुल्लड़बाज़ी से, लड़ाई-झगड़े से किया जाये तो वो कमज़ोर देश हो जाता है और आजकल की दुनिया में कमज़ोर देश का कोई आदर नहीं करता है। याद रखना है आपको और उसी रास्ते पर हमें चलना है।

मैंने एक दिन आपको ये कहा था कि जो हमारी बहस चीन देश से हो गयी, ये सीमा के बारे में। अब ज़ाहिर है कि चीन से कोई ऐसी बहस होना, अनबन होना, ये अच्छी बात नहीं है, न हमारे लिए, न चीन देश के लिए। दो बड़े देश हैं। चीन देश की, आप मान भी लो कि चीन देश की शक्ति हमसे कुछ अधिक है, होगी उसकी, हमारी, हमारी फ़ौज से दस गुनी उसकी फ़ौज है, हमारी अगर तीन-चार लाख की है तो उसकी तीस-चालीस लाख की है और यकीनन उसके पास और भी कुछ सामान है, मैं नहीं जानता और तगड़े लोग हैं वो इसमें कुछ शक नहीं। लेकिन ये कोई फ़ौज की शक्ति का सवाल इत्ता नहीं है और हम...क्योंकि अगर दुर्भाग्य से हमारे [...] कुछ आपस में मुकाबले हों तो तबाही किसी क्रूर दोनों देशों की है और एशिया की, बड़ी बातें हैं और एक और पहलू, उससे मुझे दुख होता है कि मैं नहीं चाहता था कि चीन और भारत में एक अनबन का सिलसिला जारी रहे, भविष्य के लिए। क्योंकि इसके माने ये हैं कि भविष्य में हवा ख़राब हो हमारी और हमारी सरहद एक ढाई हजार मील की सीमा है और वो सीमा के साथ उधर भी तैयारी फ़ौज की, इधर भी तैयारी, चाहे लड़ाई न भी हो, ये बोझ है, और वो ख़राब हवा एशिया की हवा को ख़राब करें और कुछ दुनिया की करें। तो मुझे फ़िक्र इस समय की इत्ती नहीं है, इस समय की थोड़ी-बहुत हो, लेकिन मुझे आइन्दा की फ़िक्र, क्योंकि बुरी बात है और मैं नहीं चाहता यह। आखिर में, चीन और भारत का प्राचीन इतिहास दो हजार बरस का है, इससे पहले का भी हो, लेकिन दो हजार बरस का ही हमें मालूम है और इस दो हजार वर्ष में कभी चीन और भारत में लड़ाई नहीं हुई, हालाँकि सरहद, हालाँकि सरहद है, हालाँकि सारा ये जो साउथ ईस्ट एशिया है, इण्डोनेशिया और ये सब टापू हैं, जावा, सुमात्रा, इण्डोचाइना और ये मलाया और ये सिंगापुर वगैरह, इसका तो इतिहास शायद आप जानते हों। क्योंकि इसका इतिहास तो एक भारत के इतिहास का हिस्सा है, इन सब जगहों का, प्राचीन इतिहास। क्योंकि यहाँ 1500-1600-1800 वर्ष हुए भारत के लोग गये थे और भारत के लोग बड़ी फ़ौज ले के नहीं गये थे फ़तह करने, भारत के लोग गये थे, हिम्मत के लोग थे। पिछले ज़माने के भारतीय लोग नहीं थे हिम्मत वाले लोग थे, जाते थे, अपनी क्रिस्मत पर खेलते थे, समुन्दर पार करते थे, कोई डूब जाते थे, कोई उस पार पहुँचते थे, वहाँ बसते थे जा के। अपनी कलाओं को ले गये, अपनी संस्कृति को ले गये, अपनी भाषा को ले गये, संस्कृत भाषा को और वहाँ उन्होंने बड़े-बड़े राज्य जमाये। भारत के अधीन नहीं राज्य, अलग-अलग राज्य बनाये, जमाये वहाँ के लोगों से मिल कर, शादी-ब्याह वहाँ करके। एक तो ये ज़माना था भारत का। आप सोचो कि जब यहाँ के लोग दूर-दूर जाते थे, लोगों से मिलते थे और वहाँ बसते थे, शादी-ब्याह वहाँ करते थे, फिर ज़माना आया था भारत के गिरने का, जब भारत से निकलना पाप समझा जाता था। किसी वक़्त ये हमारी जात, पात, कास्ट-सिस्टम, इतना बढ़ गया कि इसके साथ खाना न खाओ, उसके साथ विवाह न करो, इसको छुओ नहीं, उसको देखो नहीं। ये हालत हो गयी। कहाँ वो लोग थे, दुनिया का सामना करते थे, बाहर जाते थे हज़ारों मील, बग़ैर डरे और फ़तह करते थे जा कर, अपनी अक्ल से, हिम्मत से, फ़ौजों से नहीं। कहाँ वो ज़माना आया कि हम चिपक गये अपने यहाँ कि देखा, भाई, इसको छू लेंगे, हमारे खाने को



कोई छू लेगा, तो हम अशुद्ध हो जायेंगे। हम कहीं बाहर गये, तो हम बिरादरी से निकाल दिये जायेंगे। हो क्या ऐसे देश का जो ऐसा करे, सिवा इसके [कि] गिर जायें। इस तरह से एक कुएँ के मेंढक की तरह से हमारा देश बन जाये और एक-एक बिरादरी और ये वो और विवाह और खाना-पीना और हमारा धर्म हो, रसोई का धर्म, बजाय इसके कि ऊँचे विचार हों तो देश का हो क्या सिवा इसके कि गिरे, और गिरा हमारा देश, और जो लोग जैसे हमारे यहाँ के लोग ज़ोरों के थे और जाते थे हज़ारों मील दूर, वैसे और लोग हज़ारों मील अपनी हिम्मत से आये। अंग्रेज़ आये, फ़्रेंच आये, पोर्चुगीज़ आये, कौन-कौन आये, दूर-दूर से, हज़ारों मील अपनी जान पे खेल के आये। हम लोग बुराई करें अंग्रेज़ों की कि अंग्रेज़ी सम्राज्य आया और ये आया, वो आया या पोर्चुगीज़ आया। ठीक है, पोर्चुगीज़ ने बहुत अन्धे किया गोवा में, माना लेकिन ये भी बात आप याद रखिए कि हिम्मत थी, वीरता थी, जो कि छै-छै, आठ-आठ महीने समुन्दर में खोये हुए घूमते थे और जाते थे तलाश करने और दुनिया की। हमारे देश में वो बात थी उस समय, 1500 बरस में और इसलिए हमारा देश बढ़ा था, और जब वो बात निकली तो कमज़ोर हो गया।

ख़ैर, मैं आपसे कह रहा था ये कि साउथ ईस्ट एशिया में हमारे देश के लोग काफ़ी गये, यहाँ का धर्म ले के, बौद्ध धर्म, हिन्दू धर्म भी वहाँ गया था, यहाँ से वहाँ, और अब तक है वहाँ वाली में, इण्डोनेशिया में। हमारी संस्कृति, हमारी कलाएँ ले के गये। अगर आप भारत का सब में प्रसिद्ध, सब में ऊँचे दर्जे की कलाओं का नमूना देखना चाहते हैं तो अजीब बात है आपको भारत के बाहर जाना पड़ेगा। आप को जाना पड़ेगा वहाँ जावा में, इण्डोनेशिया में जहाँ वो ज़बरदस्त इमारतें पुराने भारतीय लोगों ने लगायीं। आपको जाना होगा इण्डोचाइना, कम्बोज में जहाँ अंकोर वत पर भारत की कलाओं ने एक अजीब एक क्या कहूँ एक ऐसी चीज़ बनायी कि उसका मामूली इन्सान उसका मुकाबला नहीं कर सकता। ये भारत की कलाएँ वहाँ पहुँची थीं। तो जहाँ भारतीय लोग फैले, वहाँ उसी समय डेढ़ हज़ार वर्ष में चीनी लोग भी आये, वो भी आये, वो भी ऊँची, बड़ी, उनकी संस्कृति बड़ी ऊँची थी और बातों में बड़े ऊँचे, उनकी सभ्यता बड़ी पुरानी प्राचीन, वो भी आये और चीनी लोगों का और भारतीय लोगों का सम्बन्ध वहाँ सारे इन टापुओं में सारे साउथ ईस्ट एशिया के देशों में हुआ। लेकिन इतिहास हमें बताता है कभी उनमें लड़ाई नहीं हुई। तो ये एक आश्चर्य की बात है कि दो महान देश, दो बड़ी-बड़ी क्रौमें, जानदार क्रौमें दोनों थीं, दूर-दूर गयी थीं, रहीं, और लड़ीं नहीं आपस में।

इसलिए ये मुझे दुख होता है कि ऐसे सवाल इस समय उठे, जिसमें हम में अनबन हो। अब ज़ाहिर है, कि मैं समझता हूँ जो ये सवाल उठा है इसमें हमारा क़सूर बहुत कम है; भारत का या भारतीय गवर्नमेंट का। आज कल या कोई और, मैं समझता हूँ इसमें चीनी हुकूमत ने एक ज़्यादाती की तरफ़ क़दम उठाये हैं। ये हमने उनसे कहा है। कोई छोटे-मोटे झगड़े सीमा के होते, तो मुझे हमेशा मंज़ूर है, कोई गाँव इधर या उधर पहाड़ी मौक़ा है, मुक़ाम है। ये बहुत ऊँचे पहाड़ जहाँ कोई रहता भी नहीं है और कोई लकीर तो खींची नहीं है वहाँ, नक्शों पर है और उनका कुछ चर्चा भी है। कहीं अगर बहस हो, इधर ज़रा उधर, हम शान्ति से बैठ कर उसको

निश्चय करें, मुझे स्वीकार है, लेकिन ये कहा जाये कि एक बड़े-बड़े इलाक़े हमारे भारत के, वो जैसे उन्होंने अपने नक्शों में दे दिया है, हमारा वो सीमा प्रान्त है, ये वो 'नॉर्थ ईस्टन फ्रण्टियर एजेन्सी' उसके काफ़ी, काफ़ी इलाक़ों को नक्शों में ये कह दिया है चीन के हैं और कहते हैं, उसको माँगते हैं।<sup>60</sup> अब ये बात तो एक ज़ाहिर है कि हमारे सामने आये तो फिर इस बात पर आसानी से, ठण्डे दिल से इस पर विचार नहीं किया जा सकता। मैं चाहता हूँ ठण्डे दिल से आप करें, मैं कहूँ, लेकिन कुछ जोश आता है और बुरा लगता है और बुरा क्यों लगता है? एक तो यही है कि अजीब तमाशा है। ये एक सिलसिला जो कि चला आता है भारत का हिस्सा एक ज़माने से, और उसको एक नक्शा रँग देने से इधर-का-उधर हो जाता है और एक बड़ी बात में आपको बताऊँ उसमें, कि एक-एक ख़ास गहरी बात है कि ख़ैर, इस बात को तो हम कभी स्वीकार नहीं कर सकते कि इस तरह से हिस्से, भारत के बड़े हिस्से इधर-से-उधर हो जायें, किसी के दबाव से या किसी की धमकी से। लेकिन इसके माने एक और हैं कि अब तक जो हमने अपनी सीमा यानी वो कमो-बेश हिमालय, असली हिमालय की चोटियाँ हैं। कुछ कहीं इधर-उधर हो जायें, लेकिन असली वॉटर्स शेड हैं यानी जिधर से पानी इधर बहे, वो भारत और जो उधर बहे, वो तिब्बत चीन। अब, आप देखें कि अगर इसमें थोड़ी-बहुत इधर-उधर हो जाये, लेकिन अगर ये बात जो उनके नक्शों में, वो बात स्वीकार की जाये तो उस तरफ़ का सारा हिमालय इधर हो जाता है और वो उतर आते हैं हिमालय के इस तरफ़।

तो उसमें कई पहलू होते हैं कि एक तो ये, अलावा इसके मैंने आपसे कहा कि ये भी कोई तमाशा है कि नक्शे पर कर दें और बहस करें कि हमारे बड़े-बड़े हिस्से चले जायें, अलावा इसके, फिर एक बिलकुल वो हिमालय पार करके हमारे घर के दरवाज़े पर आ के बैठ जाते हैं, और हर वक़्त, हर वक़्त एक नया सवाल पेश होता है और तीसरे एक, जो मेरे दिल पर बड़ा असर होता है और यक़ीनन आपके कभी होगा चाहे उसकी एक भावना कहिए आप। हिमालय पहाड़ क्या चीज़ है? हिमालय पहाड़ अब से हमारी क़ौम, हमारी जाति भारतीय लोग शुरू हुए हैं, आज नहीं हज़ारों बरस से उनके दिमाग़ में हिमालय पहाड़ हैं, उनके हमारे (तालियाँ) हमारी सारी संस्कृति भरी हुई है, हमारी सारी कहानियाँ भरी हैं। आप चाहे रामायण पढ़िए या महाभारत पढ़िए, हिमालय पहाड़ उसमें है, आप चाहे पुराण पढ़िए, आप चाहे वेद पढ़िए, हिमालय पहाड़ हर जगह मौजूद है। यानी भारत की ज़िन्दगी से, जीवन से, हिमालय पहाड़ बिलकुल लिपटे हुए हैं और कोई हमसे कहे कि हिमालय पहाड़ का अंश हम किसी को एक तोहफ़े की तरह दे दें, ये तो नामुमकिन बात है चाहे कुछ नतीजा हो। (तालियाँ) तो ये बात है, लेकिन लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें करने से तो कुछ फ़ायदा नहीं है और लम्बे रेज़ोल्यूशन हों, धमकियाँ हों, ये ज़ेब नहीं देता और कहीं एक और ग़लत बात हुई है, आपसे ख़ास और बम्बई शहर में भी हुई है, अब नहीं, कई महीने हुए, तो किसी बात पर गुस्से हो के कुछ लोग जा के बदतमीज़ी

60. See item 1, fn 9.



करें वो चीनी राजदूत के घर के सामने ये बिलकुल गलत बात है।<sup>61</sup> ये शान की बात नहीं है और क्रायदे-क्रानून के खिलाफ़ बात है जिससे हमारी बदनामी होती है और कमज़ोरी होती है। ये बात नहीं होनी चाहिए। हमें अपनी शक्ति बढ़ानी है और हमें अपने सामने ये बात रखनी है कि आखिर में ये अच्छा नहीं है कि भारत और चीन में लड़ाई-झगड़ा-फ़साद जारी रहे। हमें ये हल करने हैं सवाल क्योंकि एशिया के भविष्य के लिए और दुनिया के भविष्य के लिए ये अच्छा नहीं है। हम कोशिश करेंगे, लेकिन ये कोशिश तभी होती है जब मज़बूती से होती है? कमज़ोर आदमी कोशिश नहीं करता है; या डर से कोई कोशिश नहीं होती है, हिम्मत से, अपने ऊपर भरोसा करके कोशिश होती है तो उसका असर होता है। हाँ, हमारी फ़ौज पर एक ज़िम्मेदारी पड़ती है। फ़ौज पर, हवाई जहाज़ों पर, ख़ाली हमारे समुन्दरी जहाज़ हैं, वहाँ हिमालय तक नहीं पहुँच सकते हैं। लेकिन हाँ, औरों का काम है और तगड़ी फ़ौज है, अच्छी है। लेकिन आखिर में मैंने आपसे कहा, ये फ़ौज का मामला उता नहीं है जित्ता देश की एकता का, देश की शक्ति का, देश की इण्डस्ट्री का, देश किस तेज़ी से आगे बढ़े, उनका मामला हो जाता है।

इस सिलसिले में आपसे एक बात कहूँ। इससे मुझे दुःख हुआ। कुछ मैंने देखा, कुछ हमारे दल और कुछ समाचार पत्र भी कुछ इस महीने-डेढ़ महीने से, हमारी फ़ौज की निस्वत बहुत चर्चा कर रहे हैं और कुछ हमारी फ़ौज के बड़े अफ़सरों को बदनाम करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। आपको याद होगा कि कुछ दिन हुए यकायक एक बात हमारी पार्लियामेंट में पेश हुई थी कि हमारे जो फ़ौज के जो सब में बड़े अफ़सर जनरल थिमैया उन्होंने इस्तीफ़ा मुझे भेजा था, लेकिन जिस रोज़ उन्होंने भेजा, उसी रोज़ मैंने उनको बुलाया और उन्होंने वापस ले लिया था।<sup>62</sup> ख़ैर, वो बात ख़तम हुई और बड़ी उसको धूम-धाम हुई पार्लियामेंट में और मैंने एक बयान दिया था। वो भी हुआ। अब उस समय से कुछ लोग एक तरफ़ से चले बदनाम करने हमारे डिफ़ेंस मिनिस्टर साहब को, जो आपके बम्बई के चुने हुए एक हैं, उनको बदनाम करने, कुछ और लोग जनरल थिमैया को बदनाम करने, ये है वो है, उनकी नीयत पर शक। ये बहुत ग़लत बात है। हर तरह से ग़लत बात है। दोनों बातें ग़लत हैं। एक, एक अफ़सोस की बात हुई कि कुछ अनबन हो गयी थी वहाँ, इन दोनों साहबों में और कुछ-कुछ एक नागवार बाज़ बातें गुज़रीं। जो कुछ है, वो बात ख़तम हुई। होता ही है, कोई इससे किसी, किसी के नीयत पर, किसी की लॉयल्टी पर, इस पे शक डालना ये बहुत ग़लत बात है, बहुत नामुनासिब बात है, वो बहुत नुक़सानदेह बात है और मुझे बिलकुल पसन्द नहीं है इस तरह से, चाहे हमारे डिफ़ेंस मिनिस्टर साहब के खिलाफ़ ये कहा जाये या जनरल थिमैया के खिलाफ़ कहा जाये। ऊँचे दरजे के हमारे डिफ़ेंस मिनिस्टर। मैं उनको डिफ़ेंस मिनिस्टर बनाता नहीं अगर उनकी लियाक़त में, उनकी वफ़ादारी में मुझे पूरा भरोसा न होता, ज़ाहिर है कैसे बनाता? और उसी तरह से जनरल थिमैया अपनी इस ऊँची जगह पे नहीं होते, बहुत ज़िम्मेदारी की जगह है, अगर उनके ऊपर हमें पूरा

61. On 1-4 September 1959.

62. See item 1, fn 7.

उनकी लियाक़त और उनकी वफ़ादारी पर भरोसा न होता। ये बात आप समझ लें। मैं चाहता हूँ इस क्रिस्म की बहसें बन्द हो जायें, ख़तम हो जायें।

हो सकता है कि आपके मन में एक सवाल है और वो ये कि बम्बई राज्य का भविष्य क्या हो? (तालियाँ) ये सवाल तो बड़ा पेचीदा सवाल है और मैं इसका कोई आपके इस सवाल का पक्का जवाब नहीं दे सकता, लेकिन मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि ये मुनासिब है कि आपके और मेरे बीच में कोई बहुत पर्दे न हों और मैं आपसे कुछ छिपाना नहीं चाहता और बात सही है कि हर बात जो मेरे मन में हो, वो मैं सरे-बाज़ार तो नहीं कह सकता हूँ, समय-समय आने पर बात की जाती है। लेकिन फिर भी मेरी इच्छा होती है कि जनता के और मेरे बीच में कोई पर्दा न हो और कम-से-कम मैं नहीं चाहता मैं किसी तरह से उसे धोखा दूँ। (तालियाँ) तो मैं आपको बताऊँ, मैंने बार-बार ये कहा है, मेरी राय पहले थी और मेरी राय बाद में थी कि जो ये बम्बई राज्य आज कल का बना, मिला-जुला ये अच्छा बना और एक उसूली तौर से भी मैं समझता था अच्छा है और ज्यों-ज्यों मैंने इस को चलते देखा, अच्छा पाया, अच्छी तरह से चला। ये बात थी।<sup>63</sup> उसी के साथ मेरे दिल में ये भी एक विचार था कि कोई चीज़ अच्छी हो, ये काफ़ी नहीं होता है, जब तक कि लोग उसे सब अच्छा न समझें। अगर दिल में दुख रह जाये लोगों के तो उस दुख को हटाना है, उस शक को हटाना है और ये एक ख़ाली कागज़ी बहस से ये काम पूरा नहीं होता।

बदक्रिस्मती से, दुर्भाग्य से, इस सवाल के ऊपर पिछले ज़माने में चुनाव के पहले या क्या, काफ़ी दंगा-फ़साद बम्बई में हुआ। बुरी बात थी और उससे जिन लोगों ने दंगा-फ़साद किया था, उन्होंने अपने काम को काफ़ी नुक़सान पहुँचाया। अपनी बात को नुक़सान पहुँचाया, क्योंकि इस ढंग से अगर कोई काम स्वीकार हो जाये तो उसके माने ये हैं फिर उसके बाद देश में शान्ति से कोई काम नहीं हो सकेगा। फिर उसको लोग समझेंगे कि यही तरीक़ा है काम करने का, दंगा-फ़साद करना, मार-पीट करना, जलाना, वगैरह, देश ख़तम हो जायेगा। तो जिन लोगों ने इस काम को किया उन्होंने अपने को हानि पहुँचाई है अपनी राय को। ख़ैर वो बात हुई। फिर चुनाव हुआ। चुनाव का नतीजा आपने देखा होगा। सब मिला-जुला के एक उसके हाथ में हुआ जो बम्बई राज्य बना। लेकिन इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि काफ़ी तादाद में लोग, उनके दिल में दुख रहा उसका इज़हार भी कभी-कभी करते गये और मुझे इस बात की फ़िक़र थी कि कैसे ये चीज़ निकले और मैंने कहा कई दिन पहले, आज नहीं, साल भर हुआ, डेढ़ साल हुआ, मैंने कहा कि ये प्रश्न, बम्बई राज्य ऐसा रहे कि बदला जाये, मुझे तो पसन्द है जैसा है लेकिन ये बड़े सिद्धान्त की बात नहीं मेरी राय में और आख़िर में देखना है कौन चीज़ ठीक तौर से खुशी से चलती है, कौन चीज़ आम तौर से लोगों की पसन्द है। अब ज़ाहिर है, एक-एक आदमी की पसन्द तो नहीं गिनी जा सकती। लेकिन आम तौर से क्या चीज़ पसन्द है? और

63 . The bilingual Greater Bombay State was formed on 1 November 1956. See SWJN/SS/35/pp. 41, 222-225.



इस बात को देखने का, सोचने का मौक़ा पूरा होना चाहिए। ये मैंने कहा था औरंगाबाद में साल-डेढ़ साल हुए, और एक आध जगह पूना में भी कहा था। क्योंकि मेरी तबियत कुछ ऐसी नहीं है कि मैं किसी बात को सही भी समझूँ तो उसको ज़बरदस्ती आपकी छाती पर और आपके गले पर उसे डालने की कोशिश करूँ। मैं नहीं समझता जनतन्त्र इस तरह से चलता है, और मुझे आज से नहीं एक ज़माने से भारत की जनता में बहुत विश्वास है, भरोसा है। वो हुल्लड़बाज़ी करें, बुरी बातें करती है कभी-कभी, सभी करते हैं, लेकिन ठण्डे दिल से कोई बात सोचें तो उसका फ़ैसला मेरी राय में सही होगा और सही हो या ग़लत हो और जब हम इस जनतन्त्र के मैदान में फैले तब उसका ग़लत-सही सब हमें लेना है। तो ये मेरी राय थी और मैं सोचता था कि जो भी कुछ फिर से निश्चय हो इस बात पर, वो ठण्डे दिल से, सलाह-मशविरा करके, अच्छी तरह से देख कर, क्या अब इस नये तज़ुबे के बाद क्या लोग चाहते हैं? ये मेरा विचार था। यानी मैं नहीं चाहता था कि किसी का गला घोट के उसको बन्द कर दिया जाये, मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए। मेरी राय तो मैंने आपको बता दी, मुझे पसन्द था कि ये सिलसिला चलता जाये।

इस बारे में कुछ मित्रों से कभी-कभी मेरी बातें हुई थीं और मैंने कहा कि मैं समझता हूँ मौक़ा होना चाहिए इस पर विचार करने का फिर से। फिर, एक बात हो गयी बीच में जिससे कुछ देर हो गयी विचार करने में। बात तो एक व्यक्ति की थी, लेकिन व्यक्ति वो ख़ास थे। वो थे हमारे मुख्यमन्त्री बम्बई के, वो बीमार पड़ गये।<sup>64</sup> आप जानते होंगे उनका ऑपरेशन वगैरह हुआ तो कई महीने के लिए बेचारे बीमार हो गये और उनकी सलाह के बग़ैर मैं नहीं चाहता था कि इस पर और कुछ बातचीत हो तो उससे कुछ और देर हो गयी। फिर जब मौक़ा मिला तो मैंने तो बहुत ही एक, एक छोटे पैमाने पर इस बात को शुरू किया और मैं आपको बताऊँ, चार-पाँच आदमी हम थे। एक महीना भर हुआ कि डेढ़ महीना हुआ याद नहीं मुझे। हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब थे पन्तजी, फ़ाइनैस मिनिस्टर मोरारजी भाई देसाई, हमारे पूर्व के कांग्रेस के प्रेज़िडेंट डेबर भाई और यशवन्त रावजी चौहान आपके मुख्य मन्त्री और मैं। हम पाँच आदमी बैठे।<sup>65</sup> और मैंने ये कहा कि भाई, अब शान्त है सब मामला और मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस बात पर पहले हम फिर और इत्मीनान से बात कर लें क्या है? क्योंकि जो कुछ निश्चय करना है, इधर या उधर, पक्की तौर से फिर से हम कह दें। हमारी बातें हुई उसमें, और उन बातों में दोनों पहलुओं पर बातें कही गयीं। अब बात तो सरीहन बात है, ऐसी बात है कि जिस तरफ़ क़दम रखो, उसमें कुछ अच्छाई है, कुछ बुराई है, है ही बात ऐसी। अगर ऐसा पेंच नहीं होता तो फिर झगड़ा ही क्या था? फिर तो साफ़ हो जाता। हज़ार पेचीदा बातें हैं। एक तरफ़ गाड़ी एक चल रही है अच्छी तरह से, उसको रोको। एक नया नक्शा बनाओ। जहाँ नया नक्शा बनाते हो उसके नतीजे नये-नये निकलते हैं, अलग-अलग सवाल आते हैं। महज़ एक हाँ या

64. Y.B. Chavan.

65. On 22-23 August 1959.

ना का सवाल नहीं है, तरह-तरह के सवाल उठते हैं। आपने भी सुने और खाली सवाल वहाँ नहीं उठते? उसका असर क्या पड़ता है और भारत के हिस्सों पर वो भी विचार करना है। तो तरह-तरह के बातें ऐसी हुई और डेढ़ घण्टे हमने बातें की और हमने सोचा कि इन बातों पर फिर से हम गौर करेंगे और अब कुछ और लोगों से भी ज़रा बढ़ा के, लेकिन फिर भी प्राइवेट में बातें करें। ये तो हमारा इरादा था। लेकिन मैं क्या देखता हूँ, एक-दो रोज़ बाद कि अखबारों में बड़े-बड़े हेडलाइन्स हैं और क्या-क्या (तालियाँ) कि मिले, ये फ़ैसला हो गया ये और...और मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ।<sup>66</sup> अब वो उनको बहुत मालूम नहीं, क्या हुआ? लेकिन वो तो चौखट पर बैठे रहते थे कि कौन जाता है, कौन निकलता है। और चुनांचे इस नतीजे पर पहुँचे और जब ये अखबारों में आ गयी सब जगह चर्चा बहुत होने लगा इसका...खैर, एक माने में अच्छा था। चर्चा कभी होना ही था, वो हो रहा है। तो अब पहली बार ये कांग्रेस की वर्किंग कमेटी के सामने ये सवाल आया, अब, एक महीना भर हुआ,<sup>67</sup> इससे कम, तीन सप्ताह, और उसमें कहा कांग्रेस की जो सभापति हैं, अध्यक्ष हैं, उनसे कहा कि तुम कुछ लोगों से कांग्रेस की जो अलग-अलग संस्थाएँ हैं बॉम्बे राज्य में और लोगों से भी सलाह करके हमें रिपोर्ट करो कि उनकी क्या राय है। क्योंकि हमारी इच्छा ये थी कि जो भी कुछ हो, पक्की तौर से सलाह-मशविरा करके हो। ये नहीं कि वहाँ दिल्ली में बैठे-बैठे कोई हुकुमनामा लिख दें। ये ग़लत बात थी। हम पूरी, हरेक सलाह-मशविरा करके हल्के-हल्के शुरू करके ज़्यादा बड़े पैमाने पर करना चाहते थे। खैर, फिर उन्होंने रिपोर्ट की कि वो कुछ लोगों से मिलीं और उन्होंने ये कहा, लेकिन उनका सलाह-मशविरा करना पूरा अभी नहीं हुआ।<sup>68</sup> ये अभी आठ-दस, आठ-नौ रोज़ हुए वो थीं वहाँ चण्डीगढ़ में। तो चण्डीगढ़ में उनसे कहा गया कि आप और अपना सलाह-मशविरा करना जारी रखिए, पूरी तौर से रिपोर्ट कीजिए और उनकी सहायता के लिए कमेटी बनायी गयी, जिसमें बम्बई राज्य के सब हिस्सों के वो किसी क्ऱदर अलग-अलग विचारों के लोग थे, शायद सात आदमियों की कमेटी है जहाँ तक मुझे याद है, ठीक याद नहीं, हाँ नौ की है, तो वो कमेटी बनी। यहाँ तक ये बात पहुँची। हम चाहते हैं कि इसमें पूरी तौर से विचार हो, ठण्डे दिल से बातचीत हो और जो कुछ उसका फल हो, सब बातचीत का, समझौते का, वो आपके सामने रखा जाये आपकी स्वीकृति के लिए। कोई ये हम मानते हैं एक तरफ़ से तो कोई उसमें कोई हुल्लड़बाज़ी नहीं होनी चाहिए। हुल्लड़बाज़ी से मेरा मतलब ये है कि जल्दी से कुछ फ़ैसले कर लें, बग़ैर सोच-विचार किये उसमें, एक तो यह। दूसरी तरफ़ से ये भी बात है कि ऐसी बातों को लम्बा टाँग रखना भी अच्छा नहीं है। वो भी एक निश्चय है। तो दोनों बातें हैं, लेकिन मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इसमें ठीक-ठीक विचार हो के कुछ-न-कुछ नज़्शा निकलेगा। एक बात मैं इसमें कहना चाहता हूँ विशेषकर, खासकर बम्बई शहर की निस्वत। मैं क्या, एक

66. See SWJN/SS/52/p. 2.

67. The Congress Working Committee agreed, in August 1959, to reconsider the question of bifurcation of the Bombay State.

68. See SWJN/SS/52/p. 3.



कमेटी कहे, एक कमेटी के बाद और बड़ी कमेटियाँ क्या कहें और भारत सरकार क्या कहे और आप क्या कहें, उसमें मैं [...] नहीं कोई दखल दे रहा हूँ। लेकिन और बम्बई शहर, ज़ाहिर-सी बात है कि एक भारत में ख़ास चीज़ है। ये लैटिन में आपने एक, एक अपना मॉटो भी बना रखा है *Urbs Prima in Indis*, यानी भारत का सब में अव्वल शहर, ये आपने अपने माथे पर लिख रखा है, खुद ही अपनी तारीफ़ कर ली, ख़ैर, तो मैं तो मुक़ाबला नहीं करना चाहता जो कुछ कहो बम्बई की निस्वत और कलकत्ते को बुरा लगे या मद्रास को बुरा लगे, मुझे सभी का ख़याल रखना होता है। लेकिन इसमें कोई शक नहीं, कि बम्बई एक भारत का एक बहुत विशेष जगह है, हर तरह से, जिस तरह से इसने तरक्की की, जिस तरह से इसने आज़ादी की लड़ाई में भाग लिया, जिस तरह से आज उसके हाथ में बहुत बागडोरें हैं, हमारे देश की इण्डस्ट्रियल तरक्की की, सब बातें हैं और जिस तरह से यहाँ, ख़ाली महाराष्ट्र, महाराष्ट्र के लोग और गुजराती नहीं, वो तो हैं ही अधिकतर, लेकिन सारे भारत के लोग यहाँ जमा हुए और इसको एक शहर और असल में इसको एक भारतीय शहर बना दिया, एक प्रदेश का शहर नहीं, भारतीय शहर बनाया। कॉस्मोपॉलिटन सिटी, बल्कि और दुनिया के लोग भी काफ़ी यहाँ हैं। ये इसकी खूबी है और शान है, तो जो भी कुछ हो, ये खूबी और शान तो इसकी नहीं कम होनी चाहिए। ये तो रहनी ही चाहिए। और इसी तरह से इसकी तरक्की होगी और आप लोग और बम्बई शहर, ख़ाली यहाँ नहीं या इस प्रदेश में नहीं, बल्कि सारे भारत के लिए एक नमूना होंगे, बहुत बातों में और इन बड़े कामों में जिन में हम लगे हैं उसमें आगे हो के और देश को भी रास्ता दिखायेंगे।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Dear Brothers, Sisters, and Children,

I have come to Bombay after many months and as our colleague, Mr Shah<sup>69</sup> told you just now, a great deal has happened during this time, good as well as bad. Then he also mentioned that some of you wanted to see what sort of a person was Jawaharlal Nehru. Well, he is before you and you can inspect him and weigh him or measure him in any way you like. There is one thing, however, and that is whether I change in other respects or not, with each passing day I am growing older. That is something beyond my control.

It is true that the events of the last few months have caused great concern. A few days ago, our Parliament session came to an end. It was a short session, lasting only about six weeks or so, but it has put a big burden of problems upon our shoulders. Every day there is some new obstacle and its load is upon us. Now let us see what these events have been. The biggest thing of course has

69. See fn 48 in this section.

been the floods in Assam and Kashmir and later in parts of Bombay, Surat, Maharashtra, Vidarbha and so on, which have brought great ruin and disaster in their wake. You must have read in today's newspaper about the cyclone in Bengal which has devastated a major portion of the state. We have had to face extraordinary difficulties. We cannot panic or, if you will forgive me for saying so, to sit and count beads. We must face the difficulties that arise with courage and patience.

All of you know me well and are aware of my faults as well as good qualities. The newspapers have maligned me unnecessarily by saying that I have a very short temper. I agree that I do tend to lose my temper. But I do not panic or get cold feet. So, anyhow, we have to live in this strange world of ours. What sort of world is this? There are innumerable problems before us in the country and I will come to that later. But please remember that on the one hand, we are surrounded by all kinds of difficulties and natural disasters and on the other hand, you must have read that there is nothing to worry about. It was an attack on the press, they can take care of themselves. They are pretty strong, they'll save themselves. It was the crowd which was pushing a little.

So, on the other hand you must have heard that the Soviet Union has sent a rocket to the moon. It is true that it does not have a direct bearing on the city of Bombay or our country. Yet it is a precursor of a new age. All kinds of new forces are making their appearance. (You, please move to the side, sit down, please.) So, a new world opens up before us. Just think a new world, new powers of nature open up. We have been talking about the atom bomb and atomic energy and suddenly we find that man is reaching the moon. It is believed that soon it will be possible for people to go from the earth to the moon or to other planets. So you can see what a revolutionary world we are living in and it is backed by man's intelligence and science. There has been nothing more revolutionary than scientific advance in the world. It has transformed the world and rapid changes are taking place all the time. We must grasp this essential fact. We have to face the problems and difficulties before us and try to find a solution. But if we forget even for a moment that we are living in a revolutionary, fast-changing world today, we will not be able to grasp the problems properly. We must change with the changing times.

There are innumerable problems before us, the most urgent being of economic progress and of implementing the five year plans, and so on. There are various theories about how we should do it, and how we should not.

Recently I was in Chandigarh, the capital of Punjab.<sup>70</sup> A sub-committee of the Congress deliberated upon a resolution on planning and asked the Planning

70. See fn 49 in this section.



Commission to consider it. It will come up later before the A.I.C.C. Session in Bangalore.<sup>71</sup> In this way we are consulting people in different walks of life and trying to chalk out a path for ourselves, because the problems before us are extremely complex. It involves the uplift of forty crore people. The matter was taken up last year in Chandigarh when the All India Congress Committee had appointed a sub-committee to go into it. Then we invited people from various walks of life who had nothing to do with the Congress, professors and economists, etc., to a seminar in Ootacamund. The deliberations of that seminar were published in a report.<sup>72</sup> However it is not a rigid document that cannot be changed. It is merely a pooling of ideas among the people and it is published so that the ideas may be discussed and criticisms and suggestions made. I have no objection to criticism because mistakes should be pointed out. This is how things can become clear. We do not wish to impose something from above for that is not the way a democracy functions. So it is entirely acceptable to me that there should be criticisms but they should be constructive criticisms and not merely to break or destroy something. We have to build a new India.

Recently a new party has been established—the Swatantra Party—which is a good thing because the more parties there are, the better it is for different ideas to find a platform.<sup>73</sup> So I have no objection to the forming of the Swatantra Party, though people think that I do not like it. I can accept anything; the good as well as the bad. I certainly want that as far as possible, everyone should follow the correct path. I feel that the Swatantra Party is a good thing because it will be a platform for discussing what is good or bad. Moreover, its leader is one of our venerable old colleagues, Shri Rajagopalachari, who is greatly respected and loved. How can I presume to argue with him? But it is true that though he has had a great deal to do with the Congress during the last twenty-five to thirty years, there have often been differences of opinion between him and the Party. I am talking of the thirties and the forties. What I mean to say is that to respect or love someone does not necessarily mean that we should blindly accept whatever he says. My colleagues and I have even had the temerity to argue with Mahatma Gandhi when we could not understand his ideas. So it is not surprising that there should be differences of opinion between Rajaji and the Congress because it was so even when we used to be in jail years ago. So it is nothing new and there is no question of descending to a wrangling match. In my opinion, the principles on which the Swatantra Party is based are not likely

71. See fn 50 in this section.

72. See fn 51 in this section.

73. See fn 52 in this section.

to take the country forward in any direction. The Swatantra Party members say a great deal against the Congress which I feel is wrong. For instance, they say that the Congress wants a centralised government which should be obeyed implicitly.<sup>74</sup> Now there is a central government as well as state governments. But I firmly believe that no democracy can function from above but must have its roots in the people. I do not think that it is enough to go to the people once in four to five years for elections and then forget about them. So in fact our policy is decentralisation of administration and power as far as it is possible. We have repeatedly laid stress in our resolutions on the panchayat, cooperative societies and village schools as the pillars of democracy. The Nagpur Resolution goes so far as to say that the panchayats should be given more powers, to levy taxes, collection and disbursement of funds, etc., and the cooperative societies must look after the economic affairs of the village.<sup>75</sup>

You can see that the entire effort is to decentralise administration. We do not want a handful of officers to rule from the top. Even in the running of cooperative societies, we do not wish that there should be too much official interference. Officials can advise and guide. Our entire effort is to give the reins of power into the hands of the masses. Now it is obvious that you need a strong central government to run a large country like ours because otherwise the country will break up into pieces. The state governments also must be strong as otherwise they cannot function effectively. Life today is no longer what it was five hundred or a thousand years ago. It has become extremely complex. In a huge city like Bombay, if there are no traffic regulations, there will be a massive traffic jam. People cannot be allowed to drive in any manner they like. Rules and regulations are essential for the smooth functioning of a society. As you are aware, the world is an extremely complex place today. So it is very essential to have a strong central government and state governments. But we also want that the people must be given maximum opportunities to participate in the task of running the government. The base for that should be the panchayat.

I had been to Rajasthan the day before yesterday where a momentous event took place.<sup>76</sup> A big conference of the sarpanchs, pramukhs and pradhans of all the districts of Rajasthan was held in Nagaur. In this way, Rajasthan took a revolutionary step on the auspicious occasion of Gandhi Jayanti by delegating a number of legal powers to the panchayats and giving a free hand in running the development projects. From now onwards, even up till the district level, the

74. See fn 53 in this section.

75. See fn 54 in this section.

76. See fn 55 in this section.



panchayats will handle many of these tasks. The officials will advise and guide them. But the responsibility will rest with the panchs, sarpanchs and the village pramukhs and pradhans. This is no small matter. People feel that they will fight among themselves. It is possible but that is the only way they will learn. So the roots of democracy should be in the people. I am particularly happy that this has been taken up on an auspicious day of Gandhi Jayanti because he was always in favour of giving autonomy to the villagers. I hope that the other states will follow the example of Rajasthan. I am going to Andhra Pradesh next week to participate in a similar function.<sup>77</sup> So Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh have taken the lead in this matter. Anyhow, to me all the states are the same and I feel that if one sets an example, the others will learn from it. I would like to repeat that it is our desire to establish democracy from the grassroots levels so that the edifice on top may be secure. The base has to be in the village panchayats and samitis.

There is another aspect to this. We have declared in the Nagpur Congress that there should be a cooperative society in every village which should handle its economic affairs.<sup>78</sup> During the days of British rule, there were mostly credit cooperatives which gave loans, etc., in Madras, Bombay and other places. Now we want that the cooperative societies should take on other responsibilities like helping the farmers in buying good seeds, fertilisers and better ploughs, and so on, in order to improve agriculture. An ordinary farmer does not have the power to do these things on his own. But if a hundred farmers form themselves into a cooperative society, immediately their strength increases. This is why cooperatives have spread very fast in the capitalist as well as the socialist world. It has become quite common to work through the medium of cooperatives. A single farmer is often at a disadvantage even in the matter of buying and selling. But the cooperative society can look after these things for him and the profits go to the farmer.

Therefore cooperatives are very essential and I am surprised when there is opposition to it. Thirty years ago, even before India became free, a Commission was set up by the British Government, in which both Indians and Englishmen were included.<sup>79</sup> The report of the Commission said quite clearly that if agriculture is to improve in India, it can be done only through cooperative societies, and without cooperation, there is no future for agriculture in India. This was said thirty years ago. For one thing, the pressure on land in India is

77. See fn 56 in this section.

78. See fn 57 in this section.

79. See fn 58 in this section.

very great. There is plenty of land available but the population is increasing very rapidly and so the pressure on land mounts and an individual cannot get more than an acre or acre and a half. Then there are jungles and mountains and so on.

Now you take the United States, for instance, which is two and a half times as large as India or more. But its population is less than half of India's population. So the ratio between man and land is much more in the United States. The Soviet Union is also a vast country, spreading as it does from Europe to East Asia. It is three or four times larger than India with half the population. So leaving aside the questions of capitalism and communism, the problems in those countries are quite different from ours. If the people had more land, we would have also faced different problems. But we do not want a handful of people to own large pieces of land while the rest of the peasantry starves. So we abolished the zamindari system. We want the small farmers to become prosperous and increase production. We have not done anything new. Ceiling on land is to be found elsewhere too. In Japan, for instance, the American officers imposed land ceiling because the population exceeded the land available. If some arrangement is not made, a handful of people become very rich, while the others remain poor and the country does not progress. Therefore, it was essential to impose a ceiling on land. That does not mean to say that we want to stop their income. There are innumerable possibilities. First of all, the production from the same amount of land must be increased. Then village and cottage industries can be started which is not being done today. As you must be fully aware, the biggest weakness in India is that we produce only one-third or one-fourth of what other countries do. Not only the United States but France, England, Germany and even Egypt produce more than us. So does China. There is some reason or another, isn't it? We have fallen behind. So it has become essential to complete the process of land reform which we have taken up.

Now, it is obvious that when you take up something like this, some people are bound to be adversely affected. But by and large, people benefit and it is a fact that it will lead to the progress of the entire country. Let me tell you that it has very little to do with socialism or communism because, as I said, even Japan has done it, though it is neither a communist nor a socialist country. The main thing to be considered is the man-land ratio. The old system of talukdari and jagirdari can no longer continue to exist in today's world. So we are almost compelled to take this step.

In India today there are very few people who own even five acres of land. In my province, Uttar Pradesh, the majority of the farmers own an acre or two of land at the most. So, small farmers do not have the capacity to procure new machines or good seeds and fertilizers and what-not. But by forming a



cooperative society, their strength immediately increases. The government can also help the cooperative societies whereas it is not possible for help to be given to each individual farmer. The government can give loans to farmers to buy machines and seeds and fertilizers. It is essential to take advantage of the scientific advance in agriculture as other countries have done.

Now, you find the Swatantra Party not mentioning this at all, but making a great deal of noise that we are trying to snatch away land from the people and that we will gradually bring in communism and so on. There is no sense in all this. We have said quite frankly that within the next thirty years, there should be a cooperative in every single village. There is no question of snatching anybody's land away. We are not even talking of cooperative farming at the moment. Let each farmer work separately.

But they can use the cooperative society for other economic tasks like buying and selling instead of through the middlemen. They stand to gain in this way. The government can help them. The Swatantra Party does not talk about all this and merely makes a noise that the land will be snatched away. We have also said that later on, wherever people are willing, they should do farming cooperatively, while retaining their title to the land. That cannot be taken away by anyone. But if fifty or hundred people work together, production will increase and so will their profits. As I mentioned just now, small farmers with an acre or two of land do not have the capacity to progress very much. Moreover, a great deal of land is wasted between the boundaries. Well, that is for later, when the people are willing to accept it. I feel that it is a good thing and should be taken up. But the decision has to come from them. I cannot decide on their behalf. It is possible that it may work in some places and not in others. That remains to be seen. We cannot have uniform results everywhere. But a great deal of noise is being made and absurd allegations made. In fact, things which are just the opposite of what we believe in are said. As I told you, we are trying to give as much autonomy as possible to the panchayats and the villages and not to impose laws from above. Our entire way of thinking is to decentralise administration and give autonomy in political and economic spheres to villages.

Lastly, Bombay is a beautiful city. But India is not Bombay, India is her villages, lakhs of villages, and it is a good thing if cities like Bombay progress. But the real progress in India will depend on the five lakh villages becoming more prosperous. That is possible only when the people get responsibility and power and become self-reliant. It is not possible if they wait for the government to do everything. It is certainly the duty of the government to help as much as it can. But the people must help themselves. If the five lakh villages in India resolve to do this and set a target for themselves, even a little effort will be multiplied five lakh times. The government cannot do it in all the five lakh

villages. Therefore the fundamental requirement is to make the people more alive and ready to shoulder responsibilities. It does not matter even if they make mistakes or occasionally stumble and fall because they will learn by experience. But we do not want undue interference from government officials. Now when the Swatantra Party alleges just the opposite, what can I say in reply? What they are saying is absolutely wrong which has no bearing to reality.

Now I come to the second matter. There are innumerable problems before us today. You must have heard of the crisis that has loomed upon the Tibetan border which has perturbed us a great deal. Extraordinary things have been happening at the border. The text of the letters exchanged by India and China has been published in book form.<sup>80</sup> I want the people to be fully aware of everything that has taken place. I will not say more on this subject. But what I want to tell you is that to give vent to our anger in long resolutions is not going to affect other countries very much. We may be expressing our feelings but a mighty nation like China is not scared of resolutions or slogans. It is obvious that they will make no impact whatsoever. The only solution is to make our country stronger. What does strength mean? Some people think it is military strength. But that is not the real strength of a nation. The armies are no longer what they were in the old days. Today military strength has to be backed by industrialisation, the capacity to produce military equipment within the country, and so on. Otherwise mere military strength does not count for much.

So we come round again and again to the problem of making the country internally strong. A poor nation has limited resources. It is true that if it has courage and daring, it will survive in spite of its poverty. But ultimately it is absurd to suppose that cannons and guns can be combated with bows and arrows, even if the soldiers are brave. Therefore progress is very essential. If you were to look back into the past, even two hundred years ago, you will not find much difference between the countries of Asia and Europe. On the contrary India was ahead of Europe. We did not have big machines, but there were leading manufacturers and the British, French and others came to India to buy our goods, not to sell theirs. This was the situation two hundred years ago. All right, then you suddenly find the complexion changing. There was a subtle change in our relationship because Europe began to advance scientifically, while we remained backward. We were completely unaware of the changes that were taking place in the world. We were steeped in our pride and so we remained backward while the rest of the world advanced.

80. See fn 59 in this section.



Let me give you a small example. Printing was known in the world for hundreds of years. It meant the rapid spread of education and knowledge in the western world. But printing was not known in India till the British came. Why? This in itself shows how backward we had become in Asia, when some European missionaries brought books to the court of Akbar or Jahangir—I forget which—the Emperor showed interest. But there was no effort to start printing here. It shows a complete lack of interest in new development or ability to grasp new things. We continued in our old rut.

So, as I was saying, a hundred and fifty years ago scientific and technological advance led to the discovery of new forces in Europe, steam-power and coal led to building of new machines which made the countries of the West very wealthy and militarily powerful. So they were able to colonise the countries of the East. All this has happened within the last 100-150 years or so. Europe became extremely powerful and wealthy and the people are very prosperous even when they are facing the terrible dilemma of whether there will be peace or war. There is no want and everyone has enough to eat, clothes to wear, houses to live in, education and healthcare facilities. In short, they have established a welfare state. How was all this possible? It is because they have grasped the principles of modern science, produced new machines and harnessed the natural sources of energy like electricity and atomic energy to their daily needs.

It is obvious that if we wish to do this in our country, there is no other way except to take advantage of modern scientific developments and their off-shoots and adopt new techniques of working. If we adopt scientific methods of agriculture, we can double or even treble our production. We can easily overcome the problem of food-shortages as the others have done. Increased agricultural production will mean more industries, big and small. There is no other way, no matter how many plans you may draw up, except to bring about an industrial revolution in India. It is happening very fast. But I want you to understand that there is no alternative.

All right, if we want to bring this about, then how do we go about it? If we leave it to individuals to do whatever they like, there will not be much progress. You may ask how they managed in the United States or Germany, etc. My answer to that is they had more than one and a half century to do it in, even before democracy was fully established in those countries. But when there is full-fledged democracy and the demands of the people increase, it is not possible to pressurise them into going in a certain direction. Moreover we do not have a hundred and fifty years to do it in. Therefore, planning becomes extremely essential. Planning in a democracy has to be done through the Parliament and the government in consultation with others. If it is left to individuals, many

good things will be done but a lot of mistakes will also be made.

You often hear a controversy about the choice between the public sector and the private sector. It is absurd. There is enough room for both. But you must understand quite clearly that both have to function on the national plan and as our economic situation improves, both will be able to expand rapidly. There is no doubt about it. But we must have a clear idea of the direction in which they should develop. We do not want to build a country in which there are a handful of rich men while the rest are poor. The picture of the future of India that we have before us is of a country where as far as possible everyone is prosperous and gets equal opportunities for progress just as all of you are getting an equal opportunity to get wet in the rain. Yes, some people have umbrellas but they do not make much difference.

Anyhow, everyone should get equal opportunities as it happens in Europe and in the Soviet Union though it is a communist country and the others are capitalist countries. Both served the cause of science and science does not differentiate between capitalism and communism. Those of you who are in the universities do not read capitalist physics and chemistry or communist biology. You read science. If the Soviet Union or the United States send a rocket to the moon, capitalism and communism do not come into it. We must realise this and follow the road to progress by creating an atmosphere of scientific advance and producing new machines and adopting new techniques. We cannot continue to import machinery from outside. We should produce the machines which are essential to produce power and steel and other things.

Now, these things cannot be done by the private sector and if it takes it up then its powers may expand to such an extent, it will become a stranglehold on the national economy which does not seem proper to us. There is a vast scope for the private sector to expand and it is bound to do so. But ultimately the reins of the economy should be in the hands of the people's representatives in Parliament. Therefore it is very essential to expand the public sector and prevent people from taking undue advantage of it.

I will not go into it in detail. These are broad facts. I am amazed when the Swatantra Party jumps into the fray and says all kinds of absurd things. They say that they believe in God which is a good thing. Everybody should have faith in God. But at the same time you must have faith in yourself too. Those who believe only in God become useless. God does not want that people should be idle and not help themselves. No country can progress in this way. All the parties can say anything that comes to their heads. The fundamental thing is the economic policy that we should follow. What the Swatantra Party advocates is so absurd that no sensible human being would advocate it for India today. It may do very well for the United States which has advanced a great deal in the



last a hundred and fifty years. It may be a good thing for England or Japan. But India has different problems—of over-population, tremendous pressure on land, political freedom and democracy which make the people aware of their rights though their capacity is limited. The people's demands for wages and dividends and so on are very high. Where is the money to come from? It has to come from the people. We will not get anything from outside. Whatever the people produce by their own hard work and effort will be available for spending on wages and salaries and the like. In our country, the people have learnt to make demands which are all right. But what is to be done when the resources do not permit it.

Take the example of Germany, for instance. After the devastation of the Second World War, it is back once again on its feet. Do you know how they have done it? Well, for one thing, the Germans are trained and skilled human beings. They worked very hard day and night with no thought of large wages and dividends. By sheer hard work, they have managed to have all their industries working once again and are enormously wealthy today. So everything is possible with hard work. A policy of *laissez-faire* is no longer feasible in any country except perhaps in a few countries like the United States which have in a sense overcome their economic problems. I can tell you very confidently that it will certainly not work in India, whether it is the Swatantra Party or any other Party which advocates it. It will bring ruin upon the country, and we will never be able to solve our problems. I am amazed that anyone should suggest such things today.

We have drawn up five year plans. There are two years to go for the Third Plan to start and we have been discussing it for the last year and a half. There are various strands of opinion within the Congress itself and we are consulting numerous people all over the country. We want to consult the gram panchayats and the university professors and students as well. There should be planning forums and discussions. We have scientists, engineers, educationists, labour planners. We have people coming from the United States, Ireland, France, Soviet Union, England, China, Yugoslavia etc., to the Planning Commission to advise us. But what was the result of all that? We could learn a great deal from the other countries, but the biggest lesson that we learnt was that we shall have to find a path of our own to solve the problems which are peculiar to India and evolve an economic policy best suited to our country. The economic policy of a rich nation is bound to differ from that of a poor one, or that of an industrial society from an agricultural economy.

For instance, a great problem that we face today is of unemployment. How is it to be solved? We will have to consider the fundamental cause of the problem and find a solution. Why is there no unemployment in the Soviet Union or England? I always give you two examples, one of a capitalist country and another

of a communist one, because there is a scientific method behind both. Both take advantage of technological developments instead of advancing in an unplanned way. The world belongs to science today and if we do not grasp it, especially the common masses, we will become backward. It is not enough if a handful of professors and students understand these things. We need three lakh engineers and innumerable scientists for the Third plan. With great effort we have been able to train one lakh engineers. Please remember that even if there is unemployment in other fields, there can be none for engineers because they are very essential in today's world. The number of scientists in the country is going up. At the moment, in the atomic energy centre in Bombay alone, there are I think about one thousand five hundred young and brilliant scientists. Some people seem to feel that it is a needless extravagance which is not true. We are not trying to show off but to lay the foundations of a new nation based on science and atomic energy. Otherwise we will become backward. Today there are only five to six countries which are producing atomic energy. The United States and the Soviet Union are leading followed by England, Canada, France and Italy and perhaps one or two others. Today, India is also counted among them.

So we are laying the foundation of future progress by training millions of young boys and girls in science and technology. The more they learn, the faster we will progress, because ultimately progress depends on human beings, not on machines. We cannot import engineers and others from Germany or somewhere else to do our work. That may work for a few days but not forever. So, if you look at it from this angle, what the Swatantra Party advocates is an old and outdated pattern which is no longer relevant in today's world, especially in the India of today. It is like watching an old comedy on the stage. I am amazed that educated people get carried away. I just cannot understand it. But at the same time I do not want you to accept what I say without understanding it.

I want you to understand what the world is all about today and the problems which face us. On the one hand, you have an enormous population of forty crores which is increasing every year by fifty to sixty lakhs. It is not something to cheer about. It is causing us great concern and so we are laying emphasis on family planning. There should be children but families must be planned and controlled. A rich man may afford to have many children. But a poor man with a large family cannot look after them well, cannot educate them nor feed them properly and this is not right. If the family is planned, the children can be looked after properly and will grow up to be strong and healthy. So family planning is very essential.



Well, anyhow, apart from family planning, the most crucial thing is to increase production in the country. Wealth does not mean gold and silver but goods which are produced in the country whether it is food grains or clothes or other things. Gold and silver are tools of trade. The United States is so rich today because every year an enormous amount of goods is produced there from land and industries and so on. There is more than enough for everyone and in fact, there is a great deal of waste. Therefore, it is important to increase the production of essential goods. Other things can come later. As you know, among the essential goods are food, clothes, houses, education, health and jobs for everyone, etc. Everyone must get all these things.

Education is extremely important and other things will follow automatically if the people are educated. I said that the world belongs to science today. What does that mean? It means that every child must get an opportunity to be educated for eight or ten years and the more able ones can go in for further education. There should be higher courses, technical courses, colleges and universities for millions of boys and girls. Then we need engineers and scientists and administrators in large numbers. A country's strength is measured not by its numbers, but by the number of trained and skilled people available in the country. Suppose there is some great calamity in India and ten thousand of our first-rate people are killed suddenly. I do not know what will happen to the country. It may not make much difference to you. But the country will go downhill if ten thousand of her scientists, administrators, politicians, engineers and other highly trained people are killed. Immediately the stature of the country will go down though there will be no appreciable difference in the population. So it is the quality of the country which counts and not numbers. Therefore education is very essential because it improves the quality of the people. England, United States and the Soviet Union are great countries today because the people are very highly skilled and trained.

So, education is very essential. In this connection we have always kept the goal of complete child welfare before us, because the children of today will become the citizens of tomorrow. If they do not get the right opportunities, the condition of India in the future will not be good. Whether it is adults or children, it is not enough to provide food and clothes. I often see how spoilt and useless the rich men's sons become. They have everything that money can buy, but do not get good training at home and so they become good-for-nothing. The fault is the parents' for not giving them proper training.

Therefore, child welfare is of fundamental importance and the nation must always keep it as its goal. Nowadays it is being implemented only in a few cities and not at all in the rural areas. But we have firmly decided that by the end of the Third Plan, all the boys and girls between the ages of six and eleven

will go to school. We want that they should be educated till the age of fourteen and fifteen. But this is the first step and gradually it will be increased. Do you know what this implies? If, as I was saying elsewhere today, all the boys and girls between the ages of six and fifteen are to go to school and many of them to colleges, universities, technical institutes, etc., do you know how many students and teachers there will be? If the population of India today is four hundred millions, there will be a hundred million teachers and students. So you can imagine that a hundred million is a very large number and it is the nation which will have to bear this great burden. How is it to be done? It can be done only when a great deal of wealth is produced in the country from land, industries and other sources. Unless this kind of national wealth is produced, the country cannot take on these burdens merely by passing resolutions or increasing people's wages or salaries. A country grows by its savings and investments. The more you save from daily consumption and invest in tasks of progress, the faster the country will grow. If everything that is earned is consumed, there is nothing left over for progress and development. Or, if consumption exceeds income, the nation will go bankrupt. So if we wish to progress, it is essential to save something to invest in fifty different ways in development. Investment does not mean merely putting up industries. Investment can be in human beings in schools and education, in health, etc.. Education and health help human beings to grow strong and become trained.

So it is necessary to save and invest. If you wish to see how far a country progresses, you must find out how much it saves and invests. If you know how much a country's capital formation is, you can guess what progress it is capable of making. The more avenues of development that open in the country, the more it produces and saves and consequently its capital formation is greater. Take the advanced countries like the United States or the Soviet Union, for instance. They produce so much from their land and industries that they have a great deal to invest. Their capital formation keeps increasing as their rate of saving goes up. So they are able to advance very rapidly. Even if they throw away or waste things, as it happens in the United States, they have an enormous amount of wealth. This can happen only in a country which is highly industrialised. It is obvious that the poor countries do not have anything left over to save. They are enmeshed in the mire of poverty and without savings, there is nothing to invest. So they slide down more and more. The case of a poor country is very similar to that of a poor family and it is very difficult to get out of the mire of poverty. The rich keep getting richer, even if they do not work for it. The same is true of rich nations.

So the question is how to get out of this mire of poverty. This is the spectre that haunts India and her neighbours, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and many



other countries of Asia except Japan which has advanced. Europe does not face these problems any more for they have gradually got out of the mire of poverty during the last hundred years or so. So the question before us is how to do this. This is what is known as take-off in economics to a point where the economy becomes more stable. Now it is not possible in one stroke but can come about very gradually. Until we arrive at that take-off point, all our efforts at progress are nullified by poverty and unemployment which are like a swamp. Until we get out of it, all our efforts will not bear any fruits.

How are we to get out of that swamp and arrive on firm ground? How is this take-off to be achieved? This is the problem which haunts the underdeveloped countries. As I told you, these are not the problems which are before England or the Soviet Union, the United States or other advanced countries. So we cannot find a solution to our problems by trying to copy the West or their economic policy. Yes, we can certainly look for solutions to our problems in other underdeveloped countries just as we can help them. These things cannot be done by magic. It takes time and a solution can be found only gradually. However fast we may try to go, it takes time because after all we need savings, capital formation and above all, trained human beings in large numbers. We need trained and highly skilled engineers, scientists and other workers in millions to shoulder the burden. If you take the countries of Asia and Africa or even some European countries and South America, you will find India striving hardest among them to advance. Let us leave aside China for the moment because a great deal is happening there. In any case, they follow a different system. I do not want to say anything about that just now. We do not know definitely about China. Let us leave aside Japan too, because in the last fifty years they have made gigantic efforts to progress and succeed. But among the others India has made the most strenuous efforts to get out of the swamp of poverty and to reach the take off point. We have not reached that stage yet, but will come to it gradually. But we have laid the foundations of progress. What does that mean? As I said, we need trained human beings and we are training engineers, scientists and factory-workers in large numbers. Though compared to the four hundred million of our population, their population is small, it is constantly increasing.

Secondly, we have laid the foundation of basic industry. What is basic industry? I will not include the innumerable textile mills like the ones you have in Bombay in basic industries though they are good. Basic industries include things like steel and power and machine-building industries. If we wish to put steel plants or some other industries we should not have to import machines from the Soviet Union or Germany. We have laid the foundations for these industries in India in the last few years. As you know, we have put up four new

steel plants and now we want to put up two more in the Third Plan. In the beginning we had only one Steel Plant in Jamshedpur set up by a far-sighted individual fifty years ago. Jamsetji Tata had set up this plant. If we had had two more plants in the last ten years, we could have progressed much faster. Well, anyhow, we are putting up steel plants ourselves and will keep expanding them gradually.

We are taking up other big projects like the river valley schemes to produce hydro-electric and thermal power. In this connection, we are even trying to produce atomic energy in Trombay. We are not going to produce atom bombs there. We are making preparations to produce power and once it gathers momentum, we will be able to set up atomic energy power stations all over the country in ten years. I hope that we will have our first atomic energy power station five years from now. Many people say this is for show which is not true. It is essential for our future progress. We have invested five hundred crore rupees in these steel plants in the last three to four years which is not a small amount and so far we have had no benefit. But now we will begin to benefit from them.

So, as I told you, we have laid the foundations of progress by training scientists and engineers in large numbers and secondly by putting up steel and chemical industries, machine-building industries, power plants, etc. Now the other steps will become a little easier and we can progress faster. So, as I said except for China and Japan, when compared to other Asian countries of Africa and South America, we are nearer to the take-off point when we will be able to get out of the mire of poverty and reach solid ground. We are almost ready to take the leap. This has been possible because in the last ten to twelve years we have made tremendous efforts, opened science laboratories and engineering institutes and spread education all over the country. We have laid the foundations of progress by taking up huge river valley projects like Bhakra and Damodar Valley to produce electricity, steel plants, etc. You cannot see the result immediately, but it has certainly laid the foundations for us to build the edifice on top. So in a sense we are in a better position than other countries because we have laid the foundations. We have done this in another way too, by giving more autonomy and powers to the village panchayats in order to put new life into the rural areas. After all, it is from among them that new scientists and engineers will emerge.

So, the question before us is of the country's progress. The other problems are secondary. The more we progress, the stronger we will be, the country will progress and there will be a welfare state, and we will be better equipped to protect our freedom. It cannot be done by making a noise or even by increasing the armed forces because that has to be backed by another kind of strength.



Today only the countries which are industrialised are strong. We cannot become strong by importing guns and planes from the United States or elsewhere. It is only when we start producing planes and weapons and have other key industries that we will be strong. All our five year plans, etc, are part of this. We will have to work hard to implement them and not swerve from this path. It cannot be done without planning or by following a policy of laissez-faire which is simply not feasible in today's world. No country can hope to progress in this manner.

I call myself a socialist and I believe in socialism. That does not mean that I want to copy anyone. I accept the basic principles of socialism like equality of opportunity for all, welfare of the masses, equal opportunities for progress, etc. But at the same time I believe in the personal freedom of individuals and would not like to suppress individual liberty in the name of progress. Both are essential but sometimes there is a danger of one or the other becoming weakened. Too much freedom where each individual pulls in a different direction can weaken the country. If freedom is construed as hooliganism, it is obvious that the country will become weak. You can see the difference between an army and a crowd. An army is a strong force which marches in step while a crowd can loot and burn and destroy, without possessing real strength. Fifty soldiers can easily disperse a crowd of ten thousand. So there is strength in discipline.

Discipline is of two kinds. One is official discipline which is imposed from above. To impose such a discipline on the masses is not a good thing because it suppresses individual liberty. Then, what kind of discipline do we need? It is obvious that we cannot do without discipline. The other kind of discipline is the one which an individual or society imposes upon itself, without any pressure from anybody, but of its own violation. This is the discipline of a free people. Only those nations will progress which have such discipline. You can see that kind of discipline in the countries of Europe like England and Germany and others. They are disciplined in defeat as well as victory and in spite of all their mistakes, there is an unmistakable strength of self-discipline among them. We have less of it.

We think that freedom means we should make a noise or stage big demonstrations set fire to things and destroy, etc. Is this a sign of discipline? We earn a bad name in the world. This is neither politics nor law. It is merely lawlessness which does great harm to us. So we must understand this, and especially at a time when we wish to become an army in a sense to fight a battle against the country's poverty and unemployment. These things will only act as obstacles. I am not criticising any party, for that is not my job. But I want to draw your attention to the fact that in my opinion, the Party which puts its energy into destructive activities, cannot serve the country in any way. It does

harm to the country. If the government makes mistakes, you have the right to change the government or draw its attention to them. This is how a democracy works. By indulging in unlawful activities or force, they will only succeed in weakening the country which in today's world is disastrous. There will be no respect for India. You must remember that and act accordingly.

I have mentioned the border dispute that has arisen with China. Now it is obvious that to have a dispute with China over anything is not a good thing, either for India or for China. Both are great countries. It is possible that China is stronger than us with an army which is ten times larger than ours and there is no doubt that they are producing more and perhaps the people are also stronger. But it is not so much a question of military might. If unfortunately there is a clash between us, it will definitely bring ruin not only upon both the countries but also on Asia. Moreover, it hurts me, because I do not want relations between India and China to be strained. If such a state of affairs continues, the atmosphere will be vitiated. If there are military preparations on both sides of our two and a half thousand mile border with China, even if there is no war, it casts a tremendous burden. Moreover, it will vitiate the atmosphere in Asia and to some extent the world too. So, I am not bothered about the dispute at the moment so much as of the future, because it is a bad thing. After all, in the last two thousand years of history of India and China, or perhaps more, there has never been a war between the two countries. You must be well aware of the history of South East Asia and the islands of Java, Sumatra, Indo-China, Malaya, Singapore and Indonesia. In ancient times, their history was inextricably linked with that of India. Nearly eighteen hundred years ago, Indians had gone to these countries, not to conquer, but because they were full of a spirit of adventure and courage and daring. They used to cross the seas at great risk to themselves and settle in these far flung areas. They took their culture and civilisation and the arts and the Sanskrit language and established vast empires in South-East Asia which were not under India's political dominance in any way. This was a glorious epoch in the history of India where the people travelled far and wide and had intercourse with remote areas of the world and settled there. Then came a time when crossing the seas began to be considered a sin. This was the time when the rigidity of the caste system increased with all its taboos against eating with and touching other people and much else. Gone were the days when Indians would travel thousands of miles fearlessly and instead we become stick-in-the-mud people with all kinds of ridiculous taboos. Travelling meant becoming outcastes. It was inevitable that we would become backward like frogs in the well because instead of cherishing high ideals, we became totally immersed in kitchen rituals. So India fell and the English and French and Portuguese and others came, filled with a spirit of adventure, at great personal risk and crossed



thousands of miles by ocean. We may criticise the British and the Portuguese for carving out colonial empires for themselves and for the atrocities that the Portuguese have committed in Goa. But you must not forget the gallantry and courage which were behind it. They used to be on the high seas for months at a time with no clear knowledge of where they were going. When we had this spirit of adventure more than fifteen hundred years ago we had progressed and when it disappeared, India became weak.

Well, as I was telling you, Indians used to go in large numbers to South-East Asia and Hinduism and Buddhism spread to that entire region to Bali and Indonesia. Our culture and arts spread all over the area. If you want to see the best examples of the greatness of Indian art, you will find it outside India, surprisingly enough. You will find it in Java and Indonesia where there are beautiful examples of ancient Indian architecture. You should go to Indo-China and to Cambodia, to Angkor Vat where the import of Indian art has produced extraordinarily beautiful temples which are unrivalled. At the same time as Indians went to South-East Asia, the Chinese civilisation and culture was also spreading in the region. So India and China have had cultural contacts with the whole of South-East Asia for thousands of years. But history tells us that there was never any conflict between the two countries which is surprising considering that both were powerful and lively nations.

Therefore, I feel sad that there should be disputes over anything now. It is obvious that in the present dispute, the Government of India is not to blame at all. I feel that the Chinese Government has displayed an overbearing attitude in this matter. We have pointed this out to them. Small disputes over boundaries are bound to be there especially in a mountainous terrain completely uninhabited by human beings where it is difficult to demarcate the boundaries. I am prepared to sit down and talk things over or have peaceful negotiations. But to show large chunks of Indian territory as belonging to China, like they have shown in NEFA and demand that they should be handed over, is absurd.<sup>81</sup> We cannot sit by calmly and negotiate in the face of such claims. With all the will in the world to talk things over calmly, it does arouse passion and anger. For one thing, it is an extraordinary state of affairs when something which has been part of India for centuries should be shown as Chinese territory merely by changing the colours on the map. Let me tell you that we will not give up any part of Indian territory or yield to pressures and threats.

But there is yet another implication. We have so far regarded the Himalayan peaks as our boundary more or less. But the things that really count are the watersheds and by that yardstick, the entire region beyond the Himalayas is

81. See fn 60 in this section.

shown to be theirs or ours. Meaning if the water flows this side it is ours and if the water flows towards that side it is China and Tibet, But if there is even a little change in the maps then the territory on that side becomes part of Indian territory and the territory on this side goes to them.

So, there are many aspects to this question apart from the fact that it is absurd that the Chinese should try to change the map and claim large chunks of Indian territory. It also implies that they will be right on our door-step if their demands are conceded which will create its own problems. Thirdly, it has an emotional impact on all of us in India. What are the Himalayas? For thousands of years, even since the beginnings of our history, Himalayas have loomed large on the horizon [applause] and our culture and mythology is full of references to them. Whether you read the Ramayana or Mahabharata, the Puranas or the Vedas, the Himalayas are ever-present in all of them. So they are inextricably linked to India's life and it is impossible to cut off a portion of it and gift it away, no matter what the consequences are. [Applause]

Anyhow, there is no point in passing long resolutions or uttering threats. What is worse is what happened particularly in Bombay a few months ago when some people got angry and demonstrated in front of the Chinese Consul's residence.<sup>82</sup> It is absolutely wrong. It is unbecoming and against all laws and customs and gets us a bad reputation. We must concentrate our attention in becoming strong and always bear in mind the fact that a continuing dispute between India and China is not a good thing. It should be solved quickly, because it is not good for the future of Asia or the world. We will continue to make efforts but it has to be backed by strength. A weak individual or a coward cannot find a solution. It is only when we try with courage and faith in ourselves that it will have an impact. It is true that there is a great responsibility on our armed forces the army and the air force. Only the navy cannot reach the Himalayas. Our armed forces are very good. But ultimately, as I told you, it is not so much a question of armed might as of the country's unity, strength, industry and the rate at which we progress.

I would like to tell you in this connection that I have felt rather unhappy to see that some of our political parties and newspapers have been trying to malign our armed forces for the last month or so, especially some of our senior officers. You may remember that a few days ago General Thimayya had suddenly sent in his resignation to Parliament. But I sent for him immediately and he withdrew his resignation.<sup>83</sup> Anyhow, the matter ended. There was a great uproar in

82. See fn 61 in this section.

83. See fn 62 in this section.



# You Said It

By LAXMAN



You wish to withdraw your resignation—fine,  
I myself was about to beg of you most humbly to withdraw it!

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 9 SEPTEMBER 1959)

Parliament and I had made a statement. Since then, some people have been out to malign our Defence Minister and General Thimayya, and are casting aspersions on their bonafides. This is extremely improper. It is unfortunate that there should have been a misunderstanding between the two gentlemen. But the matter is finished and it is very wrong to cast aspersions upon anyone or question their loyalty. It is wrong and improper and extremely harmful. I do not like such aspersions being cast on our Defence Minister or General Thimayya. Our Defence Minister is a man of high calibre and he would not be what he is today if I did not have complete faith in his ability and loyalty. It is quite obvious. The same thing applies to General Thimayya. I want you to understand this quite clearly, because I want these arguments and discussions to be put an end to.

It is possible that there is a question mark in your minds about the future of the State of Bombay. [Applause] This is an extremely complicated question for which I do not have a clear-cut solution at the moment. But I would like to tell you something because I do not want that there should be a curtain of any sort between you and me, nor do I wish to hide anything from you. It is true that I cannot talk about everything that is in my mind in the open bazaar. There is a time and a place for everything. Yet I want that there should be no reserve between the people and me and at least I would never wish to deceive them. [Applause] So I would like to tell you, and I have repeated this again and again that in my opinion, the State of Greater Bombay that has been formed is a good thing, as a matter of principle as well as in practice as it has worked out so far.<sup>84</sup> But at the same time I have felt a nagging doubt that a thing cannot be considered good unless all the people think so. If there is a resentment or hurt in some people's minds it should be removed and that is not possible by mere arguments on paper.

Unfortunately, there have been terrible riots and fighting over this issue in Bombay before the elections which was bad and caused great harm. In fact those who indulged in such activities caused harm to their own cause, because if this method were to be adopted, nothing will ever get done peacefully. Everyone will resort to violence, loot and arson and the country will be finished. So those who indulged in such activities have caused damage to their own cause. Well anyhow, then came the elections and all of you know the result. The majority opinion seems to have upheld the decision to form greater Bombay. But there is no doubt about it that there is resentment in many people which has often been expressed quite openly. I was worried about how this was to be

84. See fn 63 in this section.



removed. I had said more than a year and a half ago that though I liked the idea of greater Bombay, it was not a matter of some profound principles that could not be changed. Ultimately what must be seen is whether a certain decision is generally approved by the people. Now it is obvious that each individual's preference cannot be taken into account. But the general trend can be gauged. So, I had said more than a year and a half ago in Aurangabad and in Poona that the matter should be carefully gone into because somehow I am not in favour of forcing something down other people's throats even if I feel it is right. I do not believe that democracy can function in this manner. I have had great confidence in the people of India for a long, long time. They may occasionally indulge in hooliganism and make a noise but if they come to a decision after calm consideration, it is bound to be the right one. Whether it is right or not, since we have adopted a democratic method of government, it will have to be accepted.

So, I want that the matter should be gone into peacefully and we should find out what the people want after this new experience. I do not want to stifle any view point. Everyone should get an opportunity to express an opinion. As I have already told you, I am personally in favour of continuing the present arrangement. I have often discussed this with my friends and said that the matter should be reconsidered. Unfortunately the illness of the Chief Minister of Bombay has delayed matters.<sup>85</sup> As you know, he has had to undergo an operation and has been very ill for the last few months. I did not want to hold talks on this matter without consulting him. Then as soon as I got the opportunity, I have started discussions on a very small scale. A month or six weeks ago I do not remember exactly—our Home Minister, Pantji, Finance Minister, Morarji Bhai Desai, our former Congress President Dhebar Bhai, the Chief Minister of Bombay, Shri Yashwantrao Chavan and myself got together.<sup>86</sup> I proposed that since the situation is calm, we should reconsider this matter and come to a final decision, one way or the other. Now the fact of the matter is that in such an issue, there is bound to be some points in favour or against whichever way we decide. If it was not so complex, why should there be any dispute at all? There are thousands of complications. On the one hand, it will mean bringing to a halt something that is working smoothly. New plans will have to be drawn up which are bound to lead to their own problems and complications. It is not a question merely of a yes or no. All kinds of problems arise. We will also have to consider what the implications will be for the rest of the country.

85. See fn 64 in this section.

86. See fn 65 in this section.

We talked for an hour and a half and decided to examine the matter again, consult other people but in private. This was our intention. But I was amazed to see a couple of days late blaring headlines about our meeting and saying that certain decisions had already been taken.<sup>87</sup> [Applause] They did not have a clear idea of what had happened. But they were watching our movements like hawks and so these headlines appeared. Anyhow, in a way it was a good thing because the matter had to be discussed openly some time or the other. Now the matter came before the Congress Working Committee for the first time a month or so ago.<sup>88</sup> The Congress President has been asked to consult various Congress bodies in Bombay State and others and give a report. It is our wish that whatever decision is taken should be done in a clear-cut manner and not to pass a decree from Delhi. We wanted to widen the field gradually.

Well, anyhow, she has given a report and is still consulting people.<sup>89</sup> She has been told while she was in Chandigarh to keep the discussions open and a committee has been constituted to help her. There are people of different shades of opinion from Bombay. I think there are nine members in the committee. This is where the matter stands. We want that the discussions should be continued peacefully and the outcome will be presented to you for your approval. On the one hand, we do not want any hooliganism or hurry about coming to a decision. On the other hand, it is not a good thing to let these matters drag indefinitely either. So both these things are there. But I hope that we will be able to come to a decision soon after proper consideration.

I want to mention one thing in particular, especially about the city of Bombay. I am not trying to interfere in what the various committees or the Government of India or anyone else feels about all this. But it is pretty obvious that the city of Bombay is very special for India. You have even adopted a Latin motto—*Urbs Prima in Indis*—first city in India. I do not want to say anything more on that, because I do not want to hurt the feelings of Calcutta, Madras and others. I have to think of everyone. But there is no doubt that Bombay has a pretty special place in India, in many ways, for the manner in which it has advanced, the leading role that it played in the freedom struggle and because of the fact that the industrial progress of India is being directed from this city. It is a cosmopolitan city with a population which comprises not only people from Maharashtra and Gujarat but all over India. So it has become a genuine Indian city as well as cosmopolitan and we must not let anything diminish that. The

87. See fn 66 in this section.

88. See fn 67 in this section.

89. See fn 68 in this section.



city of Bombay must progress and become an example for the rest of India. It should take the lead in the big tasks that we have embarked upon and show the way to the rest of the country. Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]

## 9. At Poona Seva Sadan: Women's Education and Social Revolution<sup>90</sup>

अध्यक्ष महोदया, बहनो और भाइयो और बच्चो, बहुत दिनों से पूना सेवा सदन का मैंने सुना था। इसकी खबर मेरे पास आती थी कि कितना अच्छा काम यहाँ पूना में इस सेवा सदन ने किया है। तो फिर जब आपने मुझे यहाँ बुलाया और मुझे यहाँ मौक़ा मिला आने का तो मुझे खुशी हुई कि मैं स्वयं आ कर कुछ देखूँ। देखूँ कि ये प्रसिद्ध संस्था जो है पूना की, यहाँ क्या-क्या हो रहा है, क्या-क्या हुआ है। आज मैं यहाँ आया और आपने मुझे इधर-उधर घुमा कर कुछ दिखाया। पचास वर्ष इसको हो गये और स्वर्ण जयन्ती आप इसकी मना रहे हैं। इन्ते दिनों में आपने बताया कि मालूम नहीं, इकसठ हज़ार या कितने, तिरसठ हज़ार लड़कियों को आपने यहाँ ट्रेन किया और भेजा फिर और-और काम करने। और ये सब बातें हल्के-हल्के आपने करके अपनी इस संस्था को बढ़ाया। असल में ऐसी संस्थाएँ, मैं सोचता हूँ, जब ये शुरू की गयीं, जिन्होंने इसको शुरू किया, उनके सामने कितनी कठिनाइयाँ आयीं होंगी। लेकिन उन्होंने उनका हिम्मत से, वीरता से सामना किया और चलाया उसे। आप इस समय की अपनी कठिनाइयाँ बता रहे हैं, पैसे की कठिनाई विशेषकर, लेकिन अगर शायद आप सोचें, जिन्होंने उसको आरम्भ किया था उनकी कठिनाइयाँ क्या थीं। और वो आपसे बहुत ज्यादा होंगी, लेकिन फिर भी उन्होंने उसका सामना किया और उसको मज़बूत करके चलाया और उसका नमूना आज से जो कि एक संस्था सारे भारत में प्रसिद्ध है।

आपने एक बात कही कि अगर एक कोई लड़के को, पुरुष को, कोई पढ़ाये-लिखाये तो एक व्यक्ति को पढ़ाते हैं। और लड़की को, स्त्री को पढ़ायें तो कुटुम्ब को पढ़ाना हुआ। ये बात बहुत सच है। और मैं समझता हूँ, इस समय भारत में एक बड़ी क्रान्ति जो हो रही है, अलावा बहुत सारी और क्रान्तियों के, वो है एक पढ़ाई का फैलना और विशेषकर लड़कियों में फैलना। दोनों ही हैं, लेकिन विशेषकर लड़कियों में। मैं जिस-जिस, और कभी-कभी यूनिवर्सिटीज़ के कॉन्वोकेशन में जाता हूँ, तो देखता हूँ कि कितनी लड़कियों को डिग्री मिली। अब बीस हज़ार कोई भारत के लोगों की संख्या में बहुत नम्बर नहीं, लेकिन फिर भी काफ़ी अच्छा नम्बर था और बढ़ता जाता है, और उसमें अगर आप मिलायें तो कितनी लड़कियाँ आजकल हाई स्कूल

90. Speech, at the golden jubilee celebrations of the Seva Sadan, Poona, 5 October 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

इत्यादि में पढ़ रही हैं तो वो तो बहुत ही बड़ा नम्बर हो जाता है। तो ये एक-एक लड़की जो पढ़ कर निकलती है स्कूल-कॉलेज से तो उसका कुटुम्ब, उसका परिवार पर उसका असर होता है। उसके घर के रहन-सहन में कुछ फर्क हो जाता है। बहुत बातें होती हैं। तो असल सामाजिक क्रान्ति घर से शुरू हो जाती है। ऊपर जो कुछ राजनीतिक क्रान्ति या आर्थिक हो, वो तो अलग है। और सामाजिक क्रान्ति सब में बुनियादी होती है। इसलिए मैं बिलकुल आपसे सहमत हूँ कि ये लड़कियों को, स्त्रियों को पढ़ाना — इससे बहुत ज्यादा लाभ होता है और मोटी बात तो लाभ होता है, जो आपने कहा, कुटुम्ब को, क्योंकि सब में अधिक उनका असर अपने बच्चों पर होता है। माता का ज्यादा होता है और कैसे बच्चे हों, कैसे बढ़ें? अगर माता अच्छी है, समझदार है, तो अच्छे होंगे बच्चे, अगर माता बेवकूफ है, मूर्ख है, तो बुरे होंगे बच्चे। और इसमें कोई प्रेम का विशेष सबक...प्रेम तो होना ही चाहिए माता को, लेकिन प्रेम के अलावा अक्ल भी होनी चाहिए। खाली प्रेम से बिगड़ भी जाते हैं बच्चे।

अक्सर लोग स्कूल-कॉलेज में लड़के-लड़कियाँ जाते हैं, पढ़ते हैं। लेकिन शायद आप जानते हों कि आजकल, आजकल क्या एक पुरानी बात है, कहा जाता है कि एक लड़का या लड़की या बच्चा पहले दस वर्ष में, अपनी उम्र के, बन जाता है। यानी उसकी जड़, उसके चरित्र वगैरा की जड़ बन जाती है। उसके बाद वो सीख सकता है बहुत कुछ, लेकिन उसी बुनियाद पर वो मकान खड़ा होता है जो पहले दस वर्ष के अन्दर बुनियाद डाली जाती है। तभी शायद वो जो एक क्रिश्चियन्स में, रोमन कैथोलिक्स में होते हैं, उनकी एक कहावत है कि किसी बच्चे को शायद सात-आठ वर्ष के लिए हमें दे दो, फिर ले जाओ तो उसे कोई हमसे छीन नहीं सकता है, हमने उसे बना लिया अपना। अब कहाँ तक ये सही है, मैं नहीं जानता, लेकिन बहुत कुछ सही है बात। तो अभी तक हमारे देश में पूरी तौर से इस बात को समझे नहीं या इस पर अमल नहीं किया। स्कूल-कॉलेज का बड़ा चर्चा है, बढ़ते जाते हैं, ठीक है, बढ़ना ही चाहिए उन्हें। लेकिन उसके भी पहले बच्चे की देख-भाल बहुत आवश्यक है। अधिकतर तो खैर, अपने घर में होगी, माता-पिता के यहाँ। ठीक है, वो भी होनी चाहिए। लेकिन उसके लिए भी दो बातें जरूरी हैं, एक तो माता-पिता में तमीज़ हो उसको सिखाने की, जो कि बहुत कम होता है। प्रेम होता है लेकिन तमीज़ नहीं होती। क्या करें? दूसरे ये, समय भी कम होता है, तो कुछ-न-कुछ बाहर से भी उसकी सहायता होनी चाहिए, संस्थाएँ होनी चाहिए। क्लेश हैं, चाइल्ड वेलफ़ेयर केन्द्र हैं, वगैरा, होने चाहिए। ये बहुत आवश्यक है, क्योंकि उसी से फिर अगले क़दम सँभलते हैं। जो लोग, जिन लोगों को सम्बन्ध है, फ़र्ज़ कीजिए यूनिवर्सिटी का, शिक्षा, और शिकायतें होती हैं यूनिवर्सिटी शिक्षा में, कि बहुत कुछ ऐसे लड़के वहाँ आते हैं। तो उस शिकायत को आप ले जाइए तो कहा जायेगा कि हाई स्कूल में ठीक पढ़ाई नहीं हुई, इसलिए वहाँ गये ऐसे। काफ़ी पढ़ाई नहीं हुई। और बात ठीक है। क्योंकि एक दफ़े ग़लत क़दम उठ जाता है शुरू में तो फिर उसको, वो ग़लत होता ही जाता है, सँभलता नहीं बाद में। इसलिए ये आवश्यक है कि पहला क़दम बचपन में ठीक उठे। तब बच्चा सँभलता जायेगा, अपने को सँभाल लेगा। और अगर ग़लत एक दफ़े हो गया, फिर उसका सँभालना ज़रा ज्यादा कठिन हो जाता है। खैर, तो



मुझे खुशी है कि अब ज़रा ध्यान हमारे देश में बच्चों की देख-भाल की तरफ़ अधिक जा रहा है।

एक माने में पहला काम इसमें यही है कि स्कूल हो सभी के लिए। अभी तक नहीं हैं, लेकिन अब भी कितने करोड़ हमारे बच्चे स्कूल जा रहे हैं। बहुत करोड़ों जा रहे हैं देश में। और स्कूल सब बहुत अच्छे नहीं हैं, ग्रामों में, लेकिन फिर भी कुछ-न-कुछ करते ही हैं। और अच्छे होते जायेंगे, मुझे विश्वास है। मैंने कहा था कि स्कूल के माने क्या हैं। स्कूल के माने एक शिक्षा देने वाला और शिक्षा लेने वाला, वो स्कूल हो जाता है। चाहे मकान हो, चाहे न हो। चाहे कोई बैठने की जगह हो, चाहे न हो। अगर पढ़ाने वाला है और पढ़ने वाले हैं तो वो स्कूल है, चाहे एक वृक्ष के, दरख्त के नीचे बैठ जायें पढ़ने, चाहे मैदान में बैठें, वो ठीक है। और हम जो बहुत शिक्षा बढ़ाना चाहते हैं, और हम सोचें कि हम तो पहले एक बड़ा-सा मकान बनायेंगे तब स्कूल बनेगा, तो रुक जाती है शिक्षा। और मैं नहीं चाहता रुकें। और हमारे देश में, विशेषकर जहाँ कि बहुत अधिक सर्दी नहीं होती, बाहर काम हो सकता है बहुत कुछ। हाँ, वर्षा के समय शायद न हो, तो छुट्टी दे दी जाय उस ज़माने में, कुछ ऐसा प्रबन्ध किया जाय। लेकिन कुछ हमें सोचना है कि कैसे अच्छी पढ़ाई हम हरेक बच्चे को पहुँचा सकते हैं देश भर में, जहाँ तक हम कर सकते हैं, वगैर बहुत खर्चा किये। क्योंकि नहीं तो हम फँस जाते हैं। नहीं है हमारे पास उता पैसा, जैसे हिसाब हम लगाते हैं। कितने करोड़ रुपये, सैकड़ों करोड़ रुपये का खर्चा बढ़ जाता है सबों को पढ़ाने का कि उता देश में रुपया ही नहीं है इस समय। बाद में हो जाय, हो जाय। तो क्या करें? पढ़ाई को हम रोक दें, ये भी ठीक नहीं है। तो फिर हमें उपाय ढूँढने होते हैं किस तरह से पढ़ाई फैले और खर्चा कम हो। एक चीज़ इसमें कम होनी चाहिए — खर्चा मकान बनाने पर। मैं ग्रामों का कह रहा हूँ। ये बातें शहर में तो, नगर में तो हो नहीं सकती, ग्रामों में। तो कोई आवश्यक बात नहीं है। और, या ग्राम वालों के ऊपर छोड़ देना, वो बना लेंगे, बड़ी जल्दी बना लेंगे। और नहीं तो स्कूल शुरू करें। अध्यापक अच्छा हो, ये आवश्यक बात है और अध्यापक को आप ज़्यादा दें। मकान में जो बनाने को देते हैं और अध्यापक को दें तो ज़्यादा आपको फल मिलेगा। अच्छी उसको तनख्वाह मिले, और उसका आदर हो। जिस देश में अध्यापकगण, टीचर्स वगैरा को तनख्वाह मिलती है जो हमारे पियन्स की तनख्वाह है करीब-करीब, वो तो ठीक नहीं है। वो तो न आपको अच्छा अध्यापक मिले, न उनका आदर हो, और सच बात ये है कि जो लोग छोटे बच्चों को पढ़ाते हैं, उनको ज़्यादा समझदार होना चाहिए बनिस्वत जो बड़ों को पढ़ाते हैं। ज़्यादा मुश्किल है छोटे बच्चों को पढ़ाना, बनिस्वत बड़ों को पढ़ाना। यहाँ यूनिवर्सिटी के बुजुर्ग बैठे हुए हैं, माफ़ करेंगे मेरा कहना। यूनिवर्सिटी में लेक्चर देना आसान है बच्चों को पढ़ाने से, क्योंकि यूनिवर्सिटी में तो एक बड़ा हो गया है, आप उसको बातें बताते हैं, वो समझता है या नहीं समझता आपने लेक्चर दिया, खत्म हुआ। वहाँ आपको हर वक़्त एक बच्चे का दिल टटोलना पड़ता है, मन को, बढ़ रहा है, और उसको देना होता है उसके बढ़ने की रज़ा।

खैर, तो मेरा मतलब ये है कि रुपया जित्ता हम खर्चें अच्छे अध्यापक पर वो ठीक खर्चा

है। ईट-पत्थर पर बचा लें तो अच्छा है। उससे ज्यादा लाभ होगा। और उसको तो मैं कहूँगा आपसे, वो भी हमारे यहाँ अस्पताल बनते हैं। ठीक है, बनते हैं बड़े-बड़े, शान के होते हैं और देख कर अच्छा लगता है इत्ता बड़ा अस्पताल है। लेकिन फिर मैं विचार करता हूँ कि इत्ते बड़े अस्पताल इस बड़े देश में कहाँ तक बनेंगे। जहाँ अस्पताल का नाम लो, कहते हैं उसमें तो दस लाख, बीस लाख, पचास लाख, एक करोड़ खर्च होंगे, मैं तो हैरान हो जाता हूँ सुन कर, और करोड़ के अस्पताल कहाँ तक बनेंगे देश में। नतीजा ये है कि बड़े-बड़े नगरों में बन जायें, और ग्रामों में साहब अस्पताल नहीं हैं, वो सब खर्च हो गया है एक करोड़ रुपये का अस्पताल बनाने में। इन सब बातों में हम कुछ ऐसे फँस गये हैं, अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में जो हमने सीखा और अंग्रेज़ों की नक़ल करने में, कि सादगी से काम नहीं कर सकता। हर बात, हर बात पे पेंच आ जाता है, बड़े पैमाने पर करो, बड़े धूम-धाम से करो। मैं तो समझता हूँ, स्कूल, अस्पताल, ये सब-कुछ तो बड़े रखने ही हैं अस्पताल, होने ही हैं, लेकिन मामूली ग्राम में आसान-से-आसान, सीधे-से-सीधे हों जिसमें अधिक खर्च न हो और सब जगह हों। हाँ, कोई बहुत अधिक बीमार हो, उसको बड़े शहर में आप ले आइए, ये और बात है। लेकिन मामूली अस्पताल एक बीस-पचीस बेड के सीधे-साधे, मामूली औज़ार हों, मामूली देख-भाल करनी हो, उसमें ज्यादा खर्च नहीं होता। मुझे पसन्द है कि आप ऐसे सौ बनायें, बजाय इसके कि एक बड़ा हॉस्पिटल बना दें और खासकर स्कूलों में। और स्कूल के मकान बनाने में भी कुछ नक़शे मैंने देखे थे, जो कि बहुत अब आसान होते जाते हैं। हमारा दस्तूर क्या है? पी.डब्ल्यू.डी. के नक़शे चले आते हैं, जब से अंग्रेज़ शुरू में आये उस समय से। वो पी.डब्ल्यू.डी. वैसे ही बनाती है, दुनिया बदल जाये, लेकिन पी.डब्ल्यू.डी. नहीं बदलती अपने नक़शों को। और वो हिसाब लगायेंगे कि दीवार इत्ती मोटी हो या कुछ हो, उत्ता खर्चेंगे, फ़िज़ूलखर्ची, चौगुना खर्चना, निकम्मा, और जो बनती है तो बहुत ही बदशक्ल होती है जो है। बनाने में भी, देखने में भी न अच्छी हो, न काम के लिए अच्छी हो, खाली पैसा खर्चने में अच्छी हो। तो ये तो फ़िज़ूल बात है। उससे कहीं ज्यादा सुन्दर मकान बन सकते हैं, हल्के। कोई ज़रूरत नहीं है कि आप ऐसा मकान स्कूल के लिए बनायें जो सौ वर्ष चले। सौ वर्ष के अन्दर हम दूसरा बना लेंगे तो ज्यादा अच्छा है। पहले तो मैंने आपसे कहा, मकान बनाइए ही नहीं, आप स्कूल चला दीजिए बग़ैर मकान के ग्रामों में। हाँ, ग्रामीण जनता पर आप छोड़ दीजिए, वो बना लेंगे, उनको बहुत शौक़ है इसका। अपने ऊपर बोझा न लें। और उसका भी नये नक़शे बने हैं जिसमें अधिकतर काम बाहर जा कर होता है, खुले में, लेकिन कुछ ज़रा-सा ढँका हुआ होता है, सामान रखने के लिए। इस ढंग से हम चलें तब काम हमारा बढ़ सकता है, पढ़ाई बढ़ सकती है। बिल्कुल आवश्यक है।

मैं अभी कल वहाँ बम्बई में कह रहा था एक जगह कि हिसाब लगाया कि हमारे हाँ, अगर सब बच्चे, पन्द्रह वर्ष के, सभी को पढ़ना पड़े और पढ़ाई का प्रबन्ध उनके लिए किया जाय और उसके बाद वो हाई स्कूल और कॉलेज और यूनिवर्सिटी, और टेक्निकल इन्स्टीट्यूट्स और सब जो हैं, सब प्रबन्ध किया जाय इन सभी का, तो पढ़ने वाले और पढ़ाने वाले दस करोड़ हो जाते हैं। आप विचार करें। दस करोड़, हण्ड्रेड मिलियन, सौ मिलियन सिर्फ़ पढ़ने और पढ़ाने वाले



हो जाते हैं हमारे देश में इस समय, गिनती से। यानी पच्चीस फ्रीसदी पढ़ने और पढ़ाने वाले हो जाते हैं, क्योंकि हमारी अवस्था, हमारी उम्रें कम हैं और देशों के मुकाबले में। कम उम्र के अधिक लोग हैं। तो इसका बोझा कैसे उठे जब तक कि हम कोई उपाय न ढूँढ़ें, कि बहुत ज्यादा पैसा न खर्च हो इन बातों पर। पढ़ाई पर जितना खर्च हो, अच्छा है, अध्यापक पर हो, अच्छा है, किताबें अच्छी हों, ये सब। लेकिन ईट-पत्थर पर कम खर्च हो, उस पर बहुत खर्चने लगे हैं।

खैर, मैं आपसे कह रहा था कि इस समय हमारे देश में बहुत सारी बातें हो रही हैं। देश बदल रहा है, दुनिया बदल रही है। आप सब देखते हैं विज्ञान से क्या-क्या बातें होती हैं, चाँद के पास लोग पहुँचने वाले हैं। ये सब बातें हैं, लेकिन मुझे विश्वास है कि हमारे देश में सब में बड़े क्रान्ति की चीज़ इस समय ये पढ़ाई है, शिक्षा है, इसका फैलना ऊपर से नीचे तक फैलना, तेज़ी से फैल रही है। हाँ, तेज़ी से फैलने में एक कठिनाई हो जाती है कि उसकी क्वालिटी ज़रा कम हो जाती है। सही बात है और ये अच्छी बात नहीं है, क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं अच्छी क्वालिटी हो, ऊँचे दर्जे की हो। वो कम हो जाती है तेज़ी से फैलने में या पतली हो जाती है। उसके उपाय ढूँढ़े जाते हैं। लेकिन जो कुछ हो, हल्के-हल्के उसको भी, सँभल जायेगी बात वो, और इस पढ़ाई में स्त्रियों की और लड़कियों की पढ़ाई सबमें ज्यादा फ़र्क हमारे देश में कर रही है और करेगी, और सामाजिक क्रान्ति कर रही है हल्के-हल्के, कोई धूम-धाम की बात नहीं है।

खैर, मैं आपसे इधर-उधर की बातें करने लगा। लेकिन आपके यहाँ सेवा सदन के काम का, मैंने आपसे कहा, तो बहुत ज़माने से मैं सुनता आता था। और-और देशों में, बम्बई वगैरा में भी काम हुए हैं इस ढंग के, लेकिन पूना की खास तौर से ख़बर मेरे कान तक पहुँची थी और यहाँ आ कर वो देख कर खुशी हुई। ये मैंने देखा कि आपको तंगी है मकान की, और बातों की, और आपने एक फ़ेहरिस्त पेश की कि इन-इन बातों के लिए आपको रुपये की ज़रूरत है। अब मैं उसका क्या जवाब दूँ आपको, सिवा इसके कि किसी गज़ से भी आप नापिये तो आपको सहायता मिलती जानी चाहिए। कित्ती मिले, कौन दे, ये तो मैं जानता नहीं। लेकिन एक बात मैं आपसे कहूँ फिर भी, मैंने अक्सर देखा कि संस्थाएँ बनती हैं, नयी संस्थाएँ, पुरानी संस्थाएँ, बगैर पैसे के या बहुत कम पैसे से। लोग अच्छे थे और उन्होंने उनको खड़ा कर दिया, मज़बूत किया, जान दी उसमें, और जहाँ उन्हीं संस्थाओं में बहुत पैसा आया वो फीकी पड़ गयीं। फिर वो लोग श्रद्धा से भरे हुए नहीं रहे, या हल्के-हल्के चलने लगा। देखने में शायद ज्यादा अच्छे मकान बन गये, देखने में सब बातें, लेकिन वो चीज़ थी जो असल में उनको जीवित रखती थी वो कुछ कम हो गयी।

तो मैं एक तरफ़ से तो संस्थाओं के लिए चाहता ही हूँ पैसा, एक तरफ़ से मैं डरता हूँ पैसा उनको ख़राब न कर दे। और ये सब क्रिस्म की संस्थाओं में मैंने देखा है, ये डर होता है। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि बावजूद पैसे के आप अपने को अच्छा रखेंगे, जो आपने काम किया है, और उसको बढ़ा सकेंगे। इसलिए ज़रूर आपकी सहायता होनी चाहिए। जैसे मैंने कहा, मैं तो नहीं कह सकता वो सहायता कहाँ से आये। ये तो राज्य सरकार हो या गवर्नमेंट ऑफ़ इंडिया हो। अब गवर्नमेंट ऑफ़ इंडिया के सामने तो हर वक़्त एक पेचीदा सवाल होता है कि जितना रुपया

उनके पास है, सहायतार्थ, उसके माँगने वाले, उसका दस गुना माँगने वाले होते हैं, बल्कि दस गुने से भी अधिक। तो कैसे उसका बँटवारा हो। किसको न दें, किसको दें, कितना दें? पचास कठिनाइयाँ हो जाती हैं। हल्के-हल्के ये शिक्षा, प्राइमरी शिक्षा बढ़ती है। और स्टेट की, राज्य की तरफ़ से होती है, राज्यों की तरफ़ से। तो ये एक तरह का जब सारे देश में फैल जाय, ये बोझा, तो किसी क़दर कम हो जायेगा, प्राइवेट संस्थाओं का।

एक बात की और मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाऊँ कि पहले ज़माने में बहुत सारी संस्थाएँ चलती थीं बग़ैर सरकारी मदद के, या बहुत कम मदद होती थी, लेकिन अक्सर होती ही नहीं थी। लोग चलाते थे, लोग पैसा जमा कर लेते थे। अब ज़्यादा अधिक-से-अधिक मैं देखता हूँ संस्थाएँ सरकारी मदद चाहती हैं जो कभी पहले न लेती थीं, न मिलता था। अब सब संस्थाएँ सरकारी मदद लेने को तैयार हैं। तो ये बात, अलावा इसके कि इती मदद तो मुश्किल है देनी, लेकिन उसमें एक पहलू आ जाता है कि उसका असर अच्छा नहीं होता है। मदद तो ठीक है, देनी ही चाहिए, उसके मैं विरोध में नहीं हूँ। और सरकारी छोड़िए, और संस्थाएँ करें। हमारी ऐसी संस्थाएँ हैं जो कि कुछ स्पेशल सर्विस करें, बहुत सारी हमारे पास आती हैं। और सोशल वेलफ़ेयर बोर्ड है, उसके पास, वो हज़ारों को सहायता देता है। अब मैंने देखा उनकी सहायता भी बदलती गयी। सहायता माँगती थीं पहले कुछ काम के लिए, हल्के-हल्के सहायता माँगने लगे हैं वो, कि हम जीप रखना चाहते हैं, सहायता दीजिए। हाथ बढ़ते जाते हैं, पैर फैलाते जाते हैं। अब बग़ैर जीप के नहीं काम होता? अब तो बड़ी मुश्किल है। थोड़े दिन बाद वो हवाई जहाज़ एक-एक माँगेंगे, कि इसके बग़ैर हम नहीं जा सकते काम करने के लिए। तो कैसे काम चले? हमारे देश की हालत इस वक़्त जो है, असल हालत, बम्बई-कलकत्ते को छोड़ कर, हमारा देश हल्के-हल्के बाइसिकल की स्टेज पर पहुँचा है और पहुँच गया है। बाइसिकल की स्टेज पर पक्की तौर से पहुँच गया है, और बाइसिकलें आपको सब ग्रामों में, सब जगह मिलेंगी और इसलिए अधिक-से-अधिक काम जो हमारे यहाँ होना चाहिए, वो बाइसिकल पर होना चाहिए, मेरी राय में। जो नहीं हो सकता, वो और बात है। मोटर ज़रूर चले, मैं मोटर के खिलाफ़ थोड़े ही हूँ, विरोधी। लेकिन हमें अपने काम को जो हम देश भर में करें, ग्रामों में करें, इस ढंग से करना चाहिए कि वो चल सके वहाँ। जा कर हम जीप पर घूम आये दो-चार गाँव में, जैसे अफ़सर लोग घूम आते हैं। अब कभी-कभी जाना है उन्हें, जायें, लेकिन वो बात जमती नहीं गाँव में। बाइसिकल जम गयी है। अब हो सकता है, थोड़े दिन बाद जीप भी जम जाय, उस समय देखा जाय।

तो मेरा मतलब ये है कि ये आदत बुरी हो जाती है हर चीज़ के लिए सरकार से माँगने की पैसा और अपने ऊपर भरोसा कम करने की। मैं आपकी शिकायत बिल्कुल नहीं कर रहा हूँ। (हँसी) मैं सेवा सदन की शिकायत नहीं करता, लेकिन मैं एक आम बात आपसे कह रहा हूँ, कि ऐसा हो गया है।

तो ख़ैर, आपकी स्वर्णजयन्ती पर हम सब यहाँ जमा हुए, एक शुभ अवसर पर। और ये तो शायद उसका अन्तिम दिन है, तीन दिन से आप कर रहे हैं। दूसरी अक्टूबर, जैसे आपने



कहा, वो भी एक मुबारक और शुभ दिन है, तभी शुरू किया था आपने।

एक बात आपने बड़ी भयानक कही, और ये कहा आपने कि शताब्दी पर भी मैं आपके हाज़िर होऊँ यहाँ (हँसी) इसको सुन कर मेरा दिल दहल गया बिल्कुल। लेकिन खैर, मैं तो हाज़िर क्या होऊँगा, लेकिन शताब्दी आपकी ज़ोरों से हो, धूम-धाम से हो और उस वक़्त आपके काम की कहानी बहुत लम्बी होगी और आपके काम का दायरा भी बहुत बढ़ गया होगा। क्योंकि आपने पहले पचास बरसों में दिखा दिया आप क्या कर सकते हैं, और रफ़्तार तो तेज़ होती जाती है काम की। तो इसलिए आपको शुभकामनाएँ और बधाई।

[Translation begins:

President, Sisters, Brothers and Children,

I had been hearing about the Poona Seva Sadan for years. I have been getting news about the excellent work being done by this organisation. So I am happy to be here at your invitation and to be able to see for myself what is being done by this famous institution of Poona. I have been taken around the place. You are celebrating the golden jubilee of this institution. I have been told that sixty-one or sixty-three thousand girls have been trained during the last fifty years and sent out into the world. You have been gradually expanding this institution over the years. I should think that in the beginning the people who began such organisations must have faced enormous difficulties which they have overcome with courage and fortitude. You have mentioned the problem of finances. But you can imagine the difficulties that the founders of the institution must have faced. They must have faced far greater difficulties and yet they coped and built a strong organisation which is an example to the rest of the country.

As you rightly mentioned, when a boy is educated it benefits one individual. When you educate a girl, you educate the entire family. That is very true and I feel that the greatest revolution taking place in India today is the spread of education particularly among girls. Whenever I visit universities for their convocations, I try to find out how many girls are getting degrees. So far they number around twenty thousand which is not a large number compared to the population of India. But it is a respectable figure and it is increasing all the time. If you add on the number of girls reading in high schools etc., it is a very large number. Every girl who passes out of schools and colleges makes an impact upon the family and the way of life. It triggers off a social revolution at home.

Political or economic revolutions apart, a social revolution is of fundamental importance. Therefore, I am completely in agreement with you that educating girls benefits society in many ways. The most important thing is that it has an impact on the family and the children. A child is influenced most by his mother.

If the mother is intelligent and wise, the children will grow up to be good human beings. If the mother is foolish or stupid it is bound to affect the child's upbringing. A mother should be loving of course, but along with that, she must have good sense. Otherwise, just love can spoil the child.

Boys and girls are sent to schools and colleges. But the latest theory is that a child's character is formed within the first ten years of its life. The foundations are laid in the first ten years. They may learn a great deal later on. But the essential character moulded during the first ten years remains the same. Perhaps that is why the Roman Catholics say that a child should be handed over to them for the first seven or eight years of its life and even if it is taken away nothing will change him because the moulding of his character is done. I do not know how far this is true. But it is true to a large extent.

I think we have either not understood this fully in our country or not implemented it yet. It is no doubt a very good thing to send a child to school and college. But it is very important for a child to be well looked after in the first few years of its life, at home, by the parents and others; and, care must be taken to teach a child good manners, which is not always done. Secondly, the help of outside organisations like creches or child welfare centres etc. must be sought, for it is they who can guide a child during the next few steps.

People concerned with university education often complain about the lack of standards of education at the high school level. The high school authorities in turn blame the lower schools. The fact of the matter is that once a wrong step has been taken, it cannot be set right later. Therefore, it is essential that the first step taken in childhood must be right; then the child can look after himself; but once a wrong step is taken, it is far more difficult to correct it. Well, I am happy to say that we are beginning to pay more attention towards the care and welfare of children.

In a sense, the most urgent task is to provide schools for everyone. There are, still, not enough schools for all, yet crores of children go to school all over the country, and the village schools are not very good; nevertheless, they do something. I hope that they will improve. A school is a relationship between the teacher and the taught. Once there are teachers and students, there is a school, whether there is a building or chairs and other facilities or not. If we want to expand our educational facilities, we cannot wait for buildings to come up. In India particularly where the climate is not very cold, work can be done outdoors for most of the year, except perhaps in the monsoons. The children can have holidays then. But we have to find a way to provide good education for every child in the country without great expense. Otherwise we are stuck. We do not have hundreds of crores of rupees, at least at the moment.

So what is to be done? We cannot put a stop to education. So we have to



find the means to provide education without spending too much. The expenditure on buildings should certainly be cut down in the villages. It cannot be done in the cities. In the villages, buildings are not a necessity. Or we should leave it to the villagers. They will do it very quickly. It is very important that the teachers should be paid well. If we give the money which we would spend on buildings to teachers as salaries, we will get better results. A well-paid teacher will be respected in society. It is not right to pay them almost the same salary as peons. You will not get good teachers and there will be no respect for them either. The fact is that the teachers who teach very young children must be better qualified than the middle or high school teachers, because it is much more difficult to teach the very young than the older ones. The university professors sitting here will forgive my saying this. But it is much easier to lecture in a university than to teach little children. When you lecture to grown-up students, it is up to them to grasp it. But with young children, you have to constantly reach out to them and supervise their entire development and growth.

What I mean to say is that whatever we spend on teachers is the right expenditure. We must save on bricks and mortar. I see huge hospital buildings coming up all over the country. They look grand. But I often wonder how many such big hospitals we can build in a country of India's size at an expenditure of lakhs and crores of rupees. Where will we get the money from? The result will be that there will be huge hospitals in cities, but nothing in the villages. We seem to have got caught up in the thinking of the British days and are unable to do anything simply. Every task that is taken up becomes a huge affair. I would say that small schools and hospitals must come up in every village at no great expenditure. In cases of very serious illness, the patients can be taken to the city hospitals. But we need not spend too much to set up small, twenty, twenty-five bedded hospitals with simple equipment in every village. I would rather say that we put up a hundred such hospitals rather than one big hospital at enormous expenditure.

As far as the designs for school buildings are concerned, I have found that they are becoming very simple. But we continue to follow the P.W.D. designs which have come down from the British days. The world may change but the P.W.D. will not change its designs and their main emphasis is on wasteful expenditure. The end product also is hideous. So they are good neither aesthetically nor practically and involve enormous expenditure. It is absurd. We can build far more beautiful buildings at very little expenditure to last a few decades. More permanent structures can come up later. Or, as I said, let us not take upon ourselves the burden of building school buildings. We must start schools and leave the building to the villagers. Most of the teaching can be done outside and only a small covered portion is necessary to keep the

equipment. We can spread education only if we work like this.

I said in a speech yesterday in Bombay that it has been estimated that if all our children are to get education up to the age of fifteen and then go on to colleges, universities or technical institutions, the number of teachers and taught will be ten crores, a hundred million. It is twenty-five percent of our population, because the average age in India is less compared to other countries. How can we carry this burden unless we find some means by which we do not have to spend much money on bricks and mortar? Whatever we spend on teachers and books is a good thing. But we are spending far too much on the other thing.

Well, as I was telling you, a great many things are happening in India. We are in a state of flux and so is the world. Man is thinking of going to the moon. But I am convinced that the greatest revolution which is taking place in India today is the spread of education from top to bottom. The problem about this rapid expansion is that the quality suffers to some extent, which is not a good thing. We want education to be of a very high standard. We are trying to find a way and I am sure there will be an improvement gradually. The biggest change that is taking place is the education of women and girls. It is bringing about a great social revolution with very little fuss or fanfare.

Well, I have been digressing. As I said, I have been hearing about the work of the Seva Sadan for years. Work of this kind has been done in other cities too. But Poona has been leading in this field and I am happy to have seen it for myself. You have presented me with a list of demands and stressed the need for money. What can I say except that judged by any yardstick you should keep getting financial help. I do not know who will give or how much. But I would like to tell you that very fine institutions have often come up with very little money through the hard work and dedication of the organisations. The moment money begins to flow in, the dedication vanishes and the institution begins to lose its vitality. Bigger buildings come up but the spirit behind the institution is lost.

So, though on the one hand, I do want that such institutions should have money, I am also scared lest money should spoil them. But I think that your institution will continue to improve even with money. So you must be given help. As I said, I do not know where it will come from. It has to be from the Government of India or the state government. The problem before the Government of India is that there are always ten times as many applicants for help as there is money. So how is it to be distributed and to whom? There are many difficulties. There is a gradual expansion of primary education which increases the state burden. If the whole country comes forward to share the burden, the financial stringency faced by private institutions will diminish.

I would like to remind you that in the old days, many institutions used to



flourish without governmental aid. People used to collect donations to run their institutions. But now more and more I find that institutions look to the government for help. Apart from the fact that it is difficult to give help on such a large scale, there is yet another aspect to it that it does not have a good impact. I am not against giving grants. Many social service organisations come to us, to the Social Welfare Board for help. Earlier they used to ask for help for constructive work. But now I find that they are asking for a jeep or something else. It is very difficult. Soon people will start asking for aeroplanes to do social service. The situation in India today is that except in Bombay and Calcutta and other cities, we have gradually reached the bicycle stage in the other parts of the country. We are definitely in the bicycle stage, because you will find them in all the villages. Therefore, in my opinion, the maximum amount of work should be done on bicycles. I am not against cars and jeeps. But our work in the rural areas cannot be done by a few officials running around in jeeps. It does not fit into the rural milieu as yet. Bicycles fit in at the moment. What I am trying to say is that it is a bad habit to look to the government for every little thing instead of relying on oneself. I am not complaining about you, the Seva Sadan. (Laughter) I am speaking about the general tendency.

We are all gathered together today on an auspicious occasion, the golden jubilee celebrations. I think this is the last of the three day celebrations. You began on the 2nd of October which is also a very auspicious day.

You have said a terrible thing, that I should be present here for your centenary celebrations. (Laughter) I am petrified at the thought. Anyhow, I shall certainly not be here. But I hope that you will celebrate your centenary with great fanfare and that by then your work would have expanded far more. You will have a long history of service behind you. You have shown in the first fifty years what you can do. Now the work will gather momentum. I congratulate you and my good wishes will go with you. [Applause]

Translation ends.]

## 10. At Akhil Bharatiya Maratha Shikshan Parishad, Poona: Education to Keep Pace with Science<sup>91</sup>

बहनो और भाइयो,

मैं देख रहा हूँ कि कैसी सुन्दर जगह यहाँ चुनी गयी है इस संस्था के लिए। यों तो एक सुन्दर नगर है, लेकिन ये स्थान विशेषकर सुन्दर है ऐसी संस्था के लिए। आपने मुझसे यह शिलान्यास करवाया और मैंने खुशी से किया, क्योंकि सारे भारत का भविष्य एक माने में देखा जाय तो शिक्षा के बढ़ने पर है। जितनी शिक्षा बढ़े, अच्छी शिक्षा, जितने हमारे लोग, सब लोग, शिक्षित हों नये-नये काम के लिए, नये भारत को बनाने के। हम लोग बड़े-बड़े प्रस्ताव करते हैं, कभी करते हैं, बड़े-बड़े नारे उठाते हैं, लेकिन आखिर में देश बनता है शिक्षित लोगों से। शिक्षित के माने ये नहीं कि महापण्डित हो गये और बैठ कर पुस्तकें पढ़ा करें। वो भी ठीक है अपनी जगह पर, लेकिन हर तरह की शिक्षा, काम करने की, विज्ञान की, इंजीनियरिंग की और ये आजकल की जितनी विद्याएँ होती हैं, उनको सीखना। एक तो सारी जनता को मौक़ा मिले, एक जिसको कहा जाय बुनियादी शिक्षा, सबको हर लड़के-लड़की को और उसके बाद बहुतों को उसमें और आगे भी मिले। और विशेषकर आजकल की दुनिया में ऐसी शिक्षा मिले जिससे कि इस दुनिया को हम समझ सकें, क्योंकि आजकल की दुनिया तो आप जानते हैं एक विज्ञान की दुनिया है। विज्ञान की और विज्ञान से जो बहुत सारी बातें निकली हैं, वो सब। मैं इसमें बोल रहा हूँ, यह भी एक विज्ञान की चीज़ है। मैं यहाँ हवाई जहाज़ पर आया, विज्ञान की चीज़ है। मोटर पर आया, वो भी विज्ञान की चीज़ है। सब विज्ञान से निकली हैं। प्रकृति के अनेक रूप नये-नये निकलते आते हैं, जैसे-जैसे लोग विज्ञान को अधिक समझने लगे।

तो आजकल की दुनिया में, विशेषकर हमारे देश को, शिक्षा बहुत तेज़ी से बढ़ानी है। और उसका नतीजा यह होना चाहिए कि वे लोग नयी-नयी बातें करें, नये-नये काम करें। हमारे यहाँ एक तरफ से रोज़गार बढ़े, दूसरी तरफ़ देश का धन-दौलत बढ़े। सब बातें बँधी हुई हैं हमारे देश की शिक्षा से। और जितनी अधिक हम शिक्षा की संस्थाएँ बनायें उतना अच्छा है, साफ़ ज़ाहिर है।

एक बात उसमें यह है कि नाममात्र के लिए अक्सर कोई खड़ा कर दें कोई स्कूल-कॉलेज जिसमें ठीक प्रबन्ध न हो, ठीक पढ़ाई का, तो उससे तो बहुत लाभ नहीं होता। क्योंकि शिक्षा हो तो अच्छी होनी चाहिए। ख़ैर, आपने यह बड़ी सुन्दर जगह चुनी है इसके लिए। और सुन्दर जगह पहले थी यह, अब और हो जायेगी [...] मैं नहीं जानता बहुत कम जगह भारत में शिक्षा संस्थान होंगे, जितनी अच्छी जगह पूना है। यहाँ का मौसम अच्छा, आबो-हवा अच्छी और

91. Speech on the occasion of the foundation stone laying ceremony of the Sahu Mandir—new educational buildings of Akhil Bharatiya Maratha Shikshan Parishad, Poona, 5 October 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.



इसीलिए यहाँ बढ़ती गयी और यहाँ की [...] एक पाण्डित्य है। तो यहाँ जो नवयुवक आये पढ़ने के लिए तो उन पर असर होता है। जैसे आप जायें इंग्लैण्ड जायें, तो कुछ बहुत फ्रक [...] युनिवर्सिटी बहुत हैं, कॉलेज बहुत हैं, लेकिन अब तक कुछ असर ऑक्सफ़ोर्ड और केंब्रिज का अधिक है, क्योंकि सैकड़ों बरस से वहाँ पढ़ाई होती जाती है, तो वहाँ की वायु में कुछ पढ़ाई का असर, सिलसिला हो गया है और [...] ऐसे ही पूना में है। तो आपने पूना के पास, पास भी और कुछ नगर के दूर भी, मैदानों में यह जगह चुनी, उससे जरूर लाभ होगा उन लोगों को जो यहाँ नवयुवक और विद्यार्थी रहेंगे, मैं उनको मुबारकबाद देता हूँ। ये मेरा पहले [...] आवश्यकता तो है नहीं, तो आपकी संस्था या वो जो पढ़े, वो आगे बढ़े, वो तो बढ़ेंगे ही।

अब, हमारे सामने भारत में बहुत बड़े काम हैं। कभी-कभी कटुता भी आ जाती है, कभी-कभी क्रोध आ जाता है, सब बातें हैं। लेकिन ये सब ऊपर की बातें हैं, असली बात तो यह है कि भारत के करोड़ों आदमी जाग उठे हैं और खाली जागे नहीं हैं, उठ खड़े [हुए] हैं और खड़े हो कर चल रहे हैं आगे। यह बात है। और जब एक लोग एक तरह से जाग कर चलने लगते हैं तो ठीक है, सब बातें होती हैं। लेकिन एक दफ़े जब एक देश की जनता चलने लगती है तो फिर उसको रोक नहीं कोई सकता है और यह बात हमारे देश में है। अजीब बात यह है कि जब इस तरह से देश की जनता जागरूक रहती है और नये रास्तों पर चलती है तो उसके सामने नये-नये प्रश्न आते हैं। नये प्रश्न आना, यह एक चलने की निशानी है, बैठने की नहीं है। जो लोग बैठे रहते हैं या जो लोग लेटे रहते हैं, हो सकता है वे दुखी हों, लेकिन उनके सामने नये प्रश्न नहीं आते, खाली पुराना पेट का दर्द रहता है। तो...लेकिन जब कौम आगे बढ़ती है तो फिर नये प्रश्न आयेंगे ही। नयी-नयी ज़मीन आती है, कहीं खाई-खन्दक, बड़ा पहाड़, उसको चढ़ने पड़ते हैं, नये प्रश्न आते हैं [...] रोज़-रोज़ नये प्रश्न विचारणीय होते हैं। इसीलिए यह निशानी है इस बात की नहीं कि हम कुछ घबरा गये या पिछड़ गये लेकिन [...] प्रश्न जो देश के सामने है, आगे बढ़ने का नहीं है, यह तो सभी मानते हैं। वो ये कि कितनी तेज़ आगे बढ़ें, यह प्रश्न है।

हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं का चर्चा होता है तो क्या उसमें होता है, वो ये कि हम पाँच बरस में कहाँ तक जा सकते हैं। यों तो हमारी इच्छा है दूर तक जायें, सभी की इच्छा है, लेकिन जितने दूर आप जायें, उता ही कठिन हो जाता है। जितनी आपकी यात्रा लम्बी है, आप एक दिन करें या पाँच वर्ष में तो चलना पड़ेगा आपको। उता ही कठिनाई होगी, उता ही बोझा होगा आपके लिए। तो फिर इतना बोझा उठाना कि वो उठ न सके, ये भी नहीं हो सकता, और अगर हम आराम तलबी करें कि कम उठायेंगे तो फिर चलते नहीं, दूर तक पहुँचते नहीं। तो इसका बीच-बचाव करना होता है। हमारी सब पंचवर्षीय योजना इत्यादि में [...] उतने ही ढंग से कहते हैं। कभी कहते थे कि एक साल में कितना हमारा, किती, रुपये की बचत होती है वो इन्वेस्ट हो, जो सेविंग हो वह इन्वेस्ट हो, या किती वो पूँजी बने देश की, कैपिटल फ़ॉर्मेशन हो, क्योंकि वह निशानी है देश की शक्ति इकट्ठा करके आगे बढ़ने की। अब और आप देखेंगे कितने ऐसे देश हैं जो आजकल खुशहाल हैं, धनी देश हैं, उनकी गाड़ी तो चल रही है ज़ोरों से।

तो बहुत कुछ पैसा ये जमा करते हैं तो और बढ़ सकते हैं। तो प्रश्न हमारे सामने ये हो गये, वो प्रश्न अब नहीं रहे कि हम चलें कि न चलें। वो तो हम एक यात्रा पर चल खड़े हुए। एक यात्रा पूरी की स्वराज की, पूरी होने के बाद दूसरी शुरू हुई, रुकने का समय नहीं है। दूसरी यात्रा शुरू की। और दूसरी यात्रा एक आर्थिक उन्नति की देश की। देश की दरिद्रता, गरीबी दूर करने की। अब ये तो बड़े पेंच की बात है और खाली बैठे-बैठे तो नहीं हो जाती, परिश्रम से, काम से होती है। जो धनी देश हैं यह न समझो कि वहाँ के लोग काम नहीं करते, वहाँ बड़ा काम करते हैं सभी, तरह-तरह का, लेकिन परिश्रम से। परिश्रम से ये बातें होती हैं, देश बढ़ते हैं। वो हमारे सामने है। परिश्रम करना, अक्ल से परिश्रम करना, एकता से मिल कर और छोटी-छोटी बातों में बहक नहीं जाना। बड़ी बात को उठाना। बड़ी बात, एक माने में बड़ी बात, यह पंचवर्षीय योजना इत्यादि है, क्योंकि उसमें सब बातें आ जाती हैं। और उसको करने के लिए भी बहुत बातें होंगी, लेकिन अन्त में शिक्षा की ज़रूरत है। शिक्षा, खाली शिक्षा नहीं, पढ़ना, लिखना। शिक्षा उन कामों के करने की जो आवश्यक हो गये हैं देश के लिए।

तो आपने ये एक नया स्थान शिक्षा के लिए बनाया तो उसके लिए आपको बधाई। और आपने मुझे यहाँ बुलाया इस शुभ काम में भाग लेने को, उसके लिए मैं आपका बड़ा अनुगृहीत हूँ।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sisters and Brothers,

I have noticed the beautiful spot that has been chosen for this institution. Poona is in any case a beautiful city but this spot is particularly suited for this academy. You have made me lay the foundation stone which I did with alacrity because in a sense, the entire future of India depends on the spread of education, on people becoming educated and trained for new jobs in order to build a new India. We pass great resolutions and shout slogans. But ultimately a nation is built by educated people. It does not mean that everybody should become great scholars and intellectuals, although they are also necessary in their own place. Education should be of different kinds; scientific education, engineering, medicine and the learning of all the knowledge available today.

For one thing, the masses must get the opportunity for basic education. Every boy and girl in India must get basic education and the bright ones can go further. Education must equip the people to understand the modern world, because as you know, we live in an age of science and its offshoots. I am speaking through this microphone which is an invention of science. I came here by airplane and then by car which are scientific inventions. More and more facets of nature are being discovered as people are getting a better grasp of science.



Therefore, it is very essential to ensure the spread of education in India quickly, so that people may get training in new jobs and professions. On the one hand, we need new avenues of employment and on the other, the national wealth must increase. All these things are linked to the spread of education. It is quite obvious that the more educational institutions we build the better it will be.

However, there is one thing. Often schools and colleges come up in name only with no proper arrangements for teaching, etc., which is of no use. Education should be of good standard. Anyhow, you have chosen a beautiful spot and this building will enhance its beauty. I do not know of many other places in India which are so eminently suited for educational institutions as Poona. The climate is excellent and there is an atmosphere of scholarship which makes an impact on the students who come here to study. For instance, if you go to England, you will find that there are many universities and colleges. But even today, the influence of Cambridge and Oxford is very powerful. They have been centres of learning for centuries and the whole climate of scholarship has become well established. Poona, too, has a similar climate. You have chosen a spot which is near Poona and yet outside the city, out in the open which will prove beneficial. I congratulate the students who will study here. Not that my congratulations are necessary, because the youth who study here are bound to go very far.

There are great tasks before us in India. Sometimes bitterness, anger and frustration come to the fore. But these are superficial things. What really counts is that millions of people in India have awakened and are on the march. They are bound to stumble occasionally and fall, and difficulties crop up. But once people start forging ahead, nobody can stop them. This is what is happening in India today. The strange thing is that when a nation is alive and full of vitality and charts new paths, it comes face to face with new problems and difficulties. New problems cropping up, is a sign of a people on the move. Those who are content to stand still face no new problems but wallow in their chronic misery. But when a nation is on the move, new problems are bound to crop up. New ground is being covered and there are bound to be pitfalls and crises. These are symbols of our forging ahead, not of our failures. There is no doubt that we are forging ahead. The question is how fast we go.

The five year plans set a target for development in five years. We want naturally to go very far. But as we progress, problems become more and more difficult. The further we go, the greater our burden and responsibility. We cannot shirk shouldering these burdens because if we slacken now, we cannot go very far. Therefore we have to steer a middle course.

The five year plans set out in detail what our income and savings are, the investments necessary for capital formation etc., for these things are very

essential for a nation's capacity for progress. The affluent countries of the world go ahead on a momentum of their own. If we also build up the necessary capital we can go ahead faster. Now the question is no longer whether we should go ahead or not. We have already embarked on a pilgrimage as soon as we got freedom, towards economic prosperity for India and to eradicate poverty. These are extremely complex problems which cannot be solved if we sit idle. It requires hard work. Please do not think that people in the affluent countries do not work. They are extremely hardworking and do not shrink from any job. It is only by hard work, intelligent, planned work in a spirit of unity and cooperation that India can progress. We must not be overwhelmed by petty problems, but concentrate on the larger issues. The most important task at hand is the implementation of the Five Year Plan. That implies many things, but ultimately education and training in useful tasks are crucial.

I congratulate you on putting up this educational institution. I am grateful to you for inviting me to participate in this auspicious task. Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]

## 11. Public Meeting, Poona: Economic Self-Reliance<sup>92</sup>

बहनो और भाइयो,

बहुत दफ़े मैं पूना नगर आया हूँ और जब-जब आया, यहाँ की जनता ने प्रेम से मेरा स्वागत किया। लेकिन आज जो मैं एक दिन के लिए यहाँ आया, और विशेषकर मैं यहाँ आया था सेवा संघ के उत्सव में, स्वर्ण जयन्ती के उत्सव में, फिर और भी काम हो गये उसमें। तो जो आप लोगों ने, पूना के नागरिकों ने—पुरुष स्त्री, बच्चे—जितने प्रेम से स्वागत किया मेरा, जोश और उत्साह से कि मैं कुछ परेशान हो गया। और मैं कुछ लज्जित हो गया, शर्मिन्दा हो गया। और इस दृश्य को, जो आज मैंने यहाँ पूना में देखा, मैं कभी भूल नहीं सकता। तो मेरे लिए ज़रा कठिन हो गया कि मैं मामूली ज़ाबिते के शब्दों में एक आपके मैं, अपनी तरफ़ से, अपने दिल में जो बातें हैं वे रखूँ। क्योंकि आपके प्रेम ने मेरे हृदय पर बड़ा असर पैदा किया। बहुत तरह-तरह के बोझें उठाने पड़ते हैं। तरह-तरह की देश में कठिनाइयाँ आती हैं, एक के बाद एक। और कभी-कभी लोगों को आश्चर्य होता है और मुझे खुद भी आश्चर्य होता है कि मैं बेहयाई से सब बातों का सामना कर लेता हूँ और मेरे दोस्त हैं, मेरे साथी हैं वो काम के बोझों से बीमार पड़ जाते हैं, मैं बीमार भी नहीं पड़ता। लेकिन सच बात ये है कि जो चीज़ आज,

92. Speech, Race Course Ground, Poona, 5 October 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.



जिसमें कल और जो आज मुझे ताक़त देती है, शक्ति देती है, वो तो आप लोग हैं, मुझमें कौन-सी ताक़त है। लेकिन एक चीज़ से, मैंने आपसे कहा, कि मैं कुछ घबराया, वो ये कि आप जो इत्ता प्रेम दिखाते हैं, उस प्रेम के पीछे आपके मन में क्या आशाएँ हैं, मैं क्या करूँ। और आप तो समझें कि मैं बहुत कुछ कर सकूँ, लेकिन किसी व्यक्ति की इतनी शक्ति नहीं हो सकती। अगर कोई देश में कर सकता है तो जनता कर सकती है, आप करें, और लोग करें, मैं अकेला आदमी, मुझमें कितनी शक्ति, मैं क्या करूँ ? इसलिए मुझे कुछ डर होता है कि हमारे लोग, हमारे देश के लोग भले लोग हैं। बहुत उनमें, किसी से प्रेम करते हैं तो बहुत प्रेम करते हैं। किसी पे विश्वास करते हैं तो बहुत विश्वास करते हैं, और समझते हैं कि वो सब कर लेगा, लेकिन कोई कर नहीं सकता। कोई एक व्यक्ति नहीं कर सकता हैं, बहुत सारे हैं देश में।

हम...बहुत ज़माना हुआ जब...बहुत सारे हमारे नवयुवक बैठे हैं...जब उनका जन्म भी नहीं हुआ था...जब हम स्वराज का स्वप्न देखा करते थे और स्वराज बहुतों को बहुत दूर दिखता था, लेकिन हमने अपना अंग्रेज़ी में जैसे कहते हैं नैपसैक सफ़र के लिए, जो सिपाही लोग अक्सर अपना सामान उठा कर पीठ पर रख कर, नैपसैक बाँध अपनी कमर पर, असबाब रखा और स्वराज और स्वराज की यात्रा पर चले। कोई पता नहीं था कि यात्रा का, कब उसका अन्त हो, कब ख़त्म हो, क्या बीच में क्या-क्या बातें हों, लेकिन हम भी उस ज़माने में जवान थे जैसे आप लोग आजकल हैं। जवानी का जोश था, उत्साह था, फ़िक्र नहीं थी। दुनिया का सामना करने को तैयार थे और भरोसा था अपने बड़े कमाण्डर-इन-चीफ़ में, नेता में, महात्माजी में। कहने को कोई फ़िक्र नहीं थी, और इस ढंग से हम आगे बढ़े और हम से मतलब मैं नहीं, देश के लाखों आदमी, बड़े आदमी। ऊँच-नीच हुई। कभी-कभी ऐसी बातें हुई जिससे कुछ निराशा, परेशानी हुई, क्या होगा, क्या नहीं होगा। लेकिन फिर भी यात्रा जारी रही, चलती रही। सफ़र। और अन्त में हम अपनी मंज़िल पर पहुँचे। यात्रा के पड़ाव पर पहुँच गये। स्वराज मिला। ऐसा बहुत कम होता है कि जिस स्वप्न को हम देखें वो स्वप्न पूरा हो जाय हमारी आँखों के सामने। लेकिन हुआ। ये बात ठीक है कि स्वप्न के पूरे होने के बाद भी, स्वप्न के पूरे होने के पहले हमने कुछ उसकी क्रीमत दी थी, काफ़ी दी। जनता के परिश्रम, जनता के बलिदान ने, बहुत कुछ दिये।

लेकिन उस स्वप्न के पूरा होते ही हम समझे कि काम हमारा स्वराज का ख़त्म हुआ, और अब दूसरी यात्रा पर चलें, लेकिन फ़ौरन उसी दिन और हमें उसके दाम देने पड़े और बड़े ज़बरदस्त दाम देने पड़े स्वराज लेने के, आपको याद होगा जब भारत के दो टुकड़े हुए और उत्तर भारत में मार-पीट, क़त्ल एक-दूसरे, भाई-बहन...ये हुआ, वो हुआ। और एक दिन नहीं, कई सप्ताह, कई महीने तक हुआ। अजीब हालत हमारी कि हमने बीस-पच्चीस बरस तक स्वराज की लड़ाई अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य के विरोध में लड़ी शान्ति के तरीक़ों से, उपायों से और जब स्वराज मिल गया तो क्या हम अपने भाइयों का खून बहायें [...] ? ये पाकिस्तान के बनने से हुआ। पाकिस्तान में हुआ, उत्तर भारत में हुआ। और ये न समझो कि वहाँ अधिक हुआ, यहाँ कम हुआ, हम सब उसमें हैं। आप भी हैं। ये दृश्य हमारे सामने आया था। ख़ैर, उसका भी

सामना किया। दो-तीन महीने बाद महात्माजी की हत्या हुई। ये एक अजीब बात थी और हमने सोचा कि क्या हमें कुछ धोखा तो नहीं हो गया कि हम समझे हमें स्वराज मिल गया। अंग्रेजी सरकार को इस वक़्त यहाँ से निकाला तो वो हमारे देश में क्या इत्ती बीमारियाँ थीं [जो] इस वक़्त निकलने लगीं, फोड़े-फुंसी, सब और वो इस नये स्वराज को दबा देंगी। हमारे जो दुश्मन रहे वो कहते थे कि बड़ा स्वराज-स्वराज का तुम चर्चा करते हो, जहाँ स्वराज आया, एक-दूसरे का गला काट दिया। और हम क्रोधित होते थे, नाराज़ होते थे। लेकिन एकदम से हमारे सामने जब ये तस्वीर आपस की लड़ाई की आयी और महात्माजी की हत्या की कि एक पागल लड़के ने हत्या की, उस पागल लड़के को हम क्या कहें। लेकिन वो वायुमण्डल जिसमें ये हुई, वो एक भयानक बात थी कि ऐसी चीज़ पैदा हुई। ऐसे लोग देश में हों जो इसकी प्रशंसा करें, ऐसी हवा बने। वो एक अजीब बात थी।

मैं आपको याद दिला दूँ कि पिछले ज़माने में, बहुत दिन नहीं हुए, किन-किन बातों का हमारे देश ने और हमने सामना किया, क्योंकि आम पब्लिक की स्मरण-शक्ति कमज़ोर होती है, भूल जाती है वो [जो] हुआ। और किसी तरह से हम भी दाँत भींच कर आगे बढ़े, क्योंकि कित्ता ही दुख हो, कित्ता ही रंज हो, कोई बड़ा काम उठाया और बड़े काम में सफलता पायी हमने और उसके बाद क्या हम दुनिया के सामने गिर जायें, फिर कमज़ोर हो गये कि आपस में हम लड़ते हैं और यहाँ तक कि हमारा दिल टूट गया जब हमारे बड़े नेता मारे गये। उस वक़्त भी तक्राज़ा ये था कि दिल टूटे या हाथ टूटे, सिर ऊँचा रहे और कमर सीधी रहे और दुनिया का सामना करें।

तो किया हमने दुनिया का सामना हल्के-हल्के, फिर कुछ वायुमण्डल बदला, सँभले, और फिर जो असली रास्ता हमारा था, एक नयी यात्रा थी हमारी, उस पर चले। स्वराज के बाद यात्रा थी आर्थिक यात्रा कि देश की जनता को हम उठायें, खुद वो उठे। दरिद्रता देश से दूर हो। हमारा देश जो दुनिया के देशों में एक पिछड़ा हुआ देश गिना जाता था आजकल, उसको आगे बढ़ायें। आजकल मैंने कहा, याद रखिये, क्योंकि ये एक नयी बात है इतिहास में, हज़ारों बरस के इतिहास में। हमारा देश और मुल्कों से पिछड़ा हुआ हो, ये तो एक बड़ी सौ-दो सौ बरस की बात है। मैं नहीं कहता कि उसके पहले बड़ी यहाँ दौलत थी और बड़ा धन था, लेकिन और मुल्कों के मुक़ाबले में पिछड़ा हुआ नहीं था हमारा देश दो सौ वर्ष हुए। लेकिन इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि आजकल है और आजकल नहीं एक ज़माने से है। और देश बढ़ गये, यूरोप के देश बढ़ गये, उनकी शक्ति बढ़ गयी, उनका धन-दौलत बढ़ गया, उनकी शान बढ़ गयी। हम अपने मन में जित्ता गुरूर करें, गर्व करें, लेकिन बात ये है कि हम पिछड़ गये और उसकी निशानी ये है, मोटी निशानी ये है कि हमारी जनता गरीब है, भूखी है बेचारी, परेशान रहती है। क्यों कोई आपको इत्ती गरीबी [...] क्या बात हो गयी? क्या बात हुई? जादू था दो सौ वर्ष में, डेढ़ सौ वर्ष में कि हमारा देश गरीब हो जाये और और देश खुशहाल हों, आगे बढ़ती जाय वहाँ की जनता। ये प्रश्न था। अगर और देश खुशहाल हुए तो कोई वजह नहीं कि हमारा देश क्यों न हो। आखिर हमारे देश में परिश्रमी लोग हैं, काम करने वाले हैं, दिमागी लोग हैं, अच्छे



दिमाग हैं, अच्छे हाथ-पैर हैं, अच्छी ज़मीन है, क्यों वो पिछड़े, कोई-न-कोई तो बात हुई न। और उसके पीछे आप जाइए तो क्यों हम, हमारे ऊपर क्यों अंग्रेज़ी राज्य हो गया। छः हजार मील से आ कर, इत्ते बड़े देश पर राज करने लगें, ये भी एक आश्चर्य की बात थी। हम और आप बैठ कर अंग्रेज़ों को बदनाम करें कि साम्राज्यवादी हुए, ठीक है आप करें, लेकिन बदनाम करें तो आप अपने हम [आप] को करें कि हम दुर्बल रहे। एक वो दूर से आये, उन्होंने एकता दिखाई, हिम्मत दिखाई। काफ़ी ख़तरों का, भय का सामना उन्होंने किया, जब वो आये थे शुरू में, महीनों लगते थे आने में, अपना घर-बार छोड़ कर, एक ग़ैर देश में आ के रहते थे बरसों, उमर भर। सच बात ये है कि उसी समय हममें कमज़ोरी आ गयी थी और हम मुक़ाबला नहीं कर सकते थे थोड़े-से आदमियों का भी जो परदेश से आये थे, हालाँकि हमारे करोड़ों आदमी थे। हममें आपस में फूट थी। एक तो फूट हममें, आपस में हम लड़ें, एक राजा दूसरे से लड़े, और कभी-कभी अंग्रेज़ों की मदद से लड़े, ग़ैर से, और अपने देश को तबाह करे, बाहर की मदद ले कर और दूसरी बात बुनियादी बात जो अंग्रेज़ आगे निकल गये वो ये कि नये विज्ञान को उन्होंने सीखा और नये विज्ञान से उन्होंने अपनी शक्ति बढ़ायी। अपनी फ़ौजी शक्ति बढ़ायी, अपनी दौलत बढ़ायी, अपना धन बढ़ाया। ये सब कारख़ाने इत्यादि चलने लगे, उससे उनकी ताक़त बढ़ी, उनका धन बढ़ा। ये ठीक है कि हिन्दुस्तान में आ के, भारत में आ के, धन बहुत ले गये वो, माना इसको, लेकिन असल बात तो ये है कि वो अपने में [...] शक्ति से तरक़्की की। और हम पिछड़ गये, इसलिए [...] हमारे यहाँ कोई वीर पुरुषों की कमी नहीं थी, लेकिन वीरता कैसे सामना करे जब उनके, वीरता के हाथ में एक लाठी और तीर-कमान, उधर तोप। तो सामना कैसे करे। तो ये ज़माना गुज़रा इसलिए आये थे।

तो हमें जो स्वराज मिला तो पहले प्रश्न यही हुआ कि हम किस ढंग से इस अपने देश की ग़रीबी को दूर करें और ग़रीबी को दूर करने का सवाल तो था ही, हम किस तरह से स्वराज को रखें, क्योंकि आजकल की दुनिया में कोई स्वराज किसी देश में रह नहीं सकता, अगर उस देश में काफ़ी शक्ति न हो। चारों तरफ़ से दुश्मन हैं, तरह-तरह के। अगर एक किसी वजह से निकल गया स्वराज तो दोबारा भी निकल सकता था। कैसे? फिर घूम-घाम के हम उसी बात पर आये कि जिन बातों ने यूरोप को शक्ति दी है, विज्ञान ने, साइन्स ने, टेक्नॉलोजी ने, इन सब बातों ने, वो सब बातें हमारे पास आनी चाहिएँ कि उससे हमारे देश की शक्ति बढ़े। शक्ति बढ़े, हम आज़ादी को रख सकें और उसी के साथ धन-दौलत बढ़े जिससे यहाँ हम ग़रीबी को निकाल सकें। ये सवाल हो गया। क्योंकि याद रखो कि स्वराज की लड़ाई में जिस ढंग से हमने काम किया था, अंग्रेज़ी सरकार के समय, वो ढंग इस समय ग़रीबी की लड़ाई के विरोध में हम नहीं कर सकते थे, दूसरी चीज़ हो गयी। या हम किसी और देश [...] तो वो हम यहाँ बैठ कर पूना में बड़ी-बड़ी सभाएँ करके प्रस्ताव कर दें तो उन पर असर नहीं होगा कुछ। दूसरे देश का मुक़ाबला प्रस्ताव से या जुलूस से नहीं होता बैठे हुए, उनको कौन-सी फ़िक्र है कि आप जुलूस करते हैं किसी दूसरे देश में। वो अपने देश में जुलूस कर लेंगे। तो ढंग बदल जाता है, चीज़ बदल जाती है। ये बात ठीक है कि हर तरह से देश की एकता बड़ी ताक़त है, उसके बग़ैर कुछ



हो ही नहीं सकता, पहली बात है। दूसरी बात, देश में मिल कर सहयोग से काम करना। देश में ये न हो कि छोटे-छोटे झगड़ों पर वो बिखर जाये, आपस में अपनी शक्ति को ज़ाया करें, ये सब बातें बुनियादी हैं, चाहे कोई भी आपका हथियार हो। लेकिन इस हमारी नयी जंग में, नयी लड़ाई में, मतलब ये आर्थिक लड़ाई में, दरिद्रता के विरोध में, पुराने ढंग हमारे नहीं चलते, सिवा ये कि एकता रहे और सहयोग करें, और सब बातें ठीक हैं, क्योंकि किसी एक दुश्मन हमारे सामने मुक़ाबले का नहीं था, जिससे हम करें। वो लड़ाई थी कुछ तो दिमाग़ की कि हम समझें इस प्रश्न को, कुछ परिश्रम की, मेहनत की, साथ मिल कर काम करें। ख़ैर, उस पर विचार किया हमने। और उसी सिलसिले में आप जानते हैं कि पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ बनीं।

अब वो पंचवर्षीय योजना बिलकुल ठीक थी या नहीं, ये दूसरा प्रश्न है। पहली बात जो आप समझें, वो ये कि इस तरह की योजनाएँ बनानी आवश्यक थीं। यानी अगर आप देश को छोड़ दें, हरेक आदमी कि भई हाँ, हाँ, चलो, देश बढ़ना चाहिए, तुम भी करो, तुम भी मेहनत करो तो कुछ-न-कुछ तो देश में होता ही है, और शायद उससे अधिक हो जाये। लेकिन इस तरह से कोई बड़े काम करने का ढंग नहीं है। लड़ाई का शब्द मैंने प्रयोग में लाया। लड़ाई से मेरा मतलब तो नहीं है किसी दूसरे देश से हो, लड़ाई अपनी दरिद्रता से। तो लड़ाई का ठीक किया, क्योंकि इसी ढंग से आपको इसे देखना है। अगर असल में हमारी कोई लड़ाई दूसरे देश से हो तो हम क्या करें, हम सब लोगों से कहें कि भई, लड़ाई है, सब लोग ख़ूब काम करो, ख़ूब लड़ो व्यक्तिगत रूप से? इस तरह से तो कोई लड़ाई नहीं होती। हमें तो अपनी योजनाएँ बनानी पड़ें, हमें अपनी फ़ौज जो कि एक योजना का फल है उसको काम में लाना पड़े। हमें नक्शे बनाने पड़ें, कहाँ फ़ौज जाय, कहाँ नहीं जाये, हरेक सिपाही से तो नहीं कह दें, जाओ भाई, जाओ, बहादुरी से लड़ो तुम। इस तरह लड़ाई नहीं होती हमें स्ट्रैटेजी करनी है, हमें टैक्टिक्स देखने हैं। जहाँ किसी बड़े काम को आप उठाते है, वहाँ इस तरह से देखना पड़ता है। अगर आपकी शक्ति इती अधिक है कि वो दूसरा कमज़ोर है, तब तो कोई क्रायदे-क्रानून की ज़रूरत नहीं, आपकी शक्ति है, आप जीत ही जायेंगे, लेकिन अगर आपकी शक्ति नहीं है, फ़र्ज़ करो बराबर की शक्ति है दोनों तरफ़ की, तब आवश्यक हो जाता है कि आपकी मामूली शक्ति में आपकी दिमाग़ की और योजना की और टैक्टिक्स की और स्ट्रैटेजी की शक्ति हो और ऐसे ही लड़ाइयाँ लड़ी जाती हैं। लड़ाइयाँ इस तरह से तो नहीं लड़ी जाती है, फ़ौजी लड़ाइयाँ, कि एक फ़ौज आयी दूसरी फ़ौज से टकरा के, टकरा रही हैं। स्ट्रैटेजी होती है, टैक्टिक्स होते हैं, वो उनके पीछे जाते हैं, उनके बायें जाना, वो उनके मीन्स ऑफ़ कम्यूनिकेशनज़ तोड़ दें, हज़ार बातें होती हैं। तो जब एक बड़ी आर्थिक समस्या हमारे सामने आये, आर्थिक लड़ाई, जिसमें असल में हम लड़ रहे हैं अपनी दरिद्रता से कुश्ती तब भी उसी तरह से हमें स्ट्रैटेजी और टैक्टिक्स और योजनाएँ बनानी हैं। प्लैनिंग की आवश्यकता हो जाती है। मैं इसलिए आपसे कहता हूँ, मैं तो समझता था सब लोग उसको मानते हैं, लेकिन फिर से आवाज़ उठी है कि प्लैनिंग नहीं होनी चाहिए। प्लैनिंग ग़लत चीज़ है। हरेक आदमी को छोड़ देना चाहिए, स्वतन्त्र हो जाना चाहिए। वो स्वतन्त्रता से चले जिधर उसका जी चाहता है। अगर स्वतन्त्रता से कोई



असल लड़ाई में हर सिपाही लड़े तो बहुत देर तक वो लड़ाई न चले, वो देश खत्म हो जाय। हर सिपाही अपनी लड़ाई लड़ रहा है, इस तरह से कोई आज तक कोई बड़े काम हुए हैं लड़ाई में या अमन में? इसलिए योजना बनाना, प्लैनिंग आवश्यक है। आपमें, मुझमें बहस हो सकती है कि प्लैनिंग कैसे हो, उसको आगे रखें, उसको पीछे रखें, ये तो बात मैंने माना, क्योंकि वो कोई पक्की बात नहीं है। तभी लड़ाई हो सकती है, लेकिन ये बात निश्चय है कि देश के सामने हमारे जो बड़े काम हैं वो प्लैनिंग से ही हो सकते हैं कि हम बतायें क्या हमें पहले करना है, क्या बाद में करना है और उसमें गवर्नमेंट, सरकार, शासन आ ही जाते हैं, वो ही कर सकती है, वो लोगों की सलाह से करती है। वो सभी की, जनता की सलाह से करे, लेकिन आखिर में सरकार के ऊपर उसकी ज़िम्मेदारी और बोझा होता है, करने में उसके। तो हमने ये करने की कोशिश की। पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना थी, किसी क्रूर उसमें सफलता हुई और उससे हमारी शक्ति बढ़ी, क्योंकि कोई निश्चय भी आप करें, उसमें सफलता हो, तो उससे ताकत बढ़ती है।

दूसरी, अब दूसरी में हमें ज्यादा काम होता है। दूसरी में काफ़ी हमें कठिनाइयाँ पड़ीं बहुत कुछ। आप जानते हैं उसमें क्या-क्या। लेकिन अगर आप देखें उन कठिनाइयों को [तो वे] भी दो तरह की थीं, एक तो ख़ैर, ये थी कि तीन वर्ष तक हमारी फ़सलें ख़राब हुईं, वर्षा नहीं हुई ठीक, अकाल हुआ, क्या-क्या हुआ और नतीजा ये हुआ कि काफ़ी, एक हमारा खेतिहर देश है, अगर फ़सल ख़राब होती है तो बड़ा धक्का लग जाता है और तीन बरस तक ख़राब हुई। उसका बड़ा धक्का लगा। एक तो यह। दूसरी बात हमारी कठिनाई की अजीब थी, वो ये थी कि हम ज्यादा तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ने लगे। हम [हमारे] ज्यादा तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ने से हमारी कठिनाइयाँ भी बढ़ गयीं। ये आश्चर्य की बात हुई न। हमारे ये उद्योग-धन्धे, इण्डस्ट्रीज़ बढ़ने लगीं। उन इण्डस्ट्रीज़ के लिए हमें मशीन वगैरा लाने के लिए फ़ॉरेन एक्सचेंज, बाहरी पैसा खर्चना पड़ा, वो ज़ोरों से खर्चते गये और चीज़ आ गयी, वो कहीं रुपया ज़ाया तो नहीं हुआ, उसकी एवज़ में मशीन आयी, उसकी एवज़ में कारख़ाना खड़ा हो गया, लेकिन इस तेज़ी से बढ़ते गये वो विशेषकर जो प्राइवेट सेक्टर कहलाता है उसमें कि जब हमें वो फ़ॉरेन एक्सचेंज देना पड़ा तो उसमें बड़ी कठिनाई, जित्ता हमारा खज़ाना जमा था, सब निकल गया। बहुत कुछ निकल गया, विलायत में जमा था लड़ाई के पहले से, वो सब फ़ॉरेन एक्सचेंज क़रीब-क़रीब निकल गया। तो एक बड़ा धक्का लगा। हमें रोक-थाम करनी पड़ी, क्या चीज़ बनायें, क्या नहीं। मेरा मतलब ये है कि फ़ॉरेन एक्सचेंज की जो कठिनाई हुई, ये कठिनाई हुई इसलिए कि हमारी चाल तेज़ होने लगी। इण्डस्ट्री बढ़ना। मान लीजिए हमसे कुछ ग़लती हुई, ग़फलत हुई, हमने रोक-थाम पहले नहीं किया, लेकिन वो ग़लती तेज़ चलने की थी, रुक जाने की नहीं थी। ख़ैर, उसके बाद उसको सँभालने की कोशिश हुई।

अच्छा, तो ये मान लीजिए आप कि ये प्लैनिंग की आवश्यकता हो, मैं इसलिए इसको कहता हूँ कि हमारे एक जो नया दल निकला है, जो स्वतन्त्र दल अपने को कहते हैं, वो कुछ इस तरह की बातें करते हैं कि कोई योजना वगैरा प्लैनिंग की आवश्यकता नहीं है, बल्कि

सरकार का इन कामों में दखल देना उचित नहीं है। हरेक को अलग छोड़ देना चाहिए, जो चले किसी भी तरह से। इसी तरह से एक देश की उन्नति होती है। मैं उस बहस में नहीं पड़ता, क्योंकि मुझे आश्चर्य होता है कि आजकल के ज़माने में कोई इन्सान भी उस बहस को पेश करे। ये बहस और मुल्कों में भी एक पुरानी बहस थी, उन्नीसवीं सदी में होती थी, लेकिन ट्वेन्टियेथ सेंचुरी में इस बहस को कोई पेश करे भारत में, ये आश्चर्यजनक बात है। मैं क्यों आपका समय लूँ, सीधी-सी बात है। तो योजना अब मैं, आपसे विशेषकर बातें करूँगा इसी बात पर, क्योंकि देश के लिए सब में बड़ी बात है। उधर बातें हो चाहे हम में और चीन में बहस हो, हमारी सीमा की, या कोई और बात हो, या अन्दर की, बाहर की — सब घूम-घाम कर इस बात पर आ जाते हैं कि हमारे देश की ताक़त कैसे बढ़े। और हमारे देश की ताक़त ख़ाली फ़ौजी ताक़त नहीं है। आजकल के ज़माने में देश की ताक़त होती है खुशहाली की। ग़रीब देश ताक़तवर नहीं हो सकता है आजकल के ज़माने में, थोड़े दिन के लिए हो सकता है। जिस देश में उद्योग-धन्धे नहीं हैं, वो ताक़तवर नहीं हो सकता। जो देश इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ नहीं हुआ, वो नहीं ताक़तवर हो सकता है। ये सबक़ है। इसलिए चाहे आपको बाहर के किसी देश का मुक़ाबला करना हो, चाहे कोई भी प्रश्न हो, घूम-घाम कर आप आ जाते हैं इस सवाल पर कि कितनी तेज़ी से हमारी आर्थिक उन्नति होती है। कितनी तेज़ी से हमारी ये पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ पूरी होती हैं। कितनी तेज़ी से हम इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ होते हैं। और उससे हम अनएम्प्लॉयमेंट को, बेरोज़गारी को ख़त्म करते हैं। सब सवाल बँधे हुए हैं उससे।

इसलिए मैं आपके सामने ये बातें मोटी-मोटी रख रहा हूँ, क्योंकि आप पूना शहर के रहने वाले हैं और पूना में एक केन्द्र है, पढ़ाई का केन्द्र है, सोचने वालों का केन्द्र है, पण्डितों का केन्द्र है, तो उनको इन बातों को, उनके सामने तो ये बातें हैं ही, आप करते हैं, मैं आपसे कहता हूँ इन बातों का कि एक-एक क़दम साफ़ हमारे दिमाग़ में होना चाहिए। बहुत सारी बातें तो ऐसी हैं जिनमें दो राय हों, तीन राय हों, लेकिन बाज़ बातें ऐसी हैं जिनमें मैं समझता हूँ दो राय नहीं हो सकती। एक तो मैंने आपसे कहा ये आवश्यक है कि नहीं कि हमारे देश में हम आर्थिक उन्नति करें। यानी हम अपने देश से ग़रीबी को निकालें, बेरोज़गारी को निकालने का यत्न करें। यानी हमारी जो पर कैपिटल आमदनी है वो बढ़े देश की, नैशनल इनकम बढ़े। ज़ाहिर है, इसमें कोई दो राय तो नहीं।

दूसरी बात ये...हवाई जहाज़ चलायें, चाहे मोटर चलायें, चाहे नयी शक्तियाँ निकली हैं जिससे वो चाँद तक पहुँच जाने को तैयार हैं, ये शक्तियाँ हैं। अब उसका मुक़ाबला हम कैसे करें। हमें उस विद्या को सीखना है। और ख़ाली इनसे नहीं सीखना है कि जा के स्कूल-कॉलेज की टेक्स्ट बुक पढ़ी, वो थोड़े ही सीखना है, वो तो पहला क़दम है। इतना सीखना है कि हमारे साइण्टिस्ट, वैज्ञानिक लोग उस विद्या को बढ़ायें तब हम उनका हल्के-हल्के मुक़ाबला कर सकते हैं। तो इसको हमें सीखना है। ये भी मानिये। और उसी ज़रिये से बढ़ना है। फिर चौथी बात कि हमें विशेषकर देश में धन पैदा करने के लिए उधर...हाँ, तो धन क्या है? जो हम ज़मीन में पैदा करें या कारख़ाने में पैदा करें...तो हमें नये काम, नये तरीक़े, वैज्ञानिक तरीक़े जो हैं, नये



टेक्निक्स जो आजकल के साइन्स के गिने जाते हैं, उनसे, उनको भी हम खेती में लायें कुछ-न-कुछ। मेरा मतलब नहीं है कि सब जगह ट्रैक्टर चलें, लेकिन बहुत कुछ छोटी-बड़ी चीजें हैं इससे हम ज़मीन के उत्पादन को बढ़ा सकते हैं। जैसे और दुनिया में हुआ है। और उससे भी ज़रूरी बात कि हम कारखाने बहुत सारे बनायें। यही धन है देश का। तो देश को इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ करना, दो बातें। देश में एक हवा साइन्स की पैदा करना और इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ करना, दोनों बातें मिली हुई हैं। और उनके पीछे एक और बात है, हवा पैदा करने में, इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ करने में काफ़ी लोगों को इस बात को सीखना होगा। साइन्स वगैरा, टेक्नॉलोजी। ये बात भी हुई।

अच्छा, अब यानी काम जो हमें करना है, इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ करना है और साइन्स वगैरा में करना है, उसका एक तो हिस्सा ये है कि हम साइन्स की तरफ़ और जो नयी दुनिया के साइन्स के बच्चे हैं, बाल-बच्चे बहुत हैं—उनको सीखें, इसलिए आवश्यक था कि हम ध्यान दें इस बात पर। हमने, तेरह बरस हुए जब स्वराज आया, पहला काम जो किया था कि देश में बड़ी-बड़ी साइन्स की लेबोरेट्रीज़ खोली थीं। आपके पूना में नैशनल केमिकल लेबोरेट्री है। दिल्ली में नेशनल फ़िज़िकल है, कलकत्ते, मद्रास, इत्यादि में,<sup>93</sup> सब में फैले हुए हैं वो, और बहुत सारे टेक्निकल इन्स्टीट्यूट्स। क्योंकि साइन्स एक काफ़ी, एक बुनियाद थी, उसके बग़ैर हम बढ़ नहीं सकते। आप बम्बई में कित्ते ही टेक्सटाइल मिल बना लीजिए, कपड़ा बना लीजिए, अच्छा है, लेकिन उससे कुछ फ़र्क़ नहीं होता है, कोई लोगों के दिमाग़ साइण्टिफ़िक नहीं हो जाते हैं। हाँ, कुछ पैसा उससे निकल आता है। तो हमने ये किया, और कितने, दस बरस हुए इन्स्टीट्यूट्स, टेक्निकल इन्स्टीट्यूट्स, वगैरा बनायी गयी हैं, जहाँ ऊँचे दर्जे की टेक्निकल शिक्षा दी जाती है। आपके बम्बई में एक बन रही और बहुत बड़ी बन रही है। एक यूनिवर्सिटी हैं वो अपने ढंग की। और यूनिवर्सिटीज़ में तो ख़ैर पढ़ाई होती है, क्योंकि हमने देखा कि उसमें तो लाखों इंजीनियर्स की हमें ज़रूरत है। लाखों। इस समय हमारे देश में कोई एक लाख इंजीनियर हैं, लेकिन हम हिसाब लगाते हैं, हमें तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में तीन लाख इंजीनियर चाहिए। आप कहें कि अजीब बात है, एक तरफ़ से तो बेरोज़गार, कित्ते लोग यूनिवर्सिटीज़ से निकलते हैं, रोज़गार नहीं मिलता, दूसरी तरफ़ से मैं कहूँ कि वहाँ जगह ख़ाली हैं। दोनों बातें सही हैं, क्योंकि कुछ हमारी पढ़ाई का ढंग जो रहा है, वो आजकल की जो आवश्यक बातें हैं उसके लिए उता नहीं है। हल्के-हल्के होता जाता है वो, आप देखेंगे इंजीनियर अच्छे हम जित्ते पैदा करें, वो खप जायेंगे सभी। साइण्टिस्ट जित्ते होंगे, वो खप जायेंगे। कहीं एकाध कोई धोखे से रह जाय, वो और बात है। लेकिन औरों को ज़रा कठिनाई होती है। आशा तो है कि वो कठिनाई आजकल के ज़माने की है, दो-चार पाँच बरस की। हल्के-हल्के वो भी हट जायेगी। अब हमारी कुछ शिक्षा में कुछ अदल-बदल होगी, क्योंकि शिक्षा होनी चाहिए, हवा में नहीं।

93. The National Physical Laboratory in Delhi and the National Chemical Laboratory in Poona, were set up in 1947 and 1956 respectively.

शिक्षा होनी चाहिए उस काम के लिए जो देश करे। तब उसमें कभी अनएम्प्लॉयमेंट हो ही नहीं सकता। जो देश की माँग है उस काम की, शिक्षा होती है उस काम की। मैंने माना कि पूरी तौर से ये बातें जुड़ नहीं जाती लेकिन फिर भी बहुत कुछ जुड़ जाता है।

खैर, तो अब इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ हमें करना है, कैसे इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ करें, साइन्स वगैरा माना, हम लोगों को सिखाये। अगर इण्डस्ट्री हमें बनानी है तो उसके लिए किन चीज़ों की आवश्यकता है। इण्डस्ट्री में, हर इण्डस्ट्री में और यूँ तो ऐग्रिकल्चर में भी लोहे की ज़रूरत है। लोहे के बगैर कोई काम आजकल नहीं होता। आजकल तो लोग मकान भी नहीं बना सकते लोहे के बगैर, मालूम नहीं इससे पहले कैसे मकान बनाते थे। खैर, दूसरे पावर की ज़रूरत है। शक्ति की, हाइड्रो इलेक्ट्रिक थर्मल पावर, बिजली का पावर, कोई पावर, आजकल उससे मशीन चलती है। तीसरे मशीन बनाने के कारखाने होने चाहिए, मशीन बनाने के, क्योंकि इत्ता आपके यहाँ बम्बई में, अहमदाबाद में, शोलापुर में कहाँ-कहाँ टेक्स्टाइल मिल्स बन गयी हैं। बड़ी आसान बात थी कि हमने विलायत में या जर्मनी में हुक्म भेजा जापान से, मशीन आ गयी, लगा ली, कुछ सीखे हुए आदमी बुला लिये, कुछ सिखा दिया, चलने लगे, कपड़ा बना, पैसा निकलने लगा। वो कोई इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ करना नहीं हुआ, वो तो बिलकुल ऊपर की बातें हैं। इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ करने के माने ये हैं कि आप मशीन बनायें, असली मशीन। और छोटी मशीन नहीं, छोटी मशीनें तो बनने लगी है, बड़ी मशीन बनायें जिससे छोटी मशीन बनती है। तो इसके माने हुए कि हम अपने देश में तीन-चार बातों पर ज़ोर दें। बड़ी मशीन बनायें, लोहा बनायें, स्टील, पावर बनायें, तीन मोटी बातें हैं, और भी हैं दो तीन। कुछ केमिकल इण्डस्ट्रीज़ वगैरा हैं। लेकिन विशेषकर ये चार बातें, तीन-चार बातें, यानी हेवी इण्डस्ट्री की तरफ़ ध्यान दें।

अब बाज़ लोगों की राय ये है कि हेवी इण्डस्ट्री की तरफ़ ध्यान नहीं देना चाहिए, छोटी चीज़ें बनानी चाहिए, उससे हल्के-हल्के रुपया पैदा हो तो हल्के-हल्के हम हेवी इण्डस्ट्री में जायें। लेकिन अगर आप इस बात को करें तो इसके माने ये हैं कि मालूम नहीं कितना ज़माना गुज़र जाय, पचासों वर्ष लग जायें इसमें। क्योंकि जब तक आपके यहाँ हेवी इण्डस्ट्री नहीं होगी, जब तक आपके यहाँ लोहा नहीं पैदा होगा, आपको और जगह से मशीन लानी पड़ेगी, और जगह से उधर लाना पड़ेगा। हमेशा हेवी लोन्स...आप अपने ऊपर भरोसा नहीं कर सकते। जब-जब और देश देना बन्द कर दें, आपके हाथ-पैर टूट जायें। तो ये आजकल का तरीक़ा नहीं है। ये हमारे कुछ भाई, कुछ इण्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट, कुछ और जो कि मालूम नहीं कुछ क्या उनको अभ्यास हुआ है पुराने ज़माने का, क्या पुरानी किताबें पढ़ लीं, देखा कि अमरीका में क्या हुआ, सौ बरस हुए क्या हुआ, और इंग्लैण्ड में क्या हुआ। डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए, तो अब वो हम यहाँ कर, हल्के-हल्के उस ढंग से बढ़ें। लेकिन अगर हम हल्के-हल्के इस ढंग से बढ़ें तो हमें तो मौक़ा नहीं मिलेगा। हम तो चौपट हो जायेंगे। हम न अपने स्वराज को बचा सकेंगे, अपनी आज़ादी को, न ग़रीबी का मुक़ाबला कर सकेंगे। क्योंकि हल्के-हल्के आप नहीं कह सकते। आपकी आबादी तो तेज़ी से बढ़ती है। आपके खाने वाले, कपड़ा पहनने वाले तो और देश के साठ-सत्तर लाख हर साल बढ़ जाते हैं। और अगर आप तेज़ी से अपनी धन-दौलत, प्रोडक्शन नहीं बढ़ाते, तो



आपकी पर कैपिटल गिरती जायेगी। इसलिए ये जो मैं आपको स्ट्रैटेजी बताता हूँ, इसलिए स्ट्रैटेजी इस लड़ाई की ये हो जाती है कि हेवी इण्डस्ट्रीज़ पर हम ज़ोर दें। क्योंकि जब तक हेवी इण्डस्ट्री, पावर और आयरन एण्ड स्टील हमें नहीं मिलता तब तक उस लड़ाई को हम लड़ नहीं सकते। चाहें यहाँ कुछ हो, बम्बई में, पूना में, अहमदाबाद में, कहीं कुछ कमा लें और वो और बात है। अच्छा है उनका कमाना, मुझे एतराज़ कैसा। लेकिन जब तक हमारे पास बड़े हथियार लड़ने के नहीं आते, बड़े हथियार हैं हेवी इण्डस्ट्री, बड़े हथियार हैं पावर, बड़े हथियार हैं आयरन एण्ड स्टील प्रोडक्शन और सबसे बड़ा हथियार है सीखे हुए लोग, ट्रेण्ड परसॉनल सब में बड़ा हथियार हैं, क्योंकि मशीन हो या न हो, मशीन होगी तो उसको चलायेगा कौन? और आदमी को सिखाने में समय लगता है, ख़ाली दो-तीन बरस कॉलेज की बात नहीं है, बल्कि उसको अभ्यास होने, बड़े-बड़े काम करने के लिए दस बरस, पन्द्रह बरस लगते हैं। तो इसलिए ये चीज़ें आवश्यक हैं। तो ये स्ट्रैटेजी हो जाती है प्लैनिंग की कि हम ये फ़ाउण्डेशन, बुनियाद डालें। और उसके ऊपर वो एक चीज़ जम जाती है, फिर उसके बाद जो होता है कि छोटी-मोटी इण्डस्ट्रीज़ आने लगती हैं और उसके बाद एम्प्लॉयमेंट भी आने लगती है, क्योंकि रास्ते खुल जाते हैं। आपने देखा कि जो ऐसे देश हैं, फ़र्ज़ कीजिए इंग्लैण्ड का देश है या जर्मनी है, आम तौर से आप वहाँ आजकल नहीं सुनेंगे अनएम्प्लॉयमेंट का, बेरोज़गारी का। क्योंकि जहाँ इण्डस्ट्री का सिलसिला ज़ोरों से चलने लगता है वहाँ एम्प्लॉयमेंट बढ़ती है, बहुत बढ़ती है। बाज़ लोगों का ये ग़लत विचार है कि इण्डस्ट्री के बढ़ने से एम्प्लॉयमेंट बन्द हो जाती है। ये बात ठीक नहीं है। हाँ, कोई ख़ास बात में, ख़ास इण्डस्ट्री में थोड़े दिन के लिए हो सकता है। ये बात ठीक है। तो आप एक आपके यहाँ बहुत सारे लोग करधे चलाते हैं, लूमस चलाते हैं, हैण्डलूमस चलाते हैं। आप एक मिल खोल दीजिए तो वो अनएम्प्लॉयड हो जायेगा। ठीक है। ये बात नहीं होनी चाहिए, इसको हमें रोकना चाहिए, क्योंकि अनएम्प्लॉयमेंट बुरी चीज़ है, देश की हानि होगी, उनको हानि होगी। और इस ढंग से हमें नहीं करना चाहिए। अंग्रेज़ों ने डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए इसी ढंग से किया था और बड़ी मुसीबत पड़ी। उन्होंने अपने जो वहाँ मज़दूर दल थे बड़े मुसीबत में थे, बड़ा एक उसका हाल आप पढ़िए तो अब तक एक आश्चर्य होता है कैसे बरदाश्त की अंग्रेज़ी मज़दूरों ने उस समय, सौ बरस हुए, डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए। और उसी का हाल जो सौ बरस, डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए, बातें थी अंग्रेज़ों में, उसी का हाल मार्क्स ने अपनी किताब में लिखा। आप जानते हैं न, कार्ल मार्क्स कम्युनिज़्म का एक क्या कहूँ, अवतार, पैगम्बर गिना जाता है। उसी की पुस्तक, उनकी बाइबल, कुरान, वेद है और बड़ी अच्छी पुस्तक है, लेकिन वो पुस्तक कैसी है? वो पुस्तक लिखी गयी है, जो बातें अंग्रेज़ों के देश में डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए हुई, उसका हाल लिखा है, मज़दूर दल पर मुसीबतें आयी थीं। और इसलिए उन्होंने दिखाया कि मज़दूर दल को मिल कर इसका मुकाबला करना है, और सब बातें निकलीं उससे।

तो जो बातें उन्होंने कीं, मार्क्स ने, वो तो सब सही बातें हैं, लेकिन सही हैं इंग्लैण्ड के लिए डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए। अब उस नक्शे को आप आजकल के ज़माने में डेढ़ सौ बरस बाद लगायें और एक दूसरे देश में, चाहे हिन्दुस्तान हो या कोई और देश हो, तो ये बहुत अक्ल की बात

नहीं मालूम होती, क्योंकि सौ बरस में, डेढ़ सौ बरस में बहुत बड़ी बातें हो गयी हैं, दुनिया बदल गयी है और एक-एक ही नुस्खा हर बीमारी का तो नहीं होता। तो कार्ल मार्क्स से तो हम बहुत कुछ सीख सकते हैं जैसे और किताबों से भी हम सीख सकते हैं, लेकिन जैसे हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई एक उसको सीख कर और फिर उनकी दो किताबों को समझते हैं कि अब उनको दुनिया की सब बीमारियों के इलाज का नुस्खा मिल गया और घोट-घोट कर पिलाया, चाहे आदमी पीना चाहे, चाहे नहीं, उसका गला फाड़ कर ज़रूर पिलाया तो ये तो कुछ बहुत अक्लमन्दी की बात नहीं मालूम होती। और छोड़ दीजिए आप बातें कि प्रजातन्त्र है कि नहीं है, लेकिन अक्ल से भी दूर मालूम होती है।

तो क्योंकि एक तो वो समय पूँजीवाद का था, डेढ़ सौ वर्ष हुए, सौ वर्ष हुए। दुनिया बदल गयी उस वक़्त से। क्या था, पूँजीवाद की दुनिया बदल गयी, अमरीका की दुनिया बदल गयी, अंग्रेज़ों की दुनिया बदल गयी। अमरीका की दुनिया में अभी चालीस-पचास वर्ष हुए तक दौलत बहुत पैदा की थी उन्होंने, फिर भी काफ़ी अन्याय होता था वहाँ के मज़दूर दल के साथ। और ग्यारह-ग्यारह घण्टे काम करते थे अंग्रेज़। जब मैं स्कूल में था मुझे याद है, अमरीका में ग्यारह घण्टे काम लेते थे अपने कारखानों में। आप सोचो, यहाँ कोई ग्यारह घण्टे काम करेगा और क्यों करे ग्यारह घण्टे काम, कहीं नहीं। अमरीका तक में करते थे तब। अब ये हाल है अमरीका का कि ये सोच रहे हैं कि वो काम कम होता जाय, यानी मेरा मतलब ये है कि मशीन से इतना काम होता है कि आदमी को कम करना पड़ता है। एक सप्ताह में अब दो दिन की छुट्टी, अब विचार कर रहे हैं कि पाँच दिन भी बहुत हैं काम करने को, चार दिन करें। और चार दिन में भी विचार कर रहे हैं कि एक-एक दिन बहुत अधिक काम न करें, क्योंकि अब मशीन काम करने लगी है। अब ये बात अच्छी है कि बुरी मैं नहीं जानता, भविष्य जाने और ये प्रश्न मेरे सामने भारत में नहीं है कि मैं उस पर सोचूँ, हो सकता है कि चालीस-पचास वर्ष बाद आये। उस पर विचार करूँ। लेकिन बिल्कुल उलट गये हैं सवाल अमरीका में क्योंकि जिसको कहते हैं ऑटोमेशन, यानी जो मशीन अपने आप काम करती है। जो आदमी करता था मशीन में काम, वो मशीन खुद करने लगी। मशीन दूसरी मशीन से काम लेती है, दूसरी तीसरी से लेती है और सब काम इस तरह। मुझे याद है एक शाख को ले गये, बड़ा भारी मोटर का कारखाना था, अमरीका में बहुत बड़े-बड़े मोटर के कारखाने हैं, युनाइटेड मोटर्स के। तो वो एक ले गये एक साहब को तो एक बड़ा भारी हॉल था उसमें मोटरें बन रही थी, वहीं असेम्बली लाइन में और उन्होंने दिखाया कि बड़े भारी हॉल में पचासों मोटरें बन रही हैं और मुट्ठी भर आदमी, आठ-दस आदमी कोई थे महज़, और वो भी देख रहे थे; कभी स्विच नीचा कर दें, कभी ऊँचा कर दें और सब ऑटोमैटिक, सब मशीन अपने आप करे। तो उन्होंने कहा उनसे कि आपने देखा क्या हो रहा है यह। तो उनका जवाब दूसरे साहब का जवाब ये हुआ था, माकूल सवाल था, उन्होंने कहा कि ठीक है आप जो करें, लेकिन फिर आपके ख़रीदार कौन होंगे आपकी मोटरों के, क्योंकि जब लाखों की तादाद में मोटरें बनें, तो जो बनाते वो न ख़रीद सके तो बाहर कौन, थोड़े-से अमीर आदमी ही चला सकते हैं। ख़ैर, तो अमरीका के सवाल दूसरे हैं। कार्ल



मार्क्स के ज़माने के सवाल अमरीका के नहीं थे, वो दूसरे ढंग के थे। वो फेंकते हैं, ज़ाया करते हैं, लड़ाई लड़ते हैं तब भी बच रहती है। ये हाल है उनका।

तो अमरीका के सवाल तो हमारे सवाल नहीं हो सकते, ज़ाहिर है, हम उनकी नक़ल कैसे करें, क्योंकि उनकी हालत दूसरी है। वो डेढ़ सौ बरस से बढ़ते-बढ़ते हो गये हैं तो हमें अपने प्रश्नों को अलग से, अपने ढंग से देखना है, अपनी आर्थिक नीति निकालनी है। और ये जो मैंने आपसे कहा कम्युनिस्ट की आर्थिक नीति, उसमें मुझे कोई सन्देह नहीं कि कई बातें उसमें हैं कार्ल मार्क्स में जो कि काफ़ी रोशनी डालती हैं। एक नयी रोशनी डालती हैं, उसको हमें सीखना है, समझना है वो तो और बात है। लेकिन मुझे इसमें भी सन्देह नहीं कि जो कार्ल मार्क्स ने कई बातें ग़ौर करी हैं, उसको इतिहास ने ग़लत साबित कर दिया, अमरीका के, यूरोप के इतिहास ने। और हमारा इतिहास तो उस तरफ़ बढ़ा नहीं है अभी। तो हमें ग़रज़ कि जहाँ-जहाँ उसको सीख सकते हैं उसको सीखें, चाहे कम्युनिज़्म हो, चाहे कैपिटलिज़्म हो, चाहे कुछ हो। लेकिन सीख कर हमें अपना रास्ता ढूँढ़ना है। अपना रास्ता, अपने देश की हालत को देखते हुए। हमने अपना अर्थशास्त्र बनाना है। अपनी इकोनॉमिक्स बनानी है जो अंग्रेज़ी इकोनॉमिक्स की नक़ल नहीं होगी। क्यों? इसलिए कि अंग्रेज़ों के सामने सवाल दूसरे हैं। कोई अंग्रेज़ लिखता है, बड़ा पण्डित भी हो, वहाँ की किताब, इकोनॉमिक्स पर, तो अंग्रेज़ी सवालों को, प्रश्नों को, रख कर रखता है, वो भारत के सवालों को थोड़े ही रखता है वहाँ। अब हम उस किताब को अपने यहाँ पढ़ायें जैसे कि पढ़ायी जाती होगी यहाँ तो वो अधिक मदद नहीं करती भारत के सवालों की। अब हल्के-हल्के हमारे जो इस मामले में बड़े प्रोफ़ेसर लोग हैं और कुछ दुनिया के भी कुछ इस बात को समझने लगे कि जो देश पिछड़े हुए हैं अण्डरडिवेलप्ड हैं उनकी इकोनॉमिक्स अलग है, वो अमरीका और विलायत की इकोनॉमिक्स नहीं है, उनकी इकोनॉमिक्स अलग है और अलग ढंग से उन सवालों को सोचना है, बल्कि एक और क्रदम बढ़े, जैसे कि आये थे, हमने बहुतों को यहाँ बुलाया, बड़े-बड़े जर्मन और अंग्रेज़ और अमरीकन और रूसी बड़े-बड़े पण्डितों को बुलाया यहाँ उनसे सलाह मशविरा करने अपनी प्लैनिंग के लिए तो सभी ने आखिर में तरह-तरह की राय दी। अलग-अलग, कभी मिलती नहीं थी, लेकिन क़रीब-क़रीब सभी की राय हुई कि आप लोगों को भारत में अपने सवालों पर विचार करके अपनी नीति निकालनी चाहिए। हमारी नीति से आप लाभ उठायें, हमारे अभ्यास से, तज़ुबे से, एक्सपीरियेंस से फ़ायदा उठायें, हम आपकी मदद करेंगे, लेकिन आखिर में आपके प्रश्न आपके हैं वो न रूस के प्रश्न हैं, न इंग्लैण्ड के, न अमरीका के हैं, बदल गये हाल वहाँ के। एक बात और थी, किस तरह से प्रश्न बदलते हैं मैं आपको बताऊँ। आप अमरीका को लीजिए। अमरीका और रूस दोनों को लीजिए। एक साम्यवादी देश, एक पूँजीवादी। दोनों देश बहुत बड़े हैं। भारत के तिगुने हैं क़रीब-क़रीब, ढाई गुने, तिगुने, लम्बान-चौड़ान में और दोनों में आबादी भारत की आधी है तो फ़र्क़ हो गया। हमारे यहाँ ज़मीन कम है, आदमी ज़्यादा हैं और वो आदमी बढ़ते जाते हैं तेज़ी से। तो आप देखें, ये प्रश्न हमारा दूसरा हो जाता है, चाहे ज़मीन को हम लें, हम ज़मीन के क़ानून बनाते हैं लैण्ड रिफ़ॉर्म इत्यादि तो जो चीज़ अमरीका में मौजूद

होगी, वो नहीं मौजूद होगी यहाँ। वहाँ ज़मीन अधिक है, लोग कम हैं। या जो रूस में हो, वो नहीं मौजूद होगी। यही लीजिए आप, मैं चाहता हूँ कि यहाँ भी हम मशीन चलायें, मशीन के हक़ में हो, हम अपनी खेती में भी, ऐग्रिकल्चर में भी मशीन्स लायें और मशीन आ भी रही है, लेकिन मैं नहीं समझता कि हमें चाहिए कि बड़े ज़ोर से हर जगह ट्रैक्टर ठूँसें। मैं नहीं इसको उचित समझता। जहाँ-जहाँ ट्रैक्टर चले, चले, हल्के-हल्के चले, क्योंकि हमारे यहाँ इत्ते अधिक आदमी हैं ज़मीन पर कि ट्रैक्टर के ले आने से बजाय सवाल हल होने के और पेचीदा हो जाता है, कहीं-कहीं आये ट्रैक्टर मुझे उसमें एतराज़ नहीं है और आ रहे हैं, लेकिन मैं हमारे ऐग्रिकल्चर को एकदम से मेकेनाइज़ नहीं करने को तैयार हूँ। हाँ, हमारी इण्डस्ट्री बढ़ जाय और इण्डस्ट्री के बढ़ने से जो हमारे खेती में काम करते हैं हल्के-हल्के इण्डस्ट्री में आयें जैसे आना चाहिए उन्हें, तब ज़मीन पर बोझ कम होगा लोगों का, क्योंकि इण्डस्ट्री में आ जायेंगे वो। उस समय हम मेकेनाइज़ करें, ये वाद की बात है। तो इसको देखिये रूस में, अमरीका में और हिन्दुस्तान में फ़र्क़ हो जाता है इसी बात में कि हमारे यहाँ आदमी अधिक हैं, ज़मीन कम है। वहाँ कम आदमी हैं, ज़मीन बहुत है। और लीजिए, फ़र्क़ हो सकते हैं, मौसम के, इसके-उसके, ग़रज़ कि एक आँखें बन्द करके एक दूसरे मुल्क की कोई बात पकड़ लेना उसकी नक़ल करना ये अक़ल की बात नहीं है, चाहे वो देश अमरीका हो जिसने बड़ी तरक्की की है, चाहे रूस हो, उसने भी बड़ी तरक्की की है, अलग-अलग मुल्क हैं।

हमें उन सभी को सोचना है। उनका विरोधी बन जाना, ये तो मूर्खता है। अमरीका के बाज़ लोग बड़े विरोधी हैं। दूसरी तरफ़ से रूस के विरोधी हैं, साम्यवाद के विरोधी हैं। अजीब, और दुनिया के दो टुकड़े बड़े-बड़े हो गये हैं, आप जानते हैं, दो बड़े-बड़े दल, एक कहिए साम्यवादी दल और दूसरा साम्यवाद का विरोध करने वाला दल—दो दल हों यानी गोया कि दुनिया का कोई और रास्ता नहीं है सिवाय साम्यवाद का या विरोध का। बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। और कोई रास्ता है ही नहीं गोया कि। और जब हम कहते हैं कि भाई साहब हम अपने रास्ते पर चलना चाहते हैं, अगर हम साम्यवाद से कुछ सीखना चाहते हैं तो ज़रूर सीखेंगे और अगर अमरीका से सीखना चाहते हैं, उनसे सीखेंगे। लेकिन रास्ता हमारा होगा, तो लोग नाराज़ हो जाते हैं, वाह! तुम कोई बात निश्चय नहीं कर सकते, इधर या उधर, तुम फ़ेंस पर बैठे रहते हो, अजीब तमाशा है। अरे साहब, अगर हम अपने रास्ते पर चलना चाहें, अपने घर में रहना चाहें शान्ति से तो लोग नाराज़ हो जायें कि तुम लाठी ले कर हमारे दुश्मन से लड़ते क्यों नहीं हो। तो ये तो एक ग़लत बात है, फ़िज़ूल बातें हैं, और इसी से सारी दुनिया की हवा ख़राब हो गयी है। तो हमने निश्चय किया एक हमारी नीति, वैदेशिक नीति, फ़ॉरेन अफ़ेयर्स में जो नीति है, वो ही नीति असल में हमारे अन्दर देश के काम में है। फ़ॉरेन अफ़ेयर्स, वैदेशिक नीति, एक अक्स होता है, एक रिफ़्लेक्शन होता है देश के अन्दर क्या किया जाय, एक-दूसरे से मिल कर। ये नहीं हो सकता कि फ़ॉरेन अफ़ेयर्स में आप एक रास्ता लें और अन्दर दूसरा रास्ता ले। फ़ॉरेन अफ़ेयर्स में क्या है, वैदेशिक नीति हमारी क्या है, आप जानते हैं। कि हम किसी बड़े, जो दल हैं दो, कोई किसी से हम फ़ौजी समझौता नहीं करेंगे। हम सब देशों से



दोस्ती करेंगे। और हम किसी देश के ऊपर ज़बरदस्ती नहीं किया चाहते और न हम किसी देश की ज़बरदस्ती हम अपने देश में स्वीकार करेंगे। तो हम सब देशों से दोस्ती करेंगे। हम साम्यवादी देश नहीं हैं, लेकिन हमारी काफ़ी मित्रता है रूस से, बहुत अच्छी और वो हमें सहायता देते हैं, हम उन्हें धन्यवाद देते हैं। हम कोई हर बात में अमरीका की बात नहीं मानते, लेकिन अमरीका से हमारा रिश्ता-नाता बहुत क़रीब का है, अच्छा है और बहुत बातें उनकी हम पसन्द करते हैं। तो इस ढंग से हम चले। और जिसको कहते हैं नॉन-एलाइनमेंट, यानी हमने अपने को बाँध नहीं लिया किसी बाहर के दल से और हम चलते आते हैं। मेरा ख़याल है वो बिलकुल ठीक है ढंग और उसी पर हम चलेंगे। अब लोग पूछते हैं कि तुम, अब ये चीन में तुममें अनबन-सी हो गयी है, तब भी तुम नॉन-एलाइन्ड रहोगे। तुम डरते नहीं हो। तुम क्यों नहीं मदद माँगते अमरीका की और इसकी और उसकी जो तुम्हें चीन के मुकाबले में मदद करे। अब बड़ी मुश्किल है बात। जब ऐसे लोग सवाल करते हैं तो इसके माने ये हैं कि वो अभी समझे ही नहीं कि दुनिया क्या है और हम क्या हैं। कोई बात नहीं समझे।

और हमारी नीति के माने क्या हैं। मुझे विश्वास है, एक तो ये कि हम इतने दुर्बल नहीं हैं कि अपनी देख-भाल न कर सकें। हाँ, मुसीबतों का सामना करना पड़े माना। लेकिन आखिर भारत में भी कुछ शक्ति है। दूसरे ये वो भारत की शक्ति नहीं बढ़ जाती, मैं दावे से कहता हूँ, दूसरे दल से मिल कर, वो कुछ कम हो जाती है। ये अजीब बात है कि नहीं, मेरा कहना एकदम से आप शायद समझें नहीं। क्योंकि दूसरे दलों में मिल जाने से एक नया नक्शा दुनिया का पैदा हो जाता है, हमारे मिल जाने से। नया नक्शा होता है और अगर हम एक तरफ़ से मिलते हैं तो दूसरे के विरोधी हो जाते हैं। और बजाय इसके कि हम ज़्यादा प्रोटेक्टेड हों, महफ़ूज़ हों, हमारे ख़तरे बढ़ जाते हैं। ये बिलकुल ऊपर से देखें, लेकिन मैं सिद्धान्त रूप से कहता हूँ कि हमें अलग रहना हम अपने को ज़्यादा बचा सकते हैं और दुनिया में एक जो लड़ाई का वायुमण्डल है, उसको साफ़ करने में मदद कर सकते हैं। नहीं तो नहीं हम कर सकते, नहीं तो हम अगर फिसल गये तो और भी जो ऐसे अनकमिटेड नॉन एलाइन्ड देश हैं वो भी फिसल जायें, तब लड़ाई बच नहीं सकती दुनिया में। ख़ैर, तो ये मैंने कहा ये हमारी फ़ॉरेन अफ़ेयर्स, फ़ॉरेन नीति है, अनएलाइन्ड होना यानी अपने रास्ते पर चलना, लोगों से दोस्ती रखना।

उसी को आप डोमेस्टिक यानी घरेलू यानी देश के अन्दर के प्रश्नों में लाइए। और प्रश्न करेंगे साहब कि आप कम्युनिस्ट रास्ते पर चलते हैं या सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के रास्ते पर या कैपिटलिस्ट या किस? अब मेरे ज़ाहिर है कि इन सब बातों में हम जो बात चुनें वो किसी से ज़्यादा मिलती होगी, किसी से नहीं, लेकिन बुनियादी तौर से मैं इनकार करता हूँ, मैं कोई किताब के रास्ते पर चलाँ। कोई अंग्रेज़ी में किताब लिख दी किसी ने कि सोशलिज़्म के, अंग्रेज़ी सोशलिज़्म के, ये सिद्धान्त हैं, या फ्रेंच सोशलिज़्म के और कम्युनिज़्म के, तो मैं नहीं इस बात को मानता, मैं उस किताब को पढ़ने को तैयार हूँ जो बात मेरे समझ में आये, मेरे देश के लिए भली है तो मैं उसको स्वीकार करूँगा। हाँ, सिद्धान्त की और बात होती है। मैं अपने को सोशलिस्ट कहता हूँ, मैं अपने को समाजवादी कहता हूँ। क्यों ? इसलिए नहीं कि मैंने कोई

किताब रट ली है। किताबें तो बहुत पढ़ी हैं मैंने, लेकिन किताब रटने की बात नहीं है, इसलिए कि दो-तीन बातें हैं, एक तो ये कि मुझे देश में अपने या किसी देश में बहुत ज्यादा ऊँच-नीचपना पसन्द नहीं है और मैं चाहता हूँ कि ये देश के लिए एक तो यों भी सिद्धान्त रूप से अच्छा नहीं और देश की तरक्की के लिए अच्छा नहीं है। आजकल, एक तो सिद्धान्त बुरा है ऊँच-नीच का, जहाँ तक बन पड़े बराबर हो। बराबर ठीक शब्द नहीं है, क्योंकि सब बराबर हो नहीं सकते, कोई लोग मूर्ख होते हैं, कोई अक्लमन्द होते हैं, बराबर कैसे कर दें बेवकूफ को अक्लमन्द से, और मुझे मंजूर नहीं है ये, या अधिकतर बेवकूफ हों तो बेवकूफों की राय से देश चले, ये भी मुझे मंजूर नहीं है। हालाँकि किसी क्रूर ये खतरा होता है जनतन्त्र में, लेकिन उसका सामना करना पड़ता है, क्या किया जाय।

तो दूसरी ये इसलिए कि आजकल की दुनिया में ये साबित हो गया है, ये प्रूव हो गया है, कि आप गरीबी को दूर कर सकते हैं मशीन से, साइन्स से, इससे, उससे। अगर आप सौ बरस पहले मुझे पूछते, इसका हल नहीं था पास किसी के। अब कोई माने नहीं। जब इस बात को हम कर सकते हैं दूर, तो हम क्यों न करें। अच्छा उसके करने में जो स्ट्रेटेजी है मेरी राय में, वो सोशलिस्ट स्ट्रेटेजी ज्यादा अच्छी है। कैपिटलिस्ट स्ट्रेटेजी से भी हो सकता है ये बात हो, मैं नहीं इनकार करता कहीं, लेकिन भारत में नहीं हो सकता इस समय। क्यों? इसलिए कि कैपिटलिस्ट स्ट्रेटेजी से ये जो बात है जैसे अमरीका में हुई है वो डेढ़ सौ बरस में हुई है। और डेढ़ सौ बरस एक महान देश अमरीका हल्के-हल्के बढ़ा, बहुत सारी बातें उस ज़माने में हुई। वो बातें अब आप दोहरा नहीं सकते। सोशलिस्ट कोई लिखी हुई कोई डॉक्ट्रीन हो, पत्थर की लकीर, में उस बात को नहीं स्वीकार करने को तैयार हूँ। और बल्कि मैं ये भी कहूँगा कि सोशलिज्म को कहीं लगाना ये होगा उस देश की हालत को देख कर, उस देश के प्रश्नों को देख कर, उस देश की शक्ति को देख कर आप उपाय ढूँढिये। हाँ, सोशलिस्ट सिद्धान्त सामने रख कर, और और देशों के अभ्यास से फ़ायदा, लाभ उठा कर, मैंने माना।

तो ग़रज़ कि जैसे कि फ़ॉरेन अफ़ेयर्स में हम एक अलग [...] — के हैं प्रेम रखते हैं, दोस्ती रखते हैं और देशों से, किसी दल में नहीं मिलते, उसी तरह से जो दुनिया की बड़ी-बड़ी पार्टिज़ हैं, आर्थिक बातों में हमारी हमदर्दी किसी से हो वो और बात है। हम उसमें भी अपने रास्ते पर चलने की कोशिश करते हैं। हमने निश्चय किया है सोच-विचार कर कि हमारा रास्ता एक सामाजिक सोशलिस्ट समाज की तरफ़ हमें ले जाय। हमने निश्चय किया अपनी हालत देखकर और कुछ सिद्धान्त भी हमें समझ में आये उसके। लेकिन जिस ढंग से हम उस पर चलेंगे वो हमारा चुनाव हुआ ढंग होगा जैसा आप-हम लोग सब मिल कर समझें, अपने देश के, जैसा उचित समझें।

सोशलिज्म में एक और बात भी है, यानी ख़ाली ऊँच-नीच की बात नहीं है, हालाँकि वो आवश्यक है बल्कि सोशलिज्म, जब शुरू में इसका चर्चा हुआ था तो उसमें, क्या कहूँ आपसे, एक एथिक्स की बात थी, मॉरैलिटी की बात थी, एक सिद्धान्त बहुत सारे उसमें आते हैं, उसमें जाता नहीं मैं, लेकिन मैंने उसका चर्चा इसलिए किया क्योंकि मैं आपसे कह रहा हूँ प्रोडक्शन



हमारा बड़े सब कुछ बड़े और सब लोग कहते हैं लेकिन इसको आप भूले नहीं कि प्रोडक्शन कित्ता ही बड़े, कित्ता ही दौलतमन्द हमारा देश हो जाय, अगर हमारे लोगों का चरित्र गिर जाता है तो देश तबाह हो जाय। कोई देश अपने सोने-चाँदी से नहीं रहता, प्रोडक्शन से। लोगों की विद्या से, चरित्र से देश बढ़ता है। ये बड़ी आवश्यक बात है और इसी से देश का अन्द्राज़ा होता है।

तो मैं इससे अधिक कहता नहीं इसलिए कि ये मानी हुई बात होनी चाहिए, लेकिन है ये बहुत ही ज़रूरी बात। तो मैं आपसे कह रहा था हमारे पंचवर्षीय योजना इत्यादि का कि हमारी स्ट्रेटेजी एक है। वो स्ट्रेटेजी हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में नहीं हो सकती जो अमरीका की स्ट्रेटेजी रही है। अमरीका में स्ट्रेटेजी क्या, अमरीका में तो अपने आप बड़े हैं, सौ-डेढ़ सौ बरस में। क्योंकि हमारे पास सौ-डेढ़ सौ बरस नहीं हैं। हमारे पास समाज के प्रश्न हैं जिनको हल करना है दस बरस में। हम नहीं ठहर सकते। हम उस रास्ते पर नहीं चल सकते।

रूस का रास्ता है; उससे कामयाबी मिली है रूस को इस माने में, इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि तीस-चालीस वर्ष में उन्होंने अपने देश को बड़ा भारी महान देश कर दिया। लेकिन इसमें दो-तीन बातें याद आप रखें। एक तो ये कि रूस को भी करने में चालीस वर्ष लगे हैं, कोई चटपट, क्रान्ति के बाद नहीं हो गया। चालीस वर्ष लगे हैं। मैं नहीं जानता, चालीस वर्ष बाद हमारे भारत का क्या रूप हो। मैं समझता हूँ, काफ़ी हम आगे बढ़ गये होंगे। दूसरे ये कि जो रूस में हुआ, एक बड़ी लड़ाई के बाद हुआ और एक बड़ी लड़ाई में हार के बाद हुआ। रूस में सारा गवर्नमेंट का, शासन का प्रबन्ध टूट गया था। रूस तबाह हो गया था उस पहली लड़ाई में, जब वहाँ क्रान्ति हुई थी। कोई चीज़ वहाँ, यानी अपने आप से सारा वहाँ के शासन का मकान टूट गया था। फ़ौज तितर-बितर थी। वो हुआ। तो ऐसे मौक़े पर एक उन्होंने उस ज़माने के एक कम्युनिस्ट नेता थे, बड़े भारी नेता थे, लेनिन, उन्होंने अपने ढंग पर उसको चलाया। तो आप क्या कोई साहब यहाँ पर हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई चाहते हैं कि पहले हम हिन्दुस्तान को बिलकुल चौपट कर दें, गिरा दें, फिर हम अपना मकान बनाना शुरू करें। कुछ उनकी नीति थोड़ी-बहुत यही मालूम होती है कि जभी हम कर सकेंगे अपना काम जब बिलकुल इसको गिरा दें जो कुछ आजकल है, तब अपने ढंग का मकान बनाना है। अब ये बात तो मुझे बहुत अक्ल की नहीं मालूम होती। ये और बात है कि रूस में गिर गया था मकान लड़ाई की हार से तो बनायेंगे। लेकिन हम गिरायें अपने खड़े हुए मकान को, ताकि हम दूसरे ढंग का बनायें, ये तो अजीब बात है और इससे कोई साम्यवाद से भी बहुत क़रीब का सम्बन्ध नहीं है। खैर, तीसरे ये कि रूस ने सोच-समझ कर जो कुछ कहिए, जो क़ीमत दी, वो बड़ी भारी क़ीमत थी, लोगों के परिश्रम में, लोगों की तकलीफ़ में, दी। अब मैं उनकी निन्दा नहीं कर सकता। उन्होंने सोच-समझ कर एक काम किया, लेकिन ये मैं कह सकता हूँ कि कोई गवर्नमेंट भारत में उसका आधा करने की कोशिश करे वो ख़त्म हो जाये। गवर्नमेंट उत्ती तकलीफ़ पहुँचाये जनता को, जित्ती वहाँ पहुँची, वो चल नहीं सकती गवर्नमेंट। यानी लोकतन्त्र में वो बात नहीं हो सकती। फिर प्रश्न ये हो जाता है कि लोकतन्त्र में नहीं हो सकती, लोकतन्त्र रखा जाय कि न रखा जाय,

डेमोक्रेसी रखी जाय कि न रखी जाय। हाँ, ये गहरा प्रश्न है। मैं ये समझता हूँ कि डेमोक्रेसी, लोकतन्त्र अच्छी चीज़ है और उससे एक व्यक्ति, एक इन्सान बढ़ता है। व्यक्तिगत आज़ादी में देश की आज़ादी अच्छी है व्यक्तिगत से। तो यही हमारा विधान है, हमारा कॉन्स्टीट्यूशन है। मैं उसको उचित समझता हूँ। तो अगर आप इन बातों को स्वीकार करते हैं तब वो असम्भव हो जाता है जो हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई कहते हैं तब वो नहीं हो सकता। और कम्युनिस्ट भाई किस रास्ते पर चलें तो लोकतन्त्र कहीं-न-कहीं हट जाता है और शान्ति भी हट जाती है फिर गृहयुद्ध होता है। मैं तो नहीं चाहता कि ये बात हो देश में। मैं समझता हूँ कि हम अपने देश में बड़ी-से-बड़ी क्रान्ति कर सकते हैं — सामाजिक, आर्थिक, बग़ैर गृहयुद्ध के। हमने आखिर राजा, महाराजाओं को हटाया यहाँ से, हमने बड़े-बड़े जागीरदार ताल्लुकेदार, बड़े ज़मींदारों को हटाया बग़ैर गृहयुद्ध के, हम सारे अपने खेती में ऐग्रिकल्चर में और क्रदम उठा रहे हैं क्रान्ति के, गृहयुद्ध तो नहीं हुआ कोई। क्यों हम ख़ामखा के लिए गृहयुद्ध करायें, तबाही लायें इसलिए कि फिर हम बनें। ये तो कोई समझ की बात नहीं है।

तो गरज़ कि मैं आपको समझाने की कोशिश कर रहा था कि कैसे दोनों में, वैदेशिक नीति में और यहाँ में, हमें अपने ढंग पर चलना है और किसी बँधी हुई लकीर पर नहीं। हाँ। उस ढंग में और दुनिया का असर हो, कोई हम दुनिया से अलग तो नहीं हैं। मैं अगर अपने को समाजवादी कहता हूँ तो मेरी हमदर्दी है समाजवाद से। और देशों में जहाँ समाजवाद हो तो कुछ-न-कुछ उससे मैं हमदर्दी रखता हूँ, उसकी नक़ल न करूँ। इस ढंग से हमें चलना है और जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा कि हमें अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजना में स्ट्रेटेजी करनी है जिससे हम बढ़ें, जिससे अधिक-से-अधिक तेज़ी से हम बढ़ें और वो मौक़ा आये जिसको अंग्रेज़ी में कहते हैं टेक-ऑफ़ का। ग़रीबी से टेक-ऑफ़ करके आपका प्रोडक्शन उत्ता बढ़ जाय कि फिर आपकी मशीन प्रोडक्शन की खुद चलने लगे। अमरीका की मशीने इत्ते ज़ोरों से चलती है या रूस की आजकल इत्ते ज़ोरों से चलती है कि जितनी आवश्यकता है, उससे अधिक बहुत निकलता है। हमारी तो नहीं। लेकिन एक अन्त में जब कप्ट्री में समय आता है जब ये बातें हो सकती हैं। अब हम उसी के लिए कोशिश कर रहे हैं। मैं नहीं कह सकता कब वो समय आये, लेकिन एशिया के देशों में जापान को छोड़ कर, और चीन तो अलग है उसको भी छोड़ कर, एशिया और अफ़्रीका के देशों में भारत सब में आगे है इस मामले में और साउथ अमेरिका के भी देशों को चाहे आप मिला लीजिए। और विशेषकर पिछले दस-बारह बरस में जो बातें की गयी हैं, उससे एक मज़बूत बुनियाद पड़ी है हमारे आगे बढ़ने की। मानता हूँ मैं कि देश में हज़ार दिक्कतें हैं ग़रीबी है, ये है, वो सब कुछ है, अनएम्प्लॉयमेंट है, लेकिन वो बुनियाद जो कि साइन्स से, जो कि पावर प्रोडक्शन से जो कि लोहे के बड़े-बड़े प्लाण्ट्स बने हैं, उनसे और विशेषकर जो कि टेक्निकल एजुकेशन देने से अधिक-से-अधिक लोगों के, हमने एक बुनियाद डाली है जिससे हम तेज़ी से बढ़ सकें।

अब तेज़ी से बढ़ना कोई एकदम से तो होता नहीं। हम आशा करते हैं कि तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्त में हम टेक-ऑफ़ के शुरू हिस्से में आ जायेंगे। पक्का नहीं होगा,



लेकिन बहुत कुछ हम आगे बढ़ जायेंगे। और चौथी के अन्त तक पूरी तौर से हम उस पार हो जायेंगे, हमें आशा है। क्योंकि याद रखिए कि जिती हम तरक्की करते हैं वो तरक्की कुछ हमारी रुक जाती है या कम हो जाती है पॉपुलेशन के बढ़ने से। खाने वाले अधिक हो जाते हैं। खाना, अधिक अन्न पैदा करें जो बड़ा आवश्यक है, सात लाख अन्न खाने वाले अधिक हो गये हर साल। तो हमें उससे कहीं अधिक पैदा करना है, और पहला सवाल तो अन्न पैदा करने का हो गया जैसे हमारे स्ट्रेटेजी में है। तो मैंने आपसे कुछ ये स्ट्रेटेजी बताने की कोशिश की, क्योंकि मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप समझें कि ये पंचवर्षीय योजना इत्यादि क्या होती है। ये खाली नक्शा नहीं होता है कि कहाँ कारखाना बनाओ, कहाँ पावर हाउस बनाओ, कहाँ क्या करो, वो नहीं है। ये एक लड़ाई की स्ट्रेटेजी है, किस ढंग से हम बढ़ें जिससे दुश्मन के ऊपर असर हो। किस ढंग से हम बढ़ें जिससे हमारी शक्ति बढ़े, कल की बढ़ने की, ये है।

अब, मैंने आपसे कहा, हेवी इण्डस्ट्री हम करें, लेकिन उसी के साथ-साथ हमें स्मॉल इण्डस्ट्री बड़ी तेज़ी से बढ़ानी है। काम देने को, एम्प्लॉयमेंट देने को। हमें उसी के साथ-साथ ग्रामोद्योग में, इसमें कोई झगड़ा है। दोनों की आवश्यकता है, कोई झगड़ा नहीं है, ग़लत बात है कोई आपसे कहे, चाहे आपके प्रोफ़ेसर क्यों न हों। हिन्दुस्तान की आजकल की हालत में, मैं किसी और देश के लिए नहीं कह रहा, भारत की आजकल की हालत में, ये आवश्यक है कि हेवी इण्डस्ट्री हो, ज़ोरों से हो। ये आवश्यक है कि स्मॉल इण्डस्ट्री तेज़ी से फैले और ये भी आवश्यक है कि ग्रामोद्योग तेज़ी से फैले। तीनों की जगह है। अब मैं नहीं जानता पचास बरस, सौ बरस बाद कैसा नक्शा हो। उस वक़्त हम देख लेंगे उस समय जो होंगे, इस वक़्त तीनों आवश्यक हैं। कोई उसमें नहीं है बहस, लड़ाई, कि एक-दूसरे के रास्ते में आता है। हमें हर तरीक़ा लेना है, हर रास्ते पर चलना है जिससे हमारे देश की पैदावार, धन बढ़े। जिससे लोगों को एम्प्लॉयमेंट मिले, दोनों बातें।

तो ये आप समझें। क्योंकि सारे देश का जीवन इन पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं पर है। हम इनको पंचवर्षीय योजना कहते हैं। ये पाँच बरस में कोई जादू तो नहीं है, हम चार बरस कह सकते थे इसे, छह बरस, सात बरस, लेकिन सरलता के लिए, आसानी के लिए पाँच बरस हमने कह दिया; कि कोई-न-कोई अन्दाज़ करने का समय हो कि पाँच बरस बाद क्या हो। वो तो हर साल हम करते हैं। इसको आप समझें और आप दिलचस्पी लें, और मैं तो थोड़े-से में ही कह सकता हूँ, समझने की कोशिश करें। मैं तो चाहता हूँ हर स्कूल में, हर कॉलेज में, कुछ पंचवर्षीय योजना का हाल उन्हें मालूम होना चाहिए। उससे वो अधिक सीखेंगे, भारत का हाल, भारत का आर्थिक हाल, इकोनॉमिक्स भारत की, बनिस्बत किताबें आप पढ़ के। और आपस में बहस करें और मुझे खुशी हुई कि बहुत सारी हमारी यूनिवर्सिटी में, कॉलेजों में हमारे प्लैनिंग फ़ोरम्स बन गये हैं, जिसमें प्लैनिंग पर बहस होती है। ठीक है, क्योंकि प्लैनिंग ऊपर के कुछ लोगों की बात नहीं है।

अच्छा अब मैं एक और बात आपके सामने रखता हूँ, बड़ी बात जो हो रही है और जिससे मेरे ऊपर बहुत असर हुआ। अभी तीन दिन हुए मैं राजस्थान में था और राजस्थान में एक शुभ

दिन, महात्मा गाँधी की जयन्ती के दिन, एक बड़ा काम शुरू हुआ कि वहाँ का काम, अधिकतर देहात का काम, वहाँ की सारी पंचायतों को दे दिया गया। धन भी और काम करना भी — सब दे दिया गया। यानी सारा डेवलपमेंट का काम सारा आगे बढ़ने का काम, शिक्षा का काम और कित्ते और काम जो गाँव के थे, वो कोऑपरेशन का काम, सब उनको दे दिया गया। आप सोचें कित्ती बड़ी बात है। गाँव की पंचायतें हैं। उनके ऊपर फिर पंचायत समितियाँ हैं, कई को मिला कर, उनके ऊपर और हैं। मुझे ठीक याद नहीं क्या है। लेकिन गरज कि ये एक-एक ज़िले का एक नया नक्शा बना है। और एक ज़िले के काम में करीब-करीब अस्सी फ़ीसदी काम ज़िले का पंचायतों के सुपुर्द कर दिया गया है। है कि नहीं एक बड़ी बात यह। कि इस तरह से, हमारे लोग कहते हैं कि हम दिल्ली में सब सेंट्रलाइज़ किया चाहते हैं पावर को। ये तो उलटी बात है डीसेंट्रलाइज़ करना, शक्ति को फैला देना, जैसा कि गाँधीजी चाहते थे, जैसा कि विनोबाजी चाहते हैं। आजकल की दुनिया में आसान नहीं है बहुत डीसेंट्रलाइज़ करना, क्योंकि आजकल की दुनिया में जित्ते बड़े काम हैं, उसमें एक सेंट्रलाइज़्ड हुक्मत की ज़रूरत होती है और बड़ी बहस आजकल की दुनिया में है, इन दो बातों में है, एक तो सेंट्रलाइज़ेशन की तरफ़ लोग, दुनिया जाती है और दूसरी तरफ़ ये कोशिश कि व्यक्तिगत आज़ादी है जो कि सेंट्रलाइज़ेशन के खिलाफ़ है। ख़ैर, तो ये एक बड़ा काम हुआ और मुझे ये निश्चय है कि हमारे सारे भारत भर में और और राज्यों में भी ये बात बढ़ती जायेगी, पंचायतों को अधिक अधिकार देना। तो ये अधिकार के माने ये नहीं है कि हम समझते हैं कि पंचायत के लोग कोई बड़े ऊँचे दर्जे के लोग होते हैं, पंच। पंचायत के लोग काफ़ी लड़ाई-झगड़ा करते हैं आपस में, दलबन्दी करते हैं सब कुछ। लेकिन सब कुछ जान कर, और ये जानकर कि वो ग़लती करेंगे, धोखा होगा, ठोकर खा कर गिरेंगे, फिर भी हमने इन्हें दिया है। इसी तरह से वो सीखेंगे और इसी तरह से देश की शक्ति बढ़ेगी, और आम जनता जब इस तरह से अपने हाथ में लेगी। क्योंकि जब कोई काम हो, चाहे वो जनतन्त्र को आप लें, एक माने में हमारे यहाँ जनतन्त्र है, कि पार्लियामेंट, असेम्बली वगैरह चुने जाते हैं वोट से, ठीक है। लेकिन पक्की तौर से जनतन्त्र तभी हो जब वो फैल जाय, पंचायतों से ले कर और ख़ैर शहरों में तो म्युनिसिपैलिटी है वगैरह, कॉरपोरेशन।

इसी तरह से, इसी तरह से दूसरी तरफ़ आप जाइये, ये तो राजनीति की तरफ़ हुआ, ये तो ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन तरफ़ हुआ, पोलिटिकल। आर्थिक तरफ़ जाइये आप। इसी तरह से आर्थिक शक्ति भी बहुत जमा नहीं होनी चाहिए थोड़े-से हाथों में। इसीलिए ये सवाल उठता है, प्राइवेट सेक्टर, पब्लिक सेक्टर, और मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे देश में आजकल और बहुत दिनों तक, प्राइवेट सेक्टर और पब्लिक सेक्टर दोनों की आवश्यकता है। लेकिन जब मैं ये कहता हूँ एक बात को आप समझ लीजिए कि मैं एक बात नहीं पसन्द करता, वो ये कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर के हाथ में अधिक आर्थिक शक्ति आ जाय, यानी किसी एक व्यक्ति या एक गिरोह के हाथ में। इकोनॉमिक पावर, मोनोपली पावर, किसी के हाथ में आना, प्राइवेट आदमी के हाथ में या प्राइवेट ग्रुप के हाथ में उचित नहीं है मैं समझता हूँ। और मैं चाहता हूँ प्राइवेट सेक्टर जित्ता फैले, फैले। आज तो जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा सेंट्रलाइज़ेशन की तरफ़ दुनिया जाती है, चाहे



पोलिटिकल हो चाहे इकोनॉमिक हो, अब सेंद्रलाइजेशन से पावर बढ़ता है। वो पावर प्राइवेट सेक्टर में सेंद्रलाइजेशन का नहीं होना चाहिए, और प्राइवेट सेक्टर मुबारक हो, खूब फैले, और मैं समझता हूँ बहुत मैदान है हमारे देश में प्राइवेट सेक्टर के बढ़ने का और बढ़ेगा वो। लेकिन हाँ, वो पावर खाली स्टेट के हाथ में होना चाहिए, सेंद्रलाइज्ड अथॉरिटी, ये मैं जरूर समझता हूँ। इसलिए जो बहुत बड़े-बड़े कारखाने हैं, बेसिक इण्डस्ट्रीज़, वो स्टेट के हाथ में होनी चाहिएँ, स्ट्रैटेजिक इण्डस्ट्रीज़ और मैं समझता हूँ कि बाक़ी इकोनॉमिक पावर को भी फैलना चाहिए।

अब इकोनॉमिक पावर कैसे फैलता है, वो फैलता है, उसके फैलने का तरीका है, कोऑपरेटिव के ज़रिये से। सहकारी संघ के द्वारा, जिस पर हम जोर देते हैं, चाहे वो ऐग्रिकल्चर में हो चाहे वो इण्डस्ट्री में हो। कोऑपरेटिव के हाथ में कित्ता ही पावर जाय, मुझे उसमें डर नहीं, क्योंकि वो व्यक्तियों के हाथ में नहीं है, वो भी जनता के हाथ में है। तो कोऑपरेटिव आवश्यक हो जाता है। हमने विशेषकर कहा कि हमारे ग्रामों में एक-एक ग्राम में कोऑपरेटिव हो जाय, सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव हमने कहा। हमने ये भी कहा है, और इसमें तो कोई बहस नहीं हो सकती, सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव तो होनी ही है हमारे देश में। कोई आदमी जो ज़रा भी जानता है, इसका विरोध नहीं करेगा, लेकिन फिर भी आप देखिए इसका भी विरोध बाज़ लोग करते हैं और अजीब बातें हैं, अजीब उसके कारण देते हैं, उसमें नहीं जाता, लेकिन दूसरी बात, हमने कहा कि इस समय तीन बरस तक सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव सब जगह जमायी जायें। हाँ, उसके बाद और इस दौरान में भी हम समझते हैं कि जिसको कहते हैं मिल-जुल कर खेती करना, जॉयंट कल्टिवेशन वो भी कोऑपरेटिव कर सकता है, करे। अच्छा, और ये हमने साफ़ कर दिया, दो बातें कि इसमें कोई ज़बरदस्ती नहीं है, जो लोग खुशी से करें, करें, ज़बरदस्ती तो नहीं है। दूसरे ये कि जॉयंट कल्टिवेशन में भी हम उसकी ज़मीन की ओनरशिप, मिल्कियत नहीं लेंगे। उसकी ओनरशिप रहे, हालाँकि ओनरशिप उसका एक तरह से जब तक जॉयंट है वो शेयर हो जाता है, एक हिस्सा हो जाता है, हम नहीं लेंगे। और भी हम बढ़ते गये कि अगर बाद में भी कोई उससे निकल जाना चाहता है तो उसका भी उपाय हो, हो सकता है। तो इसमें न कोई ज़बरदस्ती, न मजबूरी। लेकिन मुझे कोई शक नहीं है कि जैसे भारत में आम तौर से खेती होती है, अधिकतर लोगों के पास, मैं नहीं जानता इधर क्या है, हमारी तरफ़ बहुत किसानों के पास, एक एकड़, डेढ़ एकड़ ज़मीन है, दो एकड़, वो कैसे तरक्की कर सकता है। एक ही तरह से कर सकता है कि एक वो सहकारी संघ में रहे। तब वो कुछ साइन्स की बातों से लाभ उठा सकता है। तब वो अच्छे बीज उसे सहकारी संघ से मिल सकते हैं, खाद मिले, फ़र्टिलाइज़र मिले, अच्छा प्लाऊ मिले, हल मिले, सब बातें हो सकती हैं। कोई अलग नहीं कर सकता अलावा क्रेडिट के, क्रेडिट तो ख़ैर मिलता ही है, क़र्ज़ा। लेकिन इसके अलावा अगर वो छोटे-छोटे किसान हैं, एक एकड़, दो एकड़, तीन एकड़ के, कितनी ज़मीन हमारी ज़ाया होती है एक-एक एकड़ की वाउण्डरी में। हर आदमी की होल्डिंग के बाद वाउण्डरी बने, लाखों एकड़ हमारे ज़ाया होते हैं। उसकी हानि होती है। [...] जिसके पास अधिक ज़मीन है, मुझे फ़िक्क नहीं क्या करेगा। लेकिन एक-दो एकड़ वालों के लिए कोई उपाय नहीं है, सिवा इसके

कि जॉयण्ट कल्टिवेशन करे और उससे ज्यादा उनको अधिक लाभ होगा, ज़मीन उनकी रहेगी। और बल्कि कुछ बढ़ जायेगी ज़मीन समझिए क्योंकि जो बाउण्डरीज़ में है वो भी आ जायेगी और उससे उनको लाभ होगा। मुझे तो उसमें कुछ भी बुरी बात नहीं मालूम होती। और वो भी हम कहते हैं कि भई तुम चाहो तो करो, तुम चाहो तो न करो, ज़बरदस्ती नहीं है। तो इसमें हाय-हाय करने की क्या बात है और एक आन्दोलन उठाया एक स्वतन्त्र पार्टी ने कि हम ज़बरदस्ती मिल-जुल कर खेती उनसे करवायेंगे और इसके बाद कलेक्टिवाइज़ेशन होगा। और मैं कहता जाता हूँ कि हम उसको नहीं उचित समझते, हम नहीं चाहते लेकिन वो उसको कहे चले जाते हैं। ये तो अजीब बात है। तो ये तरीक़े हैं।

मैं आपसे कह रहा था, असल में ये कि एक पावर का, चाहे वो पोलिटिकल पावर हो, राजनीतिक या आर्थिक उसको मैं चाहता हूँ फैलाना, पूरी तौर से तो फैल नहीं सकता, आजकल के स्टेट में पावर होना ही है, नहीं तो स्टेट दब जाय। लेकिन हम ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव पावर फैलाना चाहते हैं जैसे पंचायतों में फैलाना, हम इकोनॉमिक पावर फैलाना चाहते हैं, जैसे हम कोऑपरेटिव फैलाना चाहते हैं ग्रामों के और इण्डस्ट्रियल कोऑपरेटिव्स भी बनें। इस तरह से एक बुनियाद, एक बेस, मज़बूत होती है आपकी, पोलिटिकल बेस देश में और इकोनॉमिक बेस मज़बूत हो जाती है। ख़ाली ऊपर की नहीं होती है। और ऊपर जो भी ख़राबी हो, अगर आपका फ़ाउण्डेशन, आपकी जड़, बुनियाद मज़बूत है, पोलिटिकल, इकोनॉमिक तो देश बहुत मज़बूत होगा। ये हमारी स्ट्रेटजी है। मैं चाहता हूँ आप इसको समझ लें। और ऐसे मौक़े पर हम कर रहे हैं जबकि और जगह, और दुनिया में, कुछ सेंट्रलाइज़ेशन अधिक होता जाता है। तो इस ढंग से करते हैं।

तो फिर मैं आपसे कहूँगा ये पंचवर्षीय योजना असल चीज़ है और सब बातें हमारे देश में जो हैं वो उसी के भाग हैं और उसमें आप हिस्सा लीजिए। और ये मैं नहीं कहता कि जो बात हम कह दें वो सही बात है, सब हम सीख रहे हैं, बड़ा काम है और दुनिया के इतिहास में आजकल जो भारत में किया जा रहा है, जिस ढंग से, उसकी कोई और मिसाल नहीं है, इंग्रैम्पल नहीं है। ये मैं कोई अपनी प्रशंसा के लिए नहीं कह रहा। ये मैं कह रहा था एक पॉयण्ट ऑफ़ फ़ैक्ट कह रहा था आपसे। क्योंकि एक तरफ़ से दुनिया में हम देखते हैं कि अमरीका इत्यादि देश यूरोप के बड़े हैं सौ-डेढ़ सौ बरस में। दूसरी तरफ़ से हम देखते हैं कि रूस है, या चीन में जो हो रहा है। अब रूस में, मैंने आपसे कहा कि चालीस वर्ष में हुआ। एक तो चालीस वर्ष लगे, लेकिन इसके अलावा जो तरीक़ा उन्होंने अख़्तियार किया, वो जनतन्त्र का, डेमोक्रेटिक नहीं था, हमारे ढंग से, यानी व्यक्तिगत आज़ादी नहीं थी। हम...वो चीन में भी यही हो रहा है और जहाँ तक देखने में आया है चीन के लोग कुछ रूस से भी आगे उस रास्ते पर जा रहे हैं, यानी आगे से मेरा मतलब व्यक्तिगत आज़ादी को दबाने के रास्ते में। हाँ, बड़े-बड़े काम उन्होंने किये हैं। सफलता उन्हें मिली है। ये जैसा उचित समझें, वो करें। मुझे तो अधिकार नहीं है उनके यहाँ दखल देने का। तो ये जनतन्त्र रखते हुए, व्यक्तिगत आज़ादी रखते हुए फिर भी हम तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं। ये बात किसी देश में नहीं हुई है आज



तक, न कोशिश हुई है और जो देश इस समय समझा जाय, अण्डरडेवलपड हैं, पिछड़े हैं, वहाँ कुछ तो ये सब हो रहा है लेकिन सच बात ये है कि बहुत हल्के चल रहे हैं और मैं नहीं जानता कि इस राह पर चलते-चलते कितने ज़माने लगें कि वो अपनी मंज़िल पर पहुँचें।

तो हमने ये बड़ा काम उठाया और दुनिया की आँखें हमारे देश की तरफ़ हैं कि कितने हम सफल होते हैं। और उन्होंने एक और बात जो दुनिया में देखी कि हिन्दुस्तान ही की शक्ति है, ये तो कोई कह नहीं सकता दुनिया वाले कि यहाँ ये होगा कि नहीं। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान ही एक देशों में है जिसमें शक्ति है कि थोड़े बरसों में हम अण्डरडेवलपड कण्ट्री से डेवलपड हो जायें। हम एक पिछड़े हुए देश से ऐसे देश हो जायें जहाँ कि हमारी तरक्की की रेट, पेस तेज़ हो जाय। यानी जो मैंने शब्द आपसे कहा था हम टेक ऑफ़ करें, हम गरीबी के दलदल से, मोरैस से टेक ऑफ़ करें और पक्की ज़मीन पर आ जायें खुशहाली की। भारत ही एक देश है इस वक़्त। एक तरफ़ तो कुछ देश है जो कि अब भी खुशहाल हैं, अमीर हैं, उनको अलग रखिए। दूसरी तरफ़ देश हैं जो कि अण्डरडेवलपड हैं। तो अण्डरडेवलपड मुल्कों में भारत सब में अगुआ गिना जाता है। मैं इस वक़्त चीन को नहीं गिनता। तो [...] जितने देश दुनिया में डेवलपड होते जायें और अपने पैरों पर खड़े हो जायें पूरी तौर से, उता ही उस देश का तो लाभ होता है, उता ही दुनिया का लाभ होता है, यानी दुनिया में गरीबी को बोझा कम हो जाता है। हम अगर उते ही डेवलपड हों, खुशहाल हो जायें तो हम औरों के ऊपर बोझा तो नहीं होते, [...] और हम और देशों की सहायता कर सकते हैं उठने में। क्योंकि होना तो ये चाहिए कि सारी दुनिया उठ जाय, गरीबी से। तो इसलिए दुनिया के लिए भी [...] आवश्यक सवाल हो गया ये कि भारत कितनी जल्दी निकलता है इस दलदल से, और चूँकि हम पक्की ज़मीन से दूर भी नहीं हैं और हममें शक्ति भी है, कैसी शक्ति, शक्ति का मैंने आपसे कहा कि जो हमने अपनी साइन्स का और इण्डस्ट्री का और टेक्निकल लोगों को तैयार करना और हमारी कुछ हेवी इण्डस्ट्री लोहे वगैरा की भी हो गयी, हमारी पावर सप्लाई भी बढ़ रही है। हम एक बड़ा भारी, बिग मशीन बिल्डिंग प्लाण्ट बना रहे हैं। ये सब बातें हमारे, यों आप देखें हिन्दुस्तान का पर कैपिटल इन्कम बहुत कम है, देख कर तकलीफ़ होती है,<sup>94</sup> लेकिन फिर भी हमने, जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा, एक लाख इंजीनियर कोई छोटी गिनती नहीं है, कर सकते हैं बड़े-बड़े काम। साइण्टिस्ट भी हमारे काफ़ी बढ़ते जाते हैं, ये जड़ है जो भारत को निकालेगी। तो ये बातें मैं चाहता हूँ आप समझें और इन सब बातों के नज़र में, इनको इस तरह से आप देखें तो एक किताब पढ़ना नहीं है कि आप पाँच इयर प्लैन पढ़ लें, या कोई लेक्चर मैं दे दूँ। लेकिन अपने मन में एक तस्वीर लाइए, किस तरह से एक भारत का रूप बदल रहा है। भारत के करोड़ों आदमियों का रूप बदल रहा है। मुझे कोई सन्देह नहीं कि बदल रहा है, चाहे हमारे ऊपर मुसीबतें आयें, चाहे कभी अकाल हो, कुछ हो, मुझे इस बात का विश्वास है, क्योंकि मैंने अपनी आँखों से देखा है, कैसे लोग, चाहे मैं गाँव जायें या कहीं जाऊँ, कैसे बदलते हैं। हमारे यहाँ खाने की कुछ कमी होती है, हालाँकि इत्ता बढ़

94. It was Rs. 714 in urban and Rs. 457 in rural during the period 1959-1960.

गया, क्योंकि जित्ते लोग आधा खाना खाते थे अब पूरा खा रहे हैं। पेट भर कर खा रहे हैं। दो वक्त्र खा रहे हैं। इससे हमारे ऊपर माँगें बढ़ गयीं। अच्छी बात है, बड़ी खुशी की बात है। हमारे यहाँ शक्कर शुगर साखर का होता है, इस्तेमाल, अब आप सोचें कि दस बरस हुए, दस लाख टन हम शक्कर पैदा करते थे, अब हम बाइस लाख करते हैं। दुगुने से अधिक करते हैं। लेकिन फिर भी कमी होती है, क्योंकि लोग खाते हैं और क्या है इसीलिए न। तो ये सब खुशहाली का नतीजा है कि लोग हल्के-हल्के तरक्करी करते जाते हैं। ये बात सही है कि चालीस करोड़ आदमियों में बहुत सारे दुखी हैं, बहुत सारों को खाना नहीं मिलता अब तक, घर नहीं रहने को, कपड़ा-वस्त्र पहनने को नहीं, मुझे दुख होता है, लेकिन अब कोई जादू तो है नहीं। इसी तरह से बढ़ेंगे और एक दफ़े हमारी रफ़्तार ठीक हो जाय तो तेज़ी से बढ़े।

तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप अपने मन में एक तस्वीर कीजिए, बहुत सारी तस्वीरें कीजिए, एक पाँच इयर प्लैन की या भारत के इस यात्रा पर जाने की। एक तो ये तस्वीर होनी चाहिए कि हम लोग, यात्री, इस वक्त्र चालीस करोड़ लोग साथ जा रहे हैं। हम अलग-अलग नहीं हैं कि दस आदमी चले गये, बीस आदमी चले गये, सारे भारत की जनता, चालीस कोटि, इस पर जा रहे हैं हम और हम सभी को पहुँचना है। ये नहीं कि चार आदमी दौड़ कर पहुँच गये वहाँ जा कर। [...] अब चारों तरफ़ से नया भारत, नवीन भारत बन रहा है। एक जानदार चीज़ है और ये एक छपी हुई किताब नहीं है। इस ढंग से आप देखें और फिर आप अपने को देखें उसमें आपका क्या हिस्सा है। आप भी उन चालीस करोड़ यात्रियों में हैं। खुद आपको जाना है, औरों की मदद करनी है और आपके सामने ये नक्शा बदलता जाता है।

फिर आप एक और ढंग से इसे देखें। भारत का इतिहास हज़ारों बरस का इतिहास है। चला जाता है, जब से दुनिया में इतिहास शुरू हुआ, तबसे भारत का इतिहास है। किती ऊँच-नीच हुई, हमारे लोगों की। बहुत शानदार ज़माना हुआ, गिरा हुआ ज़माना हुआ। फिर एक मौक़ा आया कि हम अगर उस मौक़े से फ़ायदा उठायें, लाभ उठायें तो हम भारत का एक बहुत फिर से उज्ज्वल ज़माना कर सकते हैं, और भारत से मतलब एक देश नहीं है, भारत के माने चालीस करोड़ आदमी, बढ़ते हुए। तो इससे बड़ा काम क्या हो सकता इस संसार में, ज़रा सोचो। इस बड़े काम में हम सब लगे हैं और जब कोई आदमी ये सोचने लगता है कि वो अब बड़े काम में है तो वो अपने छोटे झगड़े भूल जाता है। अपने घर के झगड़े भूल जाता है और बड़े काम का उसके ऊपर साया पड़ता है तो वो भी बड़ा होने लगता है।

आप आ के हमसे प्रेम करते हैं, हार पहनाते हैं, नारे उठाते हैं। क्यों? अगर हम, मैं जो कुछ हूँ, आपकी आँखों में, तो क्यों? इसलिए न, आप मुझे अच्छी तरह से जानते नहीं हैं, मेरे ऐब नहीं जानते, मेरी कमज़ोरियाँ शायद [...] लेकिन आप मुझे जानते हैं और मेरे साथियों को, मेरे समय के लोगों को जानते हैं, इस तरह से कि हम पिछले तीस-चालीस-पचास बरस से कुछ देश के कामों में लगे थे। हम इस तीस वर्ष में, इन चालीस वर्ष में गाँधीजी के नीचे...आप विचार करें, सैंतालीस वर्ष हुए जब मैं पहली बार कांग्रेस का डेलीगेट बना था, सोचिए आप, कित्ते आप में से उस समय पैदा हुए थे, जन्म हुआ था, सैंतालीस वर्ष हुए जब मैं पहले डेलीगेट



बना था, उस समय से, एक दो तो ऐसी कांग्रेसें हुई जब मैं नहीं जा सका,<sup>95</sup> नहीं तो गये थे। या जेल में रहा, नहीं जा सका। खैर, कांग्रेस में रहा। फिर तीस वर्ष हुए जबसे नयी कांग्रेस में, यानी गाँधीजी की कांग्रेस में हम लोग पड़े, पंजाब में मार्शल लॉ हुआ, तीस वर्ष से ऊपर हो गये उसे और उसके बाद क्या-क्या हुआ था, बम्बई में क्या और सब हुआ, फिर असहयोग आन्दोलन और क्या-क्या बातें हुई और सब भूल गये हम अपने जीवन को, अपने परिवार को, अपने बाल-बच्चों को भी भूल गये हम, कूद पड़े उसमें। एक कुछ नशा था, कुछ जुनून था इनटॉक्सिकेशन था, और हमें एक ही चीज़ दिखती थी, सीधे चलें हम। ये सब तजुर्बा हुआ। गरज़ कि ये सब बातें हुईं। तो अगर मेरी कोई क्रूर आपकी आँखों में हुई तो इसलिए कि आपने सुना, मालूम किया कि बहुत दिन से मैं इन कामों में लगा हूँ और सच बात है कि हम बड़े कामों में लगे तो हम भी कुछ बड़े हो गये उन कामों के साथ। आप जित्ते बड़े कामों में लगेंगे, आप बड़े होंगे, जित्ते आप छोटे झगड़ों में रहेंगे, आप छोटे रहेंगे। इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है।

और हमारे नवयुवक हैं, बड़े अच्छे हैं और मैं देखता हूँ, चाहे मैं देखूँ उनको, क्या कहूँ आपसे हमारी फ़ौज में देखता हूँ, बहुत अच्छे हैं चाहे आर्मी में, नेवी में एयर फ़ोर्स में। याद रखिये, एयर फ़ोर्स, जान पर हर वक़्त खेलते हैं वो। लड़ाई के ज़माने में तो होता है, अमन के ज़माने में भी जान पर खेलते हैं। मैं देखता हूँ हमारे साइण्टिस्ट लड़के और लड़कियाँ हैं, बहुत अच्छे हैं। और मुझे इसी से भारत की आशा दिखती है, और मैं देखता हूँ पचासों कामों में जो लोग करते हैं कित्ते अच्छे हैं। एक तरफ़ की तस्वीर तो ये है, दूसरी तरफ़ की तस्वीर मैं देखता हूँ कि कॉलेजों में, कभी स्कूलों में, कभी यूनिवर्सिटीज़ में एक हुल्लड़बाज़ी होती है। बड़े-बड़े डेमॉन्स्ट्रेशन्स होते हैं हंगर स्ट्राइक्स होते हैं, डिमाण्ड्स होते हैं। अजीब तमाशा है! हैरान होता हूँ। मैं नहीं चाहता कि हमारे विद्यार्थी लोग कोई भेड़-बकरी की तरह से चला करें। मैं चाहता हूँ, जानदार होने चाहिएँ। कोई उनसे कभी धोखा हो जाय तो हो, जान तो हो। लेकिन मैं इसको जान नहीं गिनता, हुल्लड़बाज़ी को। ये कोई ताक़त की निशानी नहीं है, न अक़ल की, न ताक़त की निशानी है। अगर अक़ल से या ताक़त से या गुस्से से कोई बात हो जाय तो माफ़ हो जाती है [...] एक जानदार चीज़ में गुस्सा भी होता ही है। लेकिन ये हवा किसी क्रूर वायलेन्स की जो देश में फैली, ख़ाली विद्यार्थियों की मैं नहीं कहता, बड़ों में उससे ज़्यादा है, ये चीज़ हमें कमज़ोर करती है। मुझे उससे कोई ख़ास डर नहीं है, लेकिन मैं आपको बता दूँ, एक कमज़ोर करती है। और हम इस बारे में, आप कहीं जाय, यूरोप के देशों में, आप देखें कि कित्ता डिसिप्लिन वहाँ है, चाहे अंग्रेज़ हो, चाहे जर्मन हो, चाहे कोई हो। हाँ, वहाँ भी हुल्लड़बाज़ हैं, वहाँ भी हैं, लेकिन एक डिसिप्लिन्ड क्रौम है। ये ही उनकी शक्ति है। और डिसिप्लिन, सेल्फ़ डिसिप्लिन, अपना डिसिप्लिन बनाया हुआ। तो हमें करना है। नहीं तो हमारी ताक़त ज़ाया हो जाती है। तो गरज़ कि ये आपका, मैं कह रहा था कि एक हम लोग बड़े हो गये, इसलिए कि

95. In 1912, he attended the Bankipore Congress session as a delegate.

हम बड़े कामों में लगे थे, कुछ तो हम बड़े हुए, कुछ आपकी आँखों में बड़े हो गये। तो बड़े काम में लगना, अगर आप में दम हो तो आपके लिए अच्छा है, देश के लिए भी अच्छा है। कौन बड़े काम में, आप चुनिये। जिसमें आपको भरोसा हो, लेकिन काम बड़ा हो, जो काम आपको अपने से ज़रा बाहर खींच ले। जिसमें आप थोड़ी देर के लिए अपने को भूल जायें, वो बड़ा काम है। अगर आप अपने को सोचते रहते हैं, अपने, हर समय, क्या होगा, क्या कल होगा, क्या परसों होगा, मेरा और मेरे परिवार का, ये और वो, तो मैं नहीं कहता आप अपने परिवार को भूल जायें, आप ज़रूर याद रखें, प्रेम करें उससे, लेकिन जो इस तरह से सोचता रहता है, वो फिर वही छोटे-से कुएँ में रहता है, बाहर नहीं निकलता उसके। और जहाँ आप बाहर जाते हैं उसके, तो फिर आप परिवार की भी ज़्यादा देख-भाल कर सकते हैं और आप बढ़ने लगते हैं। तो ये बड़े-बड़े सवाल हैं, प्रश्न हैं हमारे सामने।

अब एक बात। आप यहाँ, मैं पूना जब अक्सर मैं आता हूँ जब-जब मौक़ा मिलता है मैं जाता हूँ खड़कवास्ता। क्योंकि वो बड़ा केन्द्र है हमारी फ़ौजी तालीम का। इस बार तो मैं नहीं जा सकता, लेकिन इस सिलसिले में मैं आपसे कहूँ, मैंने कल [...] में भी कहा था कि अजीब तमाशा है कि कुछ लोग, कुछ पोलिटिकल लोग, कुछ अखबार, उनको एक नया मकतब मिल गया है ग़लत बातें करने का। क्योंकि आपने सुना हो कुछ दिन हुए एक बहस हुई थी उनके, हमारी डिफ़ेन्स मिनिस्ट्री में हमारे जो चीफ़ ऑफ़ स्टाफ़ आर्मी के हैं, जनरल थिमैया, उनके इस्तीफ़ा देने की कुछ बहस-वहस क्या हुई थी, मुझे उन्होंने इस्तीफ़ा दिया; और जिस दिन दिया उसी दिन कुछ बातें करके वो वापस ले लिया।<sup>96</sup> ख़ैर, बात ख़त्म हुई, लेकिन बाद में उसकी धूम-धाम हो गयी अखबारों में निकला और ये और वो। और अब एक तरफ़ से कुछ लोग, मैं देखता हूँ, कुछ अखबार भी और कुछ लोग भी हमारे डिफ़ेन्स मिनिस्टर को बदनाम करने की कोशिश करते हैं, दूसरे तरफ़ से जनरल थिमैया को बदनाम करने की कोशिश करते हैं। दोनों माक़ूल आदमी हैं डिफ़ेन्स में। मैं आपको बताऊँ कि हमारे डिफ़ेन्स की जो मिनिस्ट्री है और डिफ़ेन्स इनस्टॉलेशन्स हैं, जितनी तरक्की उन्होंने पिछले दो-तीन बरस में की है, उन्नीस बरस से यहाँ डिफ़ेन्स शुरू हुआ है अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने से, अब तक नहीं हुई। यानी जहाँ तक हमारी फ़ौज वगैरा, वो अच्छी थी और अच्छी है, मैं ख़ास कह रहा हूँ कि कैसे डिफ़ेन्स प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा, कैसे डिफ़ेन्स साइन्स बढ़ी, कैसे इस वक़्त हमारे डिफ़ेन्स की ऑर्डिनेंस फैक्ट्री में सिविल प्रोडक्शन भी बहुत कुछ हो रहा है, बड़ी चीज़ें हो रही हैं। यानी जो कि पहले अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में तो ये सवाल उठता ही नहीं था, क्योंकि वो चाहते नहीं थे कि हमारे यहाँ कोई चीज़ बने। हम विलायत से ख़रीद कर लायें। हमारी ऑर्डिनेंस फैक्ट्रीस भी थीं उसमें भी, ऑर्डिनेंस फैक्ट्री भी, वो मजबूर हो गये थे बढ़ाने को फ़र्स्ट वर्ल्ड वॉर में क्योंकि मजबूर हो गये, ला नहीं सकते थे, तो कुछ बढ़ाया। लेकिन और चीज़ नहीं बनने देते थे और पिछले दस-बारह बरस से हमारी ये इच्छा थी, लेकिन वो अधिक हो नहीं सका। पिछले तीन वर्ष में ये ख़ास तौर से इधर ध्यान

96. See item 1, fn 7.



दिया गया और इस वक्रत अलावा जो हमारी फ़ौज का सामान है, यानी ऐम्पूनिशन, गन्स, वगैरा वो तो बनती ही हैं वहाँ, लेकिन और कितनी चीज़ें, हम ट्रक्स बनवा रहे हैं, अच्छे-से-अच्छे ट्रक्स बनवा रहे हैं और निकलते आते हैं रोज़ दस-बीस। लेकिन, उस असेम्बली लाइन पर बढ़ी है न, और अब बहुत अच्छी हैं और बाज़ार में जो दाम थे ट्रक के, उससे काफ़ी कम दाम हैं। डिफ़ेन्स इनस्टॉलेशन्स बना रहे हैं। हवाई जहाज़ हम बना रहे हैं, मुझे उम्मीद है कि अगले साल तक निकलने लगेगा। ये सब चीज़ें बड़ी-बड़ी चीज़ें हैं जो कि पहले हम झिझकते थे कि इसमें पैसा बहुत लगेगा। हम डिफ़ेन्स इनस्टॉलेशन्स से लाभ उठा कर उसमें कुछ और बढ़ा कर हम कर रहे हैं और हमारी डिफ़ेन्स साइन्स ने बहुत अच्छी तरक्क़ी की है, मैं कहता हूँ और बहुत क्राबिल लोगों के हाथ में है। तो इन सब बातों में जो कि बुनियादी बात हैं, क्योंकि डिफ़ेन्स के माने ख़ाली एक सोल्जर के नहीं हैं, वर्दी पहन कर बन्दूक ले कर ऊपर नीचे टहले। डिफ़ेन्स के पीछे होता है डिफ़ेन्स इण्डस्ट्री, डिफ़ेन्स के पीछे होता है डिफ़ेन्स सायन्स। डिफ़ेन्स के पीछे बहुत बातें होती हैं जो कि एक, एक किसी क़दर सिविलियन बातों से दखल नहीं। तो ये बुनियादी बातें डिफ़ेन्स की हमारे पिछले तीन-चार वर्ष में इधर ध्यान दिया गया है और ज़ोरों से बढ़ी हैं। और हम अपने डिफ़ेन्स सारे आर्मी [...] जहाँ तक हो सकता है, कोशिश कर रहे हैं सेल्फ़ कन्टेन्ड बनाने की, अपने ऊपर भरोसा करने वाली, अपनी चीज़ खुद पैदा करे, न कि अमरीका, स्विट्ज़रलैण्ड, जर्मनी और इंग्लैण्ड से मँगाया करें जो कि पुरानी आदत थी, बड़ी आसान आदत थी कि हुक्म भेजा वहाँ और वहाँ से आ गयी, अपनी कुछ मेहनत करने की ज़रूरत नहीं हुई, लेकिन इस तरह से हम तो पूरी तौर से स्वतन्त्र नहीं हैं, जब तक हमें हर चीज़ बाहर से मँगानी पड़े। ये तो भयानक है, ख़तरनाक बात है। वो हम रोक रहे हैं। अभी रुका नहीं है, लेकिन बहुत कुछ रुकने लगा है और उसकी वजह से बहुत कुछ पैसा बचने लगा है, फ़ॉरेन एक्सचेंज की हाय-हाय थी, कित्ता हमारे डिफ़ेन्स में जाता था बाहर, उसको भी हम रोकने लगे। ये बातें पिछले दो-तीन बरस में हुई हैं और होती जाती हैं। इसलिए मैंने आपसे कहा कि हमारी डिफ़ेन्स की ऐपेरेट्स में जित्ती तरक्क़ी पिछले दो-तीन बरस में हुई है, उतती जबसे हम आज़ाद हुए, नहीं हुई और उससे पहले तो ख़ैर, वो तरक्क़ी नहीं थी, वो दूसरे ढंग की थी। ये तो हालत है। और बैठे हुए अख़बार वाले या कुछ पोलिटिकल पार्टिज़ वगैरा या कुछ और, फ़िज़ूल बदनाम करें हमारे डिफ़ेन्स मिनिस्टर को या हमारे चीफ़ ऑफ़ स्टाफ़ आर्मी को, जनरल थिमैया को इसलिए कि कुछ किसी बात में उनकी नाइतफ़ाक़ी हुई, मिले नहीं, कुछ, ये तो बिलकुल फ़िज़ूल बात है। ग़लत बात है और इसका बड़ा बुरा असर होता है। और मैंने सुना कि फ़ौजी अफ़सर भी आजकल बातें इस क्रिस्म की करते हैं। वो भी बहुत ग़लत बात है। हमारे फ़ौज के उसूलों के, ट्रेडिशन के खिलाफ़ बात है, अच्छी बात नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूँ हमारे फ़ौजी अफ़सर दिमागी हों, मुल्क की बातों में दिलचस्पी लें तो लेनी ही चाहिए, ऐसे फ़ौजी अफ़सर अच्छे होते हैं। लेकिन ये इस तरह की बातों में पड़ने से फ़ौज का न फ़ायदा होगा, न उनका। मैंने वैसे कल [...] में कहा, आपसे भी कहता हूँ कि आखिर ज़िम्मेदारी तो आखिर में मेरी है, अब आपने मुझे प्राइम मिनिस्टर बनाया। तो प्राइम मिनिस्टर की हैसियत से मैंने

डिफ़ेन्स मिनिस्टर श्री कृष्ण मेनन जी को चुना। और चुना इसलिए कि मुझे उन पर भरोसा था, उनकी अक्ल पर उनकी वफ़ादारी पर, और बातों पर, चुना। इसके माने तो नहीं हैं कि वो फ़रिश्ते हैं या मैं फ़रिश्ता हूँ, वो [...] हैं कुछ ग़लतियाँ नहीं होती है? होती हैं। लेकिन कभी कोई बात उनकी मुझे स्वीकार नहीं, कभी मेरी बात उनको नहीं, यों तो हमारी कैबिनेट में हरेक में होता है। लेकिन हम सब काम [...] मिल कर काम करते हैं। इसी तरह से कैबिनेट्स चलती हैं। तो ज़िम्मेदारी मेरी उनके हक़ में है। जनरल थिमैया, चीफ़ ऑफ़ स्टाफ़ हैं, हमारी फ़ौज के सब में बड़े अफ़सर। उनको वहाँ रखने की भी मेरी ज़िम्मेदारी है, प्राइम मिनिस्टर की, और उस वक़्त जब वो लिये गये थे, डिफ़ेन्स मिनिस्टर की। मुझे उन पर भरोसा है, मैं उनको क़ाबिल समझता हूँ, अच्छा समझता हूँ, इसलिए। और मुझे भरोसा न हो तो ज़ाहिर है मैं कुछ और करूँगा, लेकिन जब तक वो हैं तब तक मुझे भरोसा है, मैं रखना चाहता हूँ और है मुझे उन पर भरोसा। तो फिर इस क्रिस्म की बातें करना तो उनकी कुछ निन्दा-सी हुई, ये तो मेरी अपनी निन्दा हो गयी और मेरे भरोसा करने की निन्दा हो गयी। हाँ, तो हक़ है कि हम भरोसा करें या न करें उन पर, तो लेकिन हमारा जो ढंग है गवर्नमेंट का, उसको आप समझ लेना है, समझते ही हैं आप, हमारा ढंग गवर्नमेंट का बहुत कुछ अंग्रेज़ी ढंग पर चलता है, अंग्रेज़ी पार्लियामेंट की ढंग पर चला है, बना है। और उसमें कैबिनेट सुप्रीम होती है। सिविल अथॉरिटी सुप्रीम होती है। और कैबिनेट में, मैं अंग्रेज़ी ढंग आपको बता रहा हूँ, प्राइम मिनिस्टर की खास जगह होती है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर ही कैबिनेट को बनाता है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर जो अंग्रेज़ी में कहते हैं कीस्टोन होता है। अंग्रेज़ी प्राइम मिनिस्टर की ताक़त बहुत होती है, और मुल्कों के प्राइम मिनिस्टर से ज़्यादा। कभी-कभी एक माने में कहा जा सकता है कि अंग्रेज़ी प्राइम मिनिस्टर की ताक़त अमरीका के प्रेज़िडेंट से ज़्यादा होती है बाज़ बातों में। बाज़ बातों में नहीं होती, बाज़ बातों में होती है, ख़ैर। तो उसमें तो मेरी ज़िम्मेदारी है और अगर कोई साहब नाख़ुश हों तो उन्हें मुझसे नाख़ुश होना चाहिए, और लोगों को घसीट कर क्यों बदनाम करना, ये तो ग़लत बात है। मैं इस बात को साफ़ आपके सामने कर दिया चाहता हूँ।

अब मैं दो-चार बातें आपसे कह दूँ। बात जो आपके दिलों में हो। अब उसका चर्चा भी काफ़ी हो रहा है। तो ये सवाल ये बम्बई स्टेट के भविष्य का। अब कुछ रोज़ से मैं ये सोचता था और मैंने कहा भी था, और मुझे खयाल है, मैं एक बार पूना में कह भी रहा था कि ये सवाल कोई मेरे हुक्म का तो नहीं है, न मेरे [...] का भी नहीं, ये तो आख़िर में आम जनता की मर्ज़ी पर होता है। पेचीदा सवाल है, ये हुल्लड़बाज़ी से हल नहीं होते और समय आने पर उस पर विचार हो सकता है। तो कुछ दिन से मैं ये सोच रहा था कि मामला ठण्डे दिल से उस पर विचार हो जाय जो कुछ करना है। ठण्डे दिल से हो, प्रेम से हो। बग़ैर इसके कि लड़ाई-झगड़े से हो। क्योंकि लड़ाई-झगड़े से अच्छे काम भी बुरे हो जाते हैं। और मिल-जुल कर करने से ग़लती भी हो तो सँभल जाती है, अच्छी बात है और मुझे बहुत रंज हुआ था और बहुतों को हुआ और आपको भी हुआ होगा कि इस बारे में जो कुछ हुआ सही या ग़लत उसकी इधर-उधर इत्ती लड़ाई हुई, मन-मुटाव हुआ, उससे बहुत दुख हुआ। ख़ैर, वो बातें ठण्डी हो गयीं। बात तो



असल ये है कि उस पिछले बरसों में बम्बई स्टेट बहुत अच्छा चला है। चाहे किसी की राय जो कुछ हो, ये सब तस्लीम करते हैं कि भारत के राज्यों में एक अगुवा राज्य बम्बई रहा है। और इसकी जिम्मेदारी इस तरह से चलाने की अच्छी तरह से आपकी बम्बई गवर्नमेंट की, लेकिन सब में अधिक आपके मुख्यमन्त्री श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण जी की।

खैर, लेकिन जो कुछ हुआ एक तरह से आपसे इक़रार किया और मेरे मन में ये बात थी कि इस पर ठण्डे दिल से विचार कर लें। जो कुछ उचित समझें, सलाह करके किया जाय। इस सिलसिले में कुछ रोज़ हुए, महीने-दो महीने हुए, मैंने कुछ बातें शुरू कीं। कुछ हमारे जो खास मित्र हैं, मैं तो चाहता था कि चव्हाण जी तो उसमें होंगे ही, उनकी सलाह-मशविरे की ज़रूरत हो। हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब, पं. गोविन्द वल्लभ पन्त जो एक बड़े खम्बे हैं हमारी केन्द्रीय गवर्नमेंट के, और ठण्डे दिल से सलाह देते हैं हर बात पर, हमारे फ़ाइनैन्स मिनिस्टर मोरारजी भाई देसाई और कांग्रेस के जो पुराने अध्यक्ष ढेवर भाई। हम पाँच लोग मिले थे, डेढ़ महीना हुआ,<sup>97</sup> कब, मुझे याद नहीं और हमने बातों की दोनों तरफ़ से, क्योंकि हर काम करने में दो तरह होते हैं — कुछ लाभ, कुछ हानि। तराजू पर तोलना पड़ता है। अच्छी तरह से दिल खोल कर बातें हुई और सोचा कि और उस पर बातें हों, और लोगों से भी। इसके बाद अखबारों में, हमारा कोई इरादा नहीं था उस पर अखबारों में देने का, लेकिन अखबारों में पहुँच गयी बातें। और बड़ी-बड़ी उसमें सुर्खियाँ और बड़े-बड़े कॉलम के हैड लाइन्स। धूम-धाम होने लगी, खैर। हुआ जो वो होना ही था, उस वक़्त नहीं तो दस रोज़ बाद होता। तो अच्छा रहा कि लोग उस पर विचार कर रहे हैं। एक कमेटी भी बनायी है कांग्रेस की और से उसमें बम्बई राज्य के अलग-अलग हिस्सों की रीजनल कमिटीज़ हैं,<sup>98</sup> उनके लोग हैं, और खाली वो ही नहीं, वो और लोगों से सलाह-मशविरा करें। ये कोई चार आदमियों के निश्चय करने की बात तो नहीं है, सात आदमी या नौ आदमी हैं शायद उसमें। क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं कि जो कुछ उसमें हो वो मिल-जुल कर और प्रेम से हो, बहुत आवश्यक है। दिल खोल कर हो। दिल में कड़वाहट नहीं रहे और इससे ज़्यादा लाभ हो, वनिस्वत ये कि धक्कम-धक्का दे कर हम कुछ करवा लें। [...] तो हम चाहते हैं कि पूरा मौक़ा मिले, इस तरह से सलाह-मशविरा करने का। और ये भी चाहते हैं कि बहुत विलम्ब न हो, क्योंकि फिर बात लम्बी हो जाती है। ये इस वक़्त बात है।

तो फिर मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ आपके प्रेम और स्वागत के लिए। और इत्ती देर तक शान्ति से आपने मुझे सुना।

अब मेरे साथ आप जयहिन्द तो कहिए तीन बार

जयहिन्द। जयहिन्द। जयहिन्द।

एक बात और मैं कहना चाहता हूँ (चाचा नेहरू ज़िन्दाबाद) ज़रा बैठ जाइए। अधिक नहीं, लेकिन आवश्यक बात है। मैंने ये जो हमारी सीमा पर सवाल उठा है, आज ही अखबार में

97. On 22-23 August 1959.

98. See SWJN/SS/52/p. 3.

समाचार-पत्रों में आपने देखा हो एक हमारा जवाब चीन की गवर्नमेंट को। उसमें पूरी कहानी है, आपने देखी होगी। इत्ता मैं आपसे कहूँगा कि हमें कोई परेशान नहीं होना है। लेकिन हमें होशियार रहना है। जयहिन्द, फिर से जयहिन्द, जयहिन्द, जयहिन्द।

(चाचा नेहरू ज़िन्दाबाद।)

[Translation begins:

Sisters and Brothers,

I have come to Poona several times and have received a warm welcome from the people of this city on each occasion. Today I am here for a day, especially in connection with the golden jubilee celebrations of the Seva Sangh and am overwhelmed by the enthusiasm and affection with which the citizens of Poona, men, women and children, have greeted me. It makes me feel a little ashamed of myself. I shall never forget the scenes that met my eyes today. I find it a little difficult to express my feelings and thoughts on this occasion in ordinary formal words. Your love has made a great impact on my emotions.

Great burdens have to be carried in the course of my duty and difficulties descend upon the country one after another. People are surprised and so am I at times at the nonchalance with which I face everything. My friends and colleagues fall ill under the strain of work. But I never fall ill. The fact is that I derive my strength from you, from the people of India. I personally have no superhuman strength. At the same time, as I said, I am a little nervous about the hopes and aspirations which must be at the back of all the love that you shower upon me. You endow me with extraordinary strength and ability but no single individual can possess that much strength. It is only the people as a whole who can achieve great things. I alone cannot do very much. That is why I feel afraid of the abundance of love showered upon me by the good people in this country. They have placed their trust in me and seem to think that I can do everything. But no individual can do anything alone. All of us must work together at the great tasks which are waiting to be done.

A long time back, when the young men seated before me were not even born, we had dreamt of freedom. To most people, freedom seemed a very distant goal. But we tied our knapsacks on our backs and had set forth on the long and arduous journey to freedom. There was no knowing when the journey would end or what was in store for us. But we were young then and filled with the vigour and enthusiasm of youth, with no care in the world. We were ready to take on the world if necessary for we had great faith in our Commander-in-Chief, Mahatma Gandhi. So we set forth, millions of our countrymen. There were ups and downs and often, there were incidents which filled us with



frustration and despair. Yet we went on and ultimately reached our goal. We saw our dreams come true which but rarely happen in a lifetime. It is true that we had to pay a tremendous price in peoples' sacrifice and toil, both, before and after our dream became reality.

There was no time for relaxing after India became free. In fact, at the very moment of freedom, we were called upon to pay a tremendous price. You may remember the aftermath of the partition and the terrible bloodshed which rocked the whole of North India. The riots lasted for weeks and months. It was a strange thing that we had struggled for freedom for nearly three decades by peaceful methods and then we allowed this horrible carnage among our own kith and kin. Both sides were affected by the communal riots. We cannot blame the others alone. Anyhow, we faced those terrible days and got through them somehow. Just two to three months later Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated. We were stunned and began to wonder whether our new found freedom would slip away from us. Was India's body politic so full of festering wounds that they were erupting the moment we became free. The British used to often taunt us that though we talked of freedom, the moment India became free, we would be at each other's throats. That used to make us angry. But the events which occurred in the aftermath of freedom, the communal riots and Mahatma Gandhi's assassination at the hands of a madman made us wonder. There was nothing we could do about the madness which prompted that young man. But it was the atmosphere which had led to such madness that was a cause for worry. It was strange that there were people who praised what was happening in the country.

I am reminding you of the days gone by, not so long ago because public memory is short, it forgets. We faced those terrible days and kept going somehow, because even in the midst of grief, we could not run away from our responsibilities. India had taken up a great challenge and come out with flying colours. Were we going to fall before the eyes of the world and show that we were once more weak and disunited? Were we going to prove that we had lost our courage with the passing away of our great leader? Therefore, though our hearts were broken, we had to continue to hold our heads high and face the world.

We did so and gradually the atmosphere changed and came under control. Then it was time to embark on yet another journey towards economic freedom and uplift of the masses. We had to rid the nation of the terrible poverty which afflicted it. India is among the backward nations of the world today and we have to take her on the path of progress. I said we are considered a backward nation today because it is a comparatively new phenomenon in thousands of years of our history. I do not say that there was great wealth in India even then. But until two hundred years ago, India was not backward compared to other

countries. For in the last two hundred years or so, there is no doubt that the West has advanced rapidly and become extremely wealthy and powerful while we have become backward. We may be full of pride about our past achievements, but the fact remains that we are backward and the most glaring sign of our backwardness is that our people are poor, hungry and groaning under tremendous hardships.

What happened? What happened during the last two hundred years, a hundred and fifty years that India became backward while other countries have amassed wealth and advanced? If other countries could become affluent, there was no reason for us not to do so. After all, the people of this country are hard-working, intelligent, and our soil is fertile. Why then should we be backward? There must be some reason. For that matter, we could go deeper and prove why we lost our freedom to the British. It was an extraordinary feat that the British having crossed six thousand miles could so easily build an empire over such a vast country. We may blame the British and accuse them of being imperialists. That is all right. But the fact remains that it was our weakness which made us vulnerable. The British who had come here braving great dangers had shown great unity and courage. It used to take months for them to reach India and there were many who spent an entire lifetime in an alien land. The fact is that we were already weakened by then and could not challenge even the handful of Englishmen who had come, although there were millions of us. There was great disunity among us. There were constant internecine feuds among the people as well as between the rulers and very often they sought the help of outsiders against their own kith and kin, leading India to ruin.

Secondly, the British had far outstripped us in the field of science and technology which had helped them to amass great wealth and become militarily very powerful. Huge industries had come up adding to their wealth. It is true that they drained away India's wealth to feed their industrial revolution. But the fact is that they had progressed on their own steam, while we became backward. There was no dearth of brave men and warriors in India. But how could we face guns and cannons with mere bows and arrows?

Once India became free, the first question that we faced was how to get rid of our terrible poverty. We had no choice for it meant our very survival as a free nation because a country without strength cannot survive in the modern world. Danger lurks all around and freedom can slip away at any time.

So we came around once more to the factors which had contributed to the affluence of the West—science and technology and the need to catch up with the advanced nations of the world in these areas. We had to build a strong India if we wished to hold on to our freedom. At the same time, we had to produce more wealth so that we could get rid of our poverty. In our war against poverty



we could not adopt the method which we had used to win our freedom struggle. Passing high sounding resolutions would not make a dent on our problems. You cannot win a war by passing resolutions or taking out processions.

So the pattern has changed completely. It is true that national unity is of fundamental importance for we can get nowhere without that. Two, there must be cooperation among the people. If their energies are constantly frittered away in futile squabbles, we can achieve nothing. All these things are of fundamental importance, irrespective of the ideology or methods that we adopt. We have no alternative but to maintain unity and cooperate with one another in our war against poverty. Our struggle for freedom was more in the nature of an intellectual battle though it required hard physical effort too. Anyhow, after a great deal of thought, we have adopted planning.

Now it is a different matter whether the five year plans are exactly right or not. The main thing is to understand that planning was absolutely essential. If we had left each individual to do as he liked, we may have achieved something. But that is no way of fighting a war. I do not mean a war with another country but with our own poverty. We need to plan our strategy in order to wage a war against poverty and win it. Suppose we had been at war against another country, we would have exhorted the people to work hard together, not to do as they liked individually. We would have had to draw up plans in order to deploy our forces and chalk out a strategy. We cannot allow the soldiers to go and fight as they like. We need a proper strategy and tactics to fight a war. That is the only way to tackle any important task.

On the other hand, if we are undoubtedly superior in strength, then we will win anyhow. But if the two sides are evenly balanced, then we have to use all the tactics and strategy at our command to win the war. Tactics and strategy and breaking up the enemy's communications, are all necessary in war. Therefore, when we are waging a war against a great economic problem, to tackle poverty, we have to draw up a strategy and plan our manoeuvres and tactics very carefully. I would have thought that everybody would accept this. But voices are often raised against planning and there is a demand for *laissez-faire*, allowing every individual to do as he likes. If that were allowed in a real war, the country will be overrun in no time at all.

That is no way of going about great tasks either in peace or war. Therefore planning is essential. We can argue about the lines to be adopted and what our priorities ought to be. A plan is not something rigid. But it is beyond doubt that we can tackle the great tasks which the country faces today only through planning. We have to be clear in our minds about our priorities. The government alone can do this but it does so on the advice of the people. The ultimate responsibility falls upon the government. We have succeeded to a very large

extent in our First Plan. So we have grown in strength because when we take up a task and succeed, it adds to our strength.

The Second Plan will require greater effort. We have had to face a number of difficulties. They were of two kinds. One, we have had crop failures in three years consecutively due to drought. The result was that our food position deteriorated considerably. In a predominantly agricultural country, failure of crops causes severe setbacks to the economy. Strangely enough, our other difficulties arose because of the accelerated rate of growth. Industries are coming up and we have had to spend enormous sums of foreign exchange to import food grains. It is not that the money has been squandered. We have imported machinery and set up industries. But they have multiplied to such an extent particularly in the public sector that we are now facing problems about foreign exchange reserves. This has caused another severe setback. We have had to impose restrictions. But what I am trying to say is that our present difficulty about foreign exchange is due to an accelerated rate of growth in industries. I agree that we made a mistake in not taking some steps in advance to prevent such a situation from arising. But the problem has arisen because we are progressing and not standing still. Efforts are being made to control the situation.

I want you to understand the importance of planning. There are some new parties like the Swatantra Party which are against planning and say that the government must not interfere in these areas. They want *laissez faire* in the country. I will not go into that because I am amazed that any human being should argue in this way in this day and age. It was a theory which was prevalent in other countries in the 19th century. But it is extraordinary that anyone should argue like this in the 20th century.

I do not wish to take up your time. It is a straightforward matter. Planning is crucial for India, whether it is a domestic problem or an international one like our border dispute with China or something else, we come round again and again to increasing the nation's strength. Today the might of a nation is not gauged by military strength but by its economic strength. A poor nation cannot be strong in the modern age. A nation which is not industrialised cannot be considered powerful. You can compare yourselves with any country. But you come around again and again to the question of improving the economic strength of the nation. That in turn depends on the success of our five year plans and the speed with which India becomes industrialised, thereby reducing unemployment and poverty. All these things are linked to one another.

I am talking to you about these broad generalities because you are the citizens of Poona which is an intellectual centre of scholars and thinkers. They are aware of all these things. We must be clear in our minds about every step that we take. There can be more than one opinion about various matters. But



there are certain things about which there can be no two opinions. One is, as I said, the need for economic progress in India to get rid of our poverty and the problem of unemployment. We have to see that the per capita income in the country, the national income, increases. It is obvious that there can be no two opinions about this.

Secondly, we have to acquire new knowledge, of science and technology and the new forces which are operating in the modern world. I do not mean mere text-book knowledge. That is only the first step. We must advance so much in these fields that we should be able to compete with the West. Thirdly, we must increase the production of wealth in India, What is wealth? Whatever we produce from land or industries, etc., constitutes national wealth. We must introduce modern, scientific techniques of production in agriculture. I do not mean there should be tractors everywhere. There are many small improvements which can increase production as the experience of other countries has shown. It is even more important for us to produce enormous quantities of essential goods in our factories for that is the real wealth of the nation. So it is very essential to create a scientific temper in the country and industrialise the country. The two things are closely interlinked. Moreover, large numbers of people will have to be trained in science and technology, etc.

One aspect of industrialisation and creating a scientific temper in the country is the spread of education so that every child in India has the opportunity to be educated. So it was necessary to pay attention to that. Thirteen years ago when India became free, the first thing that we did was to open up huge national science laboratories in the country. You have the National Chemical Laboratory in Poona, and the National Physical Laboratory in Delhi and others in Calcutta and Madras.<sup>99</sup> A number of technical institutes have come up. We cannot progress without a firm foundation in science. You may put up any number of textile mills in Bombay. It will not make the slightest difference. It cannot create a scientific temper among the people. It will certainly make profits.

Anyhow, we set up science laboratories and technical institutes all over the country to impart a high level of technical education. The institute in Bombay is huge, almost like a university in its own way. Engineering is taught in many places because we need millions of engineers. There are at the moment one hundred thousand engineers in India. But we have calculated that by the end of the Third Plan we will need three times that number. It is really strange that on the one hand, there is great unemployment among the university graduates and

99. See fn 93 in this section.

on the other hand, posts are lying vacant. Both these things are true, because our educational system does not provide for training in essential fields. We are gradually changing that. You will find that any number of engineers will be fitted in. The same is true of scientists. But the problem is with arts graduates. We hope that within the next few years or so, we would have solved that problem. There must be some changes in our educational system, so that it is oriented to the needs and demands of the nation. Education should not be in the air. Only then can the problem of unemployment disappear. I agree that all these things cannot be linked together hundred per cent. Yet they have to be to a large extent.

As far as industrialisation is concerned, I agree that we need to import scientific education and training. The most essential commodity for our industry, or for that matter even agriculture, is steel. Nothing can be done today without steel, not even the building of houses. The second thing is power, thermal power or hydroelectric power. Power is needed to run machines. Three, we need machine-building industries. There are a number of textile-mills in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur and other places. It was easy to put them up because machines were imported from England, Japan and Germany and foreign experts were employed to train people locally. Soon the mills went into production and began to make profits. But it did not lead to industrialisation in the country. What we need is to build machines, heavy machinery. We are already making small machines. In short, we have to lay stress on three or four essential things. We must produce heavy machinery, steel and power. There are some other essential things like chemical industries. But these are the few basic essentials. We must pay attention to heavy industries.

Some people are of the opinion that we must not go in for heavy industries immediately until light industries spread and we have enough capital to go in for heavy industries. But that may take years or decades even. Until we go in for heavy industries and we produce steel in India, we will have to keep importing machines from other countries. We will always be under a heavy debt unless we become self-reliant in these areas. There are some industrialists and others trained in the old school of thought, and steeped in the knowledge of events which happened in the West more than a century ago, who want us to go on at the same slow rate of growth.

But if we slow down our pace, we will never be able to catch up and India will be ruined. We will not be able to protect our freedom nor tackle the problem of poverty. The population is increasing rapidly and the number of mouths to be fed is increasing at the rate of sixty to seventy lakhs every year. So we cannot slow down our pace. If we do not increase the production of wealth quickly, our per capita income will fall. Therefore, our strategy in this war has to be to lay stress on heavy industries. Until we have power, iron and steel and



heavy industries, we cannot fight this war. Mill owners in Poona, Bombay and Ahmedabad may make profits. That is a different matter. I have no objection to their making money. Until we acquire weapons like heavy machinery, iron and steel, and the biggest weapon of all, trained personnel, we cannot fight this war. Even if we have the machines, we need trained human beings to run them. It takes time to train people and for them to gain experience.

So these are the basic essentials and our strategy is to lay the foundations through planning. Later on auxiliary industries will spring up around heavy industries and provide new avenues of employment. You will find that one does not hear of unemployment in England, Germany and the other countries of the West. The moment the process of industrialisation gathers momentum, employment opportunities increase. Some people mistakenly think that the growth of industries will lead to unemployment. It may happen in some special areas or in some industries for a short while. If a number of mills come up, handlooms will become redundant and the weavers will face unemployment. We cannot allow that to happen, because unemployment is harmful to the nation and the individual. This is what happened in Britain a hundred and fifty years ago and their working classes faced terrible hardships. If you read the accounts of those years, you feel amazed as to how the English working classes put up with such appalling conditions for so long. Marx has described what happened in England more than a hundred years ago.

As you perhaps know, Karl Marx is regarded as the messiah of modern communism and his book, is its Bible, Quran and the Vedas. It is an excellent work. But it describes the condition of the working classes in England more than a century and a half ago, and the hardships that they had to face. He evolved the theory that the working class must unite to face these problems.

What Marx has written about is no doubt extremely relevant. But it is true of conditions of nineteenth century England. To impose it on another country a hundred and fifty years later does not seem very wise because a great many developments have taken place during this time. The world has changed considerably and the same prescription cannot be applied to every disease. We can learn a great deal from the works of Karl Marx as well as from other books. But our communist comrades seem to think that they have found the panacea for all ills in the two books of Marx and want to force it down everybody's throats whether they want it or not. It does not seem very wise to me even if we leave aside the fact that many of the tenets to communism are not democratic.

For one thing, during the time that Karl Marx lived, a hundred and fifty years ago, capitalism was completely dominant. The world of capitalist societies has changed since then. At the beginning of the industrial revolution, in spite

of the enormous wealth that was produced, great injustice was perpetrated on the working classes. I remember that when I was in school, the workers had to work for eleven hours in England and in the United States, in their factories. Now the thinking in the west is to reduce the working hours as much as possible. In any case machines do most of the work. They get two days off in a week and now they are thinking of four working days in a week. Now I do not know whether it is a good thing or not. The future will show. It is not something that we in India are likely to face for the next forty to fifty years.

What I am trying to say is that the problem of overwork has been completely reversed in the United States due to automation. The machines do all the work. I remember that someone was taken to a huge motor car industry, the United Motors, where he was shown a big hall in which the assembly line was churning out motors. There were hardly a handful of people working in a hall where fifty to sixty cars were being made. Even those few men were merely supervising and would occasionally put on or put off a switch. Everything else was automatic. So the visitor turned around and asked the other man who would buy these motors in such large numbers. Well, America's problems are of a different kind. The problem there is that even if they throw away wealth, they produce so much that there is always a surplus.

It is obvious that the problems which the United States faces cannot be the same as ours. How can we copy them? They have had a century and a half to progress. We have to evolve an economic policy to suit our special needs. I have no doubt that the economic policy of communism evolved by Karl Marx throws considerable light and we must try to understand it. But at the same time, there is no doubt also that many of the observations of Karl Marx have been proved wrong by the history of the United States and Europe. We are far away from all that.

In short, we must learn what we can from communism and capitalism and then evolve a path of our own looking to the conditions in our country. We have to evolve our own economics and not try to copy western economics. Their problems are entirely different. Even their greatest scholars and economic pundits write keeping in view the particular problems of the West, not the problems of India. They cannot help very much to tackle our problems. Indian scholars and the rest of the world are gradually beginning to realise that the economics of the underdeveloped countries is quite different from the economics of America and the West and that they have to be considered in a completely different way. In fact, they have gone a step further. The Western experts, and economists whom we invited, Germans, English, American, and Russians, to help us in planning differed on almost every issue except one which was that we should evolve a policy of our own for India, looking to our own special



needs. They felt that we could certainly benefit from the economic experience of the West, and they would help us. But, ultimately, India's problems were not the problems that Europe or the United States faces. Things have changed there.

Let me tell you how problems change. The United States is a capitalist country, whereas the Soviet Union is communist. Both of them are large countries, almost two and a half or three times the size of India in length and breadth, but their populations are half the size of India's population. That itself makes a tremendous difference. We have a large population and not enough land in India, and the population continues to increase very rapidly. So our problems are entirely different. For instance, when we formulate laws regarding land reforms, something that is relevant in the United States will not suit us. There the amount of land available is far in excess of their population. Nor will something that suits the Soviet Union be relevant for India. Take for instance the question of mechanisation. I want to mechanise even agriculture and some small machines are being used. But I do not think it would be proper to have tractors all over the place. So many people are dependent on land that tractors, instead of solving any problems, will only complicate them further. We must use tractors. I have no objection to that. But I am not prepared to mechanise agriculture immediately. Once there is a proliferation of industries and more avenues of employment open up, it will ease the pressure on the land. At that time we can talk about mechanising agriculture. So you will find that there is a difference between the Soviet Union, United States, and India. There is a basic difference in the land-man ratio itself. Then there are differences of climate and other factors. So it is not very wise to try to copy some other country blindly, even the most advanced countries of the world.

We must take all these things into account. It would be foolish to antagonise any country whether it is the United States or the Soviet Union. As you know, the world is divided into two armed camps. One, the communist camp and the other, the anti-communist camp, as though there can be no third path at all. I am unable to understand this. It annoys people when we say that we want to follow our own path. We will certainly learn what we can from both the communists and the capitalists, but the path that we will evolve will be our own. That annoys some powers which accuse us of sitting on the fence. It is very strange. After all, why should anyone get annoyed when all we want to do is to follow the path of peace and set our house in order? Why should we be forced to join an armed camp? It is absurd and absolutely wrong. This is what is responsible for vitiating the entire atmosphere.

The principles on which we have evolved our foreign policy are the same ones which govern our domestic policy too. Foreign policy is a reflection of a country's internal policy. A nation cannot follow a diametrically opposite policy

in foreign and internal affairs. As you know, our foreign policy is guided by the principle of non-alignment. We do not wish to join any military pact or either of the two camps into which the world has been divided. We want to maintain friendly relations with all the countries. We neither wish to coerce any nation, nor will we tolerate coercion from others. We are not a communist country. But we have friendly relations with the Soviet Union and they give us aid for which we are grateful to them. We do not accept everything that the United States says. Yet, we have a close friendly relationship with them also. In short, we are not tying ourselves down to any group or military conclave. I feel that this is the right path. People ask me if in view of our dispute with China, we will continue to remain non-aligned. They feel that we should join the United States and take their help against China. When people ask such questions it shows that they have not understood what the world today is all about and where we stand today. They have understood nothing.

I have complete faith in our ability to defend ourselves. I agree that there may be difficulties abroad. But India is not so weak that she cannot look after herself. Secondly, I can assure you that India will become weaker, not stronger, by joining one of the camps. You may not grasp this at once. If India joins one of the superpowers, it will immediately tilt the balance in international affairs. It will mean that we become the enemies of the other camp. So instead of becoming more protected, the dangers will increase. This is a superficial point of view.

Even as a matter of principle, we can protect our interests much better by remaining non-aligned and help to reduce tensions in the world. If we move away from that path, other non-aligned countries will also follow suit and war cannot be averted then. This is what our foreign policy is all about; to remain non-aligned and maintain friendly relations with all.

You can apply the same principles to our domestic issues. People want to know if we are communist, socialist or capitalist in our domestic policies. It is obvious that whichever ideology we choose and our views may coincide more with one or the other of them. Fundamentally, I refuse to follow a rigid textbook dogma. I do not accept some narrow rigid path chalked out by a volume on English socialism or French socialism or communism. I am prepared to read everything and will accept whatever is beneficial to our country. As far as the matter of principles is concerned, I regard myself as a socialist, not because I believe in it rigidly, but because I want two or three things for India. One, I do not like too much disparity between the haves and the have-nots. Whether as a matter of principle or for a nation's progress, this is not a good thing. As far as possible there ought to be equality. Not that everybody can be exactly alike. Some are more intelligent or physically stronger than the others. Such



inequalities cannot be changed. Nor am I prepared to follow the majority opinion if the majority consists of fools. This is a danger to some extent in a democracy. But that cannot be helped.

Secondly, it has been proved that poverty can be eradicated through science and technology. Just a hundred years ago, there was no solution available to mankind. So why should we not do it when it is possible? In my opinion, though poverty can be eradicated by a capitalist strategy also, the socialist strategy is much better. The capitalist strategy is not suited to India at the moment. It has taken the United States one fifty years to reach its present state of affluence through capitalist strategy. There were many forces operating then which we cannot duplicate today. I am not prepared to accept socialism as a rigid doctrine. I feel that we must apply the principles of socialism to suit our needs and solutions to our problems will have to be found according to our resources, keeping in mind the experience of other countries.

In short, just as in our foreign policy we follow the path of non-alignment and friendship towards all nations, similarly, in our economic policy too, we try to follow our own path. We may be sympathetic to this or that economic ideology. We have come to the conclusion that we shall build a society on a socialist pattern. We have reached this conclusion in view of our present condition as well as because we subscribe to these principles. But in implementing them, we shall evolve a path of our own by mutual consent and suited to India's needs.

There is one more thing apart from lack of disparity in socialism, although that is no doubt an essential part. When it first evolved, there was an ethical and a moral dimension involved in it. I will not go into all that. I am mentioning it because we are laying great stress on increasing production. However, you must not forget that even if production increases rapidly and we become very affluent, it will lead to the ruin of the Indian people if there is deterioration in our national character. A nation's stature does not depend on its gold and silver or production, but on the quality and character of the human beings who live in it. This is extremely important and is the true yardstick to judge a nation by.

I shall not say more about this because it should be an accepted thing. But it is vital to the country's development. Anyhow, as I was saying the strategy that we are adopting in our five year plans cannot be a capitalist strategy like the one followed in the United States. They have had a hundred and fifty years to reach their present state of affluence. We do not have that long. We have to solve our socio-economic problems in ten years. We cannot wait. So we cannot adopt their strategy.

The communist strategy followed by the Soviet Union has no doubt yielded great dividends. There is no doubt that within forty years, the Soviet Union has

become a great power. But even here two or three factors must be borne in mind. One, it has taken the Soviet Union forty years after the Revolution to reach where they are. Now I do not know what India's condition will be forty years hence. I think we would have made great progress. Two, the developments in the Soviet Union followed in the wake of a resounding defeat in war. The entire government and the administrative system had broken up. Russia lay in ruins during the First War and that is when the Revolution occurred. The entire fabric of life had been torn asunder and the armed forces were in disarray. It was in these circumstances that their great leader, Lenin, gave the call for a revolution. Now, do the communists in India want that India should first be completely ruined so that a new edifice can be built? They seem to want a clean slate to start from. Now, it does not seem very wise to me. It is a different matter that the existing system had broken down due to various circumstances. But to want to deliberately destroy something in order to build afresh, seems very strange. It is not directly relevant to communist ideology either.

Thirdly, the Soviet Union had to pay a tremendous price in terms of people's toil and sacrifices. I am not criticising them. They made the choice deliberately. But I can tell you that if the government tried to do half as much in India and the people had to undergo such hardships, it will be finished. It is simply not possible in a democratic system of government. Then, the question is if we should have democracy or not. It is a very serious question. I feel that democracy is a good thing because a human being grows fully under this system. I think our constitution is a very just one. So if you accept these things, what the communists say becomes impossible. If we follow the communist path, democracy will have no place and peace will be disrupted. There will be a civil war. I do not want such a thing to happen in India. I am confident that we can bring about the biggest socio-economic revolution without civil war. After all, we succeeded in removing the princely states and abolished the zamindari system without a civil war. We are taking major steps in agriculture. But that has not led to a civil war. Why then should we allow a civil war to take place so that we can start with a clean slate? It does not seem very prudent.

I was trying to explain how we follow more or less the same principles in our foreign as well as domestic policies. Not that there is a rigid formula for either. We are not isolated from the world. If I call myself a socialist, my sympathies are bound to be with the socialist countries, even if I do not copy them. Anyhow, we have to progress quickly and adopt the strategy in our Five Year Plan which will accelerate the pace of progress. We must reach the point of take off. Once production increases to that level, the machinery will function on its own momentum. In the United States and the Soviet Union, the production machineries have gathered so much momentum that they produce far more



than what they need. It is not so in India yet. But ultimately a time comes in the life of a nation when this becomes possible. We are striving towards that. I cannot say when that time may come. But barring Japan and perhaps China, India is leading among all the other Asian and African countries in this matter. You can include the South American countries also in that if you like. In the last decade or so we have managed to lay the firm foundations for our progress. I agree that there are innumerable difficulties. There is poverty and unemployment. But the foundations have been laid through science and technology and power production, the big steel plants which have come up, and specially through imparting technical education to a large number of people.

Progress is not something which can happen at once. We hope that by the end of the Third Plan, we would have reached the take-off point. By the end of the Fourth Plan, we hope to have crossed over. You must bear in mind that the progress is hampered by the growth of population in the country. There are more and more mouths to feed. We have to increase food production to feed sixty lakhs more every year. In fact we have to produce more than that. So our first priority is to produce more food. I am trying to explain what our strategy is so that you can understand what the five year plans aim at. Planning does not mean merely putting up a factory here or a power house there. It is a strategy for battle to make a dent on our problems, to make India strong and to pave the way for our future progress.

I said that we need to build heavy industries. But at the same time, we must expand small industries also in order to provide employment. We want to encourage cottage industries also. There is no conflict in this. We need both and those who say that there is a conflict of heavy versus small industries is wrong. In our present condition in India, we need heavy industries as well as a rapid expansion of small scale and cottage industries. I do not know what the picture will be fifty or hundred years later. At the moment we need all three. There is no conflict between them. We have to adopt every means of increasing production in order to increase the national wealth as well as provide employment for the people.

The entire life of the nation is tied up with these five year plans. We cannot work miracles in five years. It could have been four or six years too. But we have called it the Five Year Plans to simplify matters. At some point or the other, we have to sit back and take stock. We do it every year also. I want you to understand and take an interest in the Plans. I can explain only briefly. I want that information about the Plans must be given to students in schools and colleges. They will learn more about India's condition, her economic condition in this way than by reading your text books. I am happy that planning forums have come up in our universities and colleges to discuss the five year plans. It

is a good thing, because the Plans are not only for the people at the top.

Now, I would like to talk to you about one more thing which has made a great impression on me. I was in Rajasthan three days ago and on Gandhi Jayanti an auspicious task was begun. It is mostly concerned with the rural areas and greater autonomy in this regard has been given to the panchayats. They are being given the financial powers also to administer to the needs of the villages. The entire task of development, education, cooperation, and so on, has been given to the panchayats. As you can imagine, it is a very major step. You have the village panchayats and above them panchayat samitis consisting of many village panchayats each. In short, a new pattern is emerging in district administration. Almost eighty per cent of the work in the districts has been handed over to the panchayats. People say that we want to centralise power in Delhi. On the contrary, we are trying to decentralise and spread the base of power as Gandhi ji and Vinoba Bhave wanted to do. It is not an easy matter to decentralise in the modern world because all the major tasks of government need centralised administration. A debate is going on between centralisation on the one hand and personal freedom which is opposed to centralisation on the other.

Anyhow, we have taken a major step and I am confident that greater autonomy to the panchayats will catch on all over the country. That does not mean that we think of the members of the panchayats as angels. They are not. They fight among themselves and there is groupism, etc. But even though we are fully aware that they will make mistakes or stumble again and again, we have given them the power; because, that is the only way they will learn. This is how the nation's strength will be built up when the masses take the reins of administration in their own hands. There can be real democracy in India only when power is held by the people. At the moment we have a Parliament and assemblies and people vote to choose their representatives. But there must be a delegation of power down the line to the panchayats and the municipal corporations, etc.

This is in the realm of politics and administration. If you take the economic aspect, economic power too must not be concentrated in the hands of a few. So the question of the private and public sectors arises. I feel that for a long time to come, we will need both these sectors in India. But when I say that, I want to make it quite clear that I do not like the idea of concentration of wealth in the hands of an individual or group of private entrepreneurs. I do not consider the concentration of economic power or monopolies to be proper. The private sector must expand and there is great scope for it in the country. As I said, the world is moving towards greater centralisation, politically and economically. But economic power must be vested only in a centralised authority, the state.



Therefore the basic industries and the strategic industries must remain in the public sector. For the rest, economic power must be spread out.

The only way for economic power to spread is through cooperatives. We are laying great stress on cooperatives whether they are agricultural or industrial. I am not afraid of concentration of power in the cooperatives, because then it is in the hands of the people, not individuals. We have laid special stress on service cooperatives in every village. There can be no question that such cooperatives are very essential. Yet there are some people who are opposed to cooperatives and for strange reasons. I will not go into that. We have said that initially for three years our attempt must be to establish service cooperatives. After that or if possible even during these three years, joint cultivation can be taken up. We have made it quite clear that one, there is no coercion in this and two, even when there is joint cultivation, the ownership of land will remain intact. Every member of the cooperative will get a share. If anyone wishes to leave the cooperative, it will be possible.

So there is no coercion or force, I have no doubt about it that by and large, the farmers in India have very small land holdings. How can a farmer with an acre or two make any progress? The only way open to him is to join a cooperative. He can then avail of the new scientific techniques, buy good seeds, fertilizers and ploughs etc. Apart from all this, he can get credit too. A great deal of land is wasted today between the boundaries of small land holdings. Millions of acres are wasted which is bad. I am not bothered about the big landlords. But there is no alternative to joint cultivation for a marginal farmer. He can make more profit and retain the title to his land too. In fact, the area of land under cultivation will grow because the boundaries will disappear. I do not think that there is anything wrong in this. Moreover, we have said quite clearly that there is no coercion in all this. So what is the meaning of making a noise or starting an agitation as the Swatantra Party has done against joint farming, because they feel that collectivisation will be the next step? We have no such idea for we do not think collectivisation is right. But they keep insisting. It is really extraordinary.

I was telling you that I am in favour of decentralisation of power, political and economic power. But complete decentralisation is not really possible. The modern state has to be vested with power. Otherwise it will collapse. But we want to delegate administrative power through the panchayats and economic power through the cooperatives, village and industrial cooperatives. This is how the political and economic base of the country can become strong. After that, even if there are defects at the top, the foundations, the political and economic foundations of the country will remain strong. This is our strategy and I want you to understand this. We are trying to do this at a time when

centralisation is increasing elsewhere in the world.

I would like to repeat that what really counts today are the five year plans. All the other aspects of life in the country are linked to that. You must participate in this great task. I do not say that whatever we say is right. We are learning. There is no parallel in the history of the world for what India is striving for today. I am not boasting, but merely pointing out a fact. On the one hand, we have the example of the West which has had a hundred and fifty years or more to reach where they are today. Then we have the example of the Soviet Union and China. As I told you, the Russian Revolution took place forty years ago. They have taken forty years to reach their present position. Moreover, they have not adopted a democratic system to achieve their goals. There is no personal freedom there. The same thing is happening in China too. In fact, as far as it is known, the Chinese have gone one step ahead on the path of coercion and suppression of personal freedom. They have great successes to their credit and must do what they think is proper. I have no right to interfere. We want democracy and personal freedom and then progress as fast as we can. Such a thing has never been tried in any country till today. In the other underdeveloped nations where such developments are taking place, the progress is very, very slow and I do not know how long they will take to achieve their goals.

We have taken on a great task and the eyes of the world are upon us to see how we fare. Nobody knows what will happen. But the world realises that India is the only country in the world which has the capacity to transform itself from an underdeveloped country into a developed one. We can reach a stage where the pace of progress can be accelerated and take off from the morass of poverty and reach the firm ground of prosperity. India is the only country which can do so at the moment. On the one hand, you have the affluent countries. We can leave them aside. On the other hand, you have the underdeveloped countries. India is considered to be leading among such countries. I am not including China at the moment. The more countries which become developed and learn to stand on their own feet, the better it will be for themselves and the world. The burden of poverty will lighten in the world. If we become a developed nation, we will not remain a burden upon the others and on the contrary, we can help others to progress.

Ideally, poverty must disappear from the whole world. Therefore, it is vital for the world too to see that India gets out of the morass of poverty quickly. We are not very far from our goal and we have the capacity to go ahead. We are building the infrastructure of science and industry and training of technical personnel. Some basic heavy industries like steel plants have already come up and power supply is increasing. We are setting up a huge machine-building plant.



At the moment the per capita income in India is very low—which is painful.<sup>100</sup> But we have one hundred thousand engineers working today which is no small matter. Scientists are increasing in number. These are the foundations on which the future of India is being built. I am telling you all this because I want you to understand what we are trying to do. It is not a question of reading the plan document or my giving you a lecture. I want you to have a mental picture of the different ways in which India is changing. The millions of people in India are being transformed. I have no doubt that we are changing in spite of the difficulties that we have to face, droughts and failure of crops and so on. I have seen the changes with my own eyes, wherever I go, in the villages and elsewhere. There are still some food shortages but food production has increased to the extent that people who were half-starved are now getting two square meals a day. The demands are increasing and we are happy about that. Production of sugar has gone up from ten lakh tonnes a ten years ago to twenty two lakh tonnes today and yet there are shortages because more and more people are able to buy sugar. These are all signs of increasing prosperity among the people. It is true that of the forty crores of people, many are in great affliction and go hungry, naked and homeless. It grieves me. But there is no magic formula to cure all these ills at once. Once we gather momentum, the pace will accelerate automatically.

I want you to keep this picture in mind, the picture of the five year plans and India's onward march. You must bear in mind that at the moment forty crores of people are on the march. We cannot do it alone. All forty crores of us must march to our destination together. A new India is being built, a living vital entity and not something merely on paper. Then you must try to see what your own role in it is. You are one of the forty crores of people on the move. You must do your bit and help others too.

Then there is yet another angle. The history of India dates back to thousands of years. It goes back to the beginnings of the history of mankind itself. There have been ups and downs, periods of glory and power followed by downfall and degradation. Today once more we have been given an opportunity to go ahead and if we grab it, we can hope for a glorious future for the forty crores of human beings in India. Can you imagine a greater or more exciting task than this? We are all engaged in this great task and all petty disputes and squabbles must be at an end. People grow in stature under the shadow of the great tasks that they are engaged in.

100. See fn 94 in this section.

You give me your love in great abundance, garland me and shout slogans. Why do you honour me in this way? You may not know me very well, my shortcomings and weakness, but you know me and my colleagues, the people of my generation through the work that we have been engaged in for the last forty to fifty years under Mahatma Gandhi. I became a Congress delegate for the first time forty years ago and since then, except for one or two Congresses which I could not attend, I have been present at all of them.<sup>101</sup> I may have been in jail at other times. Anyhow, I have been in the Congress and seen a great many ups and downs, the coming of Gandhi ji, the Martial Law in the Punjab and its aftermath, the Bombay session, the noncooperation movement and so on. We forgot everything else, family, children and the mundane things of day to day living. We were under a kind of intoxication, a madness, in which we could see but one thing and we marched straight on. We have undergone all these experiences. Therefore your respect for me stems from all that you have heard and seen of the work that I have been engaged in for years. The fact of the matter is that engaged in these great tasks, we too have grown somewhat in stature. There is no doubt that the more you engage yourselves in the national tasks, the more you will grow. If you remain engrossed in petty feuds, you will remain small in stature.

Our youth is excellent. I see them in the armed forces, the army, navy and the air force, the last in particular where they brave great dangers for their country, in peace and in war. I see our young scientists, boys and girls, and I see great hope for India in them. I see them engaged in innumerable tasks all over the country doing excellent work. This is one picture. On the other hand, I see hooliganism and indiscipline in colleges, universities and even schools. There are big demonstrations, hunger strikes and demands. I am really amazed. I do not want our students to be like sheep. They must be full of vitality even if they make mistakes. But I do not consider hooliganism to be vitality. It is not a sign of strength or wisdom. Something done in a fit of passion can be forgiven. Vitality breeds anger too. But the atmosphere of violence which has been spreading lately in the country, not only among the students but adults too, is extremely debilitating. If you go to the West you will find tremendous discipline in all the countries. There are hooligans too, but by and large, they are disciplined nations. Self-discipline is their real strength. We must also cultivate that. Otherwise our strength will fritter away.

Anyhow, as I was telling you, we grew in stature because we were engaged in great tasks. We grew from within and also acquired a stature in your eyes. If

101. See fn 95 in this section.



you have the spirit, you, too, must engage in such tasks for they will benefit you as well as the country. You can choose what you would like to do. It must be a worthwhile task which will draw you out of yourself so that you can immerse yourself in it to the exclusion of everything else. If you are busy thinking all the time about yourself and your family and what will happen to you tomorrow or the day after, you will remain forever cooped up in a small little well. I do not say that you should neglect your family. But the moment you do something outside that narrow sphere, you will be able to look after your family better and grow in stature in the process. These are the great problems that we face today.

I go to Poona whenever I get the opportunity and visit Khadakwasla which is a big training centre for our armed forces. I was amazed to learn that the opposition parties have got a new handle to spread all kinds of rumors. You may have heard about General Thimayya, our Chief of Staff of Army, resigning and the resignation being taken back the same day.<sup>102</sup> That was the end of the matter. But the newspapers created a ruckus about it. I find that the newspapers and other parties are trying on the one hand to malign the Defence Minister and on the other General Thimayya, too. Both are excellent people in defence. Let me tell you that the progress which the Defence Ministry and the defence installations have made during the last two to three years is far more than they have done since the British days. Our armed forces were always excellent. But I am talking about defence production and the growth of defence science. There is some civil production also going on in our ordnance factories. There was no question of that during the British days because they wanted to import everything and did not encourage any indigenous growth of industries. But during the First World War they were forced to set up ordnance factories because they could not get everything from England. But they did not permit the production of anything else. In spite of our intentions we could not expand them very much. But during the last two to three years special attention has been paid to the ordnance factories, and apart from military equipment and ammunition, guns, etc., we are getting good trucks built at less than the market price. Defence installations are coming up. We have begun to make aeroplanes and I hope the first batch will be ready next year. These are all big projects and in the beginning we were reluctant to spend such enormous sums. But now we are expanding our defence installations. There has been great progress in the area of defence science and I can say confidently that it is in the hands of capable people.

These are the foundations of defence which does not stop with putting soldiers into uniforms with guns in their hands. Defence has to be backed by

102. See fn 96 in this section.

defence industry, defence science and many other things which are not directly concerned with civilian issues. We have been paying attention to these basic necessities during the last three to four years. We are trying to make our armed forces self-contained as far as possible, self-reliant, producing what they need instead of importing everything from the West as was our old habit. It was easier to place an order and get what you wanted. There was no need to work for it. But we cannot be truly independent if we have to import everything. It is in fact dangerous. We are trying to put a stop to it. It has not stopped fully but it has been reduced considerably. As a result we are saving foreign exchange. Earlier there was a crisis over dividing foreign exchange reserves. All this has been happening during the last two to three years. I am saying this, because there has been an unprecedented spurt in our defence apparatus in the last few years. Before independence, it was not to be thought of and even since then, there were problems in doing so. But when there is such excellent progress, it is absurd that the newspapers and some political parties should malign the Defence Minister and the Chief of Army Staff, all because they were ignored or could not meet them or for some equally trivial reason. It is wrong and makes a very bad impression. I have heard that even military officers talk in this strain which is really bad. It is against our military traditions. The officers in the armed forces must be intelligent and take an interest in national issues. But to get into such futile controversies does nobody any good.

Let me tell you once again that the ultimate responsibility is mine. You have made me the Prime Minister. In that capacity I have chosen Shri Krishna Menon as the Defence Minister, because I have confidence in him, in his intelligence, his loyalty and other qualities. That does not mean that he is an angel or I am. Everyone makes mistakes. We have our differences of opinion as it happens with other members of the cabinet. But we work on the principle of collective responsibility as a cabinet government should. General Thimayya is the senior most officer in our army. The responsibility for putting him in the post of chief of staff is mine. I have confidence in him and I think of him as an able officer. If I do not have confidence, I may take steps. But so long as he is there, I will have confidence in him. To criticise him is a criticism of me indirectly. You have the right to have confidence in me or not. But you must try to understand how our government functions. It is very much on the lines of the British parliamentary system in which the cabinet is supreme. The Prime Minister occupies a special place in the British system. He forms the cabinet. The Prime Minister is the keystone of the cabinet and enjoys far wider powers than prime ministers in other countries do. In a sense, British Prime Ministers are even more powerful than the American Presidents, at least in some areas. So, the responsibility is mine and if anyone is upset, it should be with me. It is wrong



to drag others in. I want to make this clear to you.

I would like to say just a few words more. The question of the future of Bombay State is uppermost in all your minds. As I have said repeatedly, it is not in my hands to pass an order. The decision rests ultimately with the people. It is a complex problem which cannot be solved by hooliganism. We will take up the issue when the time comes. The main thing is to think about it with calm minds, free of quarrels and bitterness. Even if a mistake is made in such circumstances, it can be rectified more easily. I have been extremely upset over the turn of events and the tensions and rioting which took place over this issue. Anyhow, all that is over. The fact is that Bombay has been functioning well and everybody accepts the fact that it is among the leading states in India. The responsibility for the running of the state so well has been the Bombay Government's and most of all, that of the Chief Minister Shri Yashwantrao Chavan.

Well, whatever has happened, my appeal to you is to think about the matter calmly and come to a decision in due course. A few months ago, I began discussions with some of my close friends and colleagues. I wanted the advice of Chavan ji of course, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, our Home Minister, who is a pillar of our Central Government and gives sane counsel at all times, our Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai and our old Congress President, Shri Dhebar Bhai, all met about six weeks ago.<sup>103</sup> We discussed the pros and cons because we had to take everything into account and weigh both sides of the question carefully in the balance. We had open frank discussions and it was decided that we should talk to others also. At that time we had no intention of informing the press, but they got hold of the news and ever since then long articles and bold headlines have been appearing.

Anyhow, all that had to come sooner or later and it is a good thing that people are talking about it. A committee has been constituted by the Congress in which representatives of the regional committees of Bombay State and others are included.<sup>104</sup> This is not a matter which can be settled by a few individuals. I think there are nine members in the committee. We want them to have open discussions with no trace of bitterness. That would be more beneficial than to push a decision through in a hurry. We want to give full opportunity for divisions and consultations. At the same time we do not want delay, because then the matter drags on.

103. See fn 97 in this section.

104. See fn 98 in this section.

I thank you once again for the warm welcome you have given me and for hearing me out patiently for so long.

Now please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!  
I want to mention one thing more about the border dispute with China. You must have seen our reply to the Chinese Government in the newspapers. You would have got the full account. All I want to say is that we must not get agitated though we must remain vigilant. Jai Hind! (Chacha Nehru Zindabad)

Translation ends.]

### (iii) Andhra Pradesh Tour

## 12. At REC, Warangal: Science and Technology for Employment<sup>105</sup>

मुख्यमंत्री जी और बहनो, भाइयो और बच्चो,  
पहले ही मैंने यहाँ आ कर यहाँ का जो इन्तज़ाम था, उसको गड़बड़ा दिया, क्योंकि इन्तज़ाम ये था कि पहले वो शिलान्यास करूँ, बुनियादी पत्थर लगाऊँ, फिर आऊँ। ऊपर। वो अभी तक नहीं हुआ काम, बाद में करना है। इसीलिए अभी हमारे भाई जो [...] अदला-बदली करनी पड़ी जल्दी से।

आज कुछ दिन बाद मैं आन्ध्र आया हूँ, आन्ध्रप्रदेश और मेरे आन्ध्र प्रदेश का दौरा यहाँ वारंगल से शुरू होता है। खुशी है मुझे यहाँ आने की, क्योंकि बहुत बातों में आन्ध्र में अच्छी तरक्की हो रही है, उन्नति हो रही है। आन्ध्र में खेती है, उसमें भी जो कुछ यहाँ पैदा होता है, फ़्री एकड़, वो और जगहों से ज़्यादा है, अधिक है। और यही हम सारे देश में करना चाहते हैं, क्योंकि सब में पहली बात खाने की होती है और इस मामले में आन्ध्र देश ने बहुत कुछ किया है, और बहुत कुछ हमें आशाएँ हैं। दूसरे यहाँ इस समय मैं आया हूँ आपके एक इंजीनियरिंग कॉलेज के लिए, उसका शिलान्यास रखने और आज का दिन भी एक मुबारक दिन है, शुभ दिन है, नवरात्रि के दिन हैं ये, कल दशमी है, दशहरा है, तो इस अच्छे काम को हम एक अच्छे दिन शुरू कर रहे हैं। अच्छा काम है। क्यों? इसलिए कि हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की बँधी हुई है, यहाँ इण्डस्ट्री, उद्योग-धन्धे, कारखाने, बड़े-छोटे, इनके बनने पर। कैसे इण्डस्ट्री या उद्योग-धन्धे चलें? कोई ईंट-पत्थर से नहीं चलते हैं। हालाँकि एक पत्थर की बुनियाद डाली जायेगी अभी, और

105. Speech on the occasion of the foundation stone laying ceremony of the Regional Engineering College, now NIT, Warangal, Hyderabad, 10 October 1959. AIR tapes. NMML.



यहाँ एक मकान बनेगा, लेकिन आखिर में एक देश की उन्नति होती है, तरक्की होती है आदमियों से, ईंट-पत्थर से नहीं। सीखे हुए आदमी, पुरुष-स्त्री। आदमी बनाते हैं मशीन को, मशीन आदमी को नहीं बनाती। जिस देश में काफ़ी लोग सीखे होते हैं, काफ़ी अच्छे इंजीनियर हों, काफ़ी अच्छे साइण्टिस्ट हों, विज्ञान जानने वाले, काफ़ी अच्छे और सब काम करने वाले हों [...] उस देश की तरक्की बहुत जल्दी होती है। इसलिए ये बहुत ज़रूरी हो गया हमारे देश में हम सिखाने का प्रबन्ध करें, सिखाने का इन्तज़ाम करें, हमारे नौजवानों को, हर तरह के नये उद्योग-धन्धे उनको हम सिखायें, नयी साइन्स से। विज्ञान से। खेती कैसे होती है, वो भी सिखायें। कैसे कारख़ानों में काम होता है? कैसे इंजीनियर काम करें? इसकी बहुत आवश्यकता हो गयी। लोग समझते हैं कि हम कारख़ाने खड़े कर दें रुपया जमा करके तो काम हो जाये। ये बात ठीक नहीं है। काम हो जायेगा जब लोग यहाँ काफ़ी सीखे हुए हो जायेंगे, अच्छे इंजीनियर, अच्छे साइण्टिस्ट। और काम ईंट-पत्थर का तो आसानी से हो जाता है, लेकिन आदमी को सिखाने में समय लगता है, कठिनाई लगती है। हुमायूँ कबीर साहब आप से कह रहे थे कि लोहे के कारख़ाने हमने बनाये हैं, बड़े-बड़े लोहे के कारख़ाने हमारे, एक समझो चार नये बने हैं। उनको बनाने में चार-पाँच बरस लगे। लेकिन जो लोग, जो इंजीनियर उनको चलायेंगे, उनको सिखाने में और उनको अभ्यास होने में पन्द्रह-बीस बरस लग जायेंगे, पन्द्रह बरस समझो लग जायेंगे। तब असल चीज़ तो सीखा हुआ आदमी है। लोग समझते नहीं हैं उस बात को। हमारे आजकल कॉलेजेज़ में लोग समझते हैं कि जल्दी से कुछ हुल्लड़ करके कुछ डिग्री मिल जाय, तो बी.ए. हो जायें तो काम हो गया। लेकिन काम तो शुरू हुआ उस वक़्त। इसलिए बहुत ज़रूरी है कि हम देश में ये टेक्निकल इंजीनियरिंग कॉलेजेज़ बनायें अधिक-से-अधिक। इस समय भी मैं समझता हूँ हमारे देश में कोई एक लाख इंजीनियर छोटे और बड़े काम करते हैं। हमें उसको इस फ़ाइव इयर प्लैन में, पंचवर्षीय योजना जो आ रही है तीसरी, उसके लिए हमें तीन लाख इंजीनियर चाहिए। तो जितने इंजीनियर तैयार होंगे, उनके लिए काम तो रखा है, और इसके माने नहीं कि जो लाखों इंजीनियर हों, ये सब जा कर सरकारी नौकरी करें। ये बात ठीक नहीं है। हाँ, सरकारी नौकरी करें, काम बढ़ता जायेगा और बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने होंगे सरकारी, उसमें काम करें। लेकिन उनको चाहिए कि सीख कर वो अपने छोटे-मोटे कारख़ाने, छोटा काम अपने आप भी करें। हम चाहते हैं हमारे देश में कुछ तो जहाँ ज़रूरत हो बहुत बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने हों, जैसे आजकल हैं, जनता के, सरकार की ओर से चलते हैं। ये तीन बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने लोहे के नये बन रहे हैं। सिन्ध्री में हैं फ़र्टिलाइज़र आता है, खाद, इधर मशीन टूल्स आते हैं, इधर रेल के इंजन और रेल की गाड़ियाँ बनती हैं। ये सब सरकारी कारख़ाने ख़ूब अच्छी तरह से चल रहे हैं, लेकिन इसके अलावा हम चाहते हैं कि छोटे-मोटे कारख़ाने लाखों बने, बहुत बड़े नहीं, जिस में एक सीखे हुए आदमी दो-तीन-चार, बहुत ज़्यादा की ज़रूरत नहीं अपनी मशीन लगायें और चीज़ें पैदा करें। ऐसे छोटे कारख़ाने शायद सब में ज़्यादा तरक्की हुई है पिछले बरसों में पंजाब प्रान्त में। छोटा प्रान्त है पंजाब, अब कटने के बाद छोटा हो गया, लेकिन वहाँ लोग ख़ूब हाथ-पैर का काम करना जानते हैं। वहाँ मैं समझता हूँ कोई पचास

हज़ार, चालीस-पचास हज़ार नये छोटे कारखाने खुले हैं; और उसमें तो सरकार का बहुत हाथ नहीं है, कहीं-कहीं सहायता दी है; तो मैं तो चाहता हूँ देखना कि आपका इंजीनियरिंग कॉलेज यहाँ बने, लेकिन उसी के साथ आन्ध्र प्रदेश में हज़ारों छोटे-छोटे कारखाने निकलें, बड़े कारखाने में तो सरकार की मदद हो, लेकिन छोटे कारखानों में...और अच्छा हो अगर वो कोऑपरेटिव कारखाने हों, सहकारी कारखाने हों। इस तरह से अगर लाखों कारखाने हों, तो करोड़ों आदमियों को काम मिलेगा, एम्प्लॉयमेंट मिलेगी, रोज़गार मिलेगा, और वो सब कुछ-न-कुछ पैदा करेंगे, देश का धन, देश की दौलत बढ़ेगी और इसी तरह से देश से ग़रीबी निकलेगी। दो तरीक़े हैं निकालने के, एक तो ज़मीन से हम अधिक पैदा करें, दूसरे कारखानों से, बड़े कारखाने, छोटे कारखाने और तीसरे, उसमें कह दूँ मैं, ग्रामोद्योग से। वो भी तो एक छोटा-सा मशीन का काम है। ग्रामोद्योग से जो घर-घर में कुछ-न-कुछ हो। ये तीनों बातें मिला कर हमारा काम बहुत बढ़ सकता है। नयी दौलत पैदा होगी, रोज़गार मिलेगा और लोगों की हालत रोज़-ब-रोज़, प्रतिदिन, अच्छी होगी। और इस तरह से जो आजकल बेरोज़गारी है, वो भी हटने लगेगी।

क्योंकि हमारे सामने तो बड़ा भारी काम है, चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को उठाना है। अभी हुमायूँ कबीर साहब ने आपको बताया कि इस समय हमारे स्कूलों में, स्कूल-कॉलेज में तीन करोड़ बच्चे-नौजवान पढ़ते हैं। तीन करोड़, तीस मिलियन, और बढ़ते जाते हैं वो और मैं समझता हूँ कि पाँच-सात बरस में वो नम्बर कम-से-कम सात करोड़ हो जायेगा, ये हमारा इरादा है। तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के ख़त्म होने के पहले स्कूल-कॉलेज में पढ़ने वाले साठ-सत्तर मिलियन हो जायेंगे। सोचें आप। उसके बाद और बढ़ेगा, क्योंकि जितना हम चाहते हैं, जिन-जिन को ज्यों पढ़ाना है, वो सब मिल कर दस करोड़ हो जाता है देश भर में, आजकल की आबादी में। तो कितने बड़े हमारे सामने सवाल हैं। तो हम क्यों इतना ज़ोर देते हैं पढ़ाने पर? क्योंकि पढ़ाने से ही लोग काम करना सीखते हैं और आजकल के काम करने के माने हैं नयी मशीन सीखना, साइन्स से, विज्ञान से, टेक्नोलॉजी से इस सबको जान कर नये ढंग से काम कर सकें, फ़ायदा उठायें, आजकल के इल्म का, आजकल की विद्या का। हम पिछड़ गये इसलिए कि और देश दुनिया में, बहुत देश साइन्स और विज्ञान से बढ़ गये आगे, टेक्नोलॉजी से। हम पिछड़ गये, हम अपने पुराने ढंग से सब बातें करते आये। तो हमें उसको बदलना है, चाहे ज़मीन पर, चाहे कारखाने में; बड़े कारखाने, चाहे छोटे कारखाने में, सब जगह नये तरीक़े साइन्स से सीखने हैं, खुद बनाने हैं और ईजाद करने हैं, इसलिए ये बड़ा काम है हमारे सामने। ये पंचवर्षीय योजना, फ़ाइव इयर प्लैन, वगैरह के माने क्या हैं। असल में उसके माने यही हैं कि ज़्यादा-से-ज़्यादा लोगों को काम मिले, अच्छा काम मिले, जिससे वो देश में धन-दौलत पैदा करें। धन-दौलत के माने सोना-चाँदी नहीं है, धन-दौलत है जो चीज़ नयी पैदा होती है, ज़मीन से आप अन्न पैदा करते हैं, कारखाने से आप नयी चीज़ पैदा करते हैं, जो देश के लिए धन है। किसी और की जेब से निकाल के आप नहीं ले आते हैं। तो ये करना है हमें। पंचवर्षीय योजना के माने हैं कि देश भर के सब लोग मिल कर अपना काम करें, जिससे उनका भी



फ़ायदा हो, औरों का भी। अब ऐसी बात तभी हो सकती है जब देश के लोगों को मौक़ा मिले काम करने का और काम करना सीखें, काम करना सीखने के माने यही हैं। यों तो आप लोग बहुत काम करते हैं, लेकिन एक पिछड़े हुए देश में, जैसे हिन्दुस्तान है, काम करने के मौक़े कम होते हैं।

आज जाओ, अमेरिका जाओ, रूस जाओ, इंग्लैण्ड जाओ, तरक्की जो हुई है उन देशों में तो वहाँ बहुत ज़्यादा काम करने के रास्ते खुले हैं, क्योंकि साइन्स से और ज़रियों से उन्होंने रास्ते खोल लिये हैं। हम भी इन्हीं ज़रियों से खोलेंगे, और उसके लिए लोगों को तैयार करेंगे। पढ़ाई-लिखाई से। एक तरफ़ तो एक-एक बच्चे को, हिन्दुस्तान भर में, लड़का हो, या लड़की हो, उसको बुनियादी तालीम मिलनी चाहिए, छै-सात-आठ बरस मिलनी चाहिए। शुरू में तो हम प्रबन्ध शायद सब के लिए चार-पाँच बरस का कर रहे हैं, करने वाले हैं, लेकिन उसको आखिर में हमें आठ-नौ बरस कर देना है। बुनियादी तालीम हुई सबकी, उनमें से जो तेज़ लड़के और लड़कियाँ हैं, उनको और ज़्यादा तालीम का मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए, आजकल की तरह नहीं कि किसी के पास पैसा हो तो जा सकता है पढ़ने के लिए, किसी के माँ बाप के पास नहीं हो तो नहीं। ये तो बात ठीक नहीं है। जिसमें क्राबिलियत हो, जो तेज़ हो, उसको मौक़ा पूरा मिलना चाहिए। वो लोग जायेंगे कॉलेज में, इंजीनियरिंग कॉलेज, और कॉलेज, मेडिकल कॉलेज, इस तरह से आगे बढ़ेंगे, और मुल्क में इस तरह से काम करने के, नये काम करने के, तरीक़े और विद्या, इल्म फैले। फिर आप देखें, फिर तेज़ी से मुल्क में ये सब नये सामान निकलते आयेंगे, नये कारख़ाने वगैरह।

अब हमारे देश में पिछले बारह-तेरह बरस से इधर काफ़ी ध्यान दिया गया है और खासकर जब से ये पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ निकली हैं। सब में पहले हमने क्या किया? सब में पहले हमने हिन्दुस्तान में बड़ी-बड़ी साइन्स की लेबोरेटरीज़ खोलीं, विज्ञान के उद्योगशाले, जहाँ लोग... क्योंकि साइन्स सब जड़ है, विज्ञान जड़ है आजकल की दुनिया की। आप अख़बारों में पढ़ते हैं कि कहाँ चाँद तक रूस ने तीर चलाया, चाँद तक पहुँचा दिया। कैसे? विज्ञान से, साइन्स से। तो इसलिए हमने आज नहीं, बारह-तेरह बरस हुए जैसे हमें स्वराज मिला, हमने बड़ी-बड़ी लेबोरेटरीज़ साइन्स के पढ़ाने की और काम करने की, रिसर्च करने की बनायीं। उससे बहुत फ़ायदा होगा। हज़ारों हमारे लड़के-लड़की वहाँ काम करते हैं। फिर टेक्निकल इंस्टीट्यूशन बनाये गये। वो साइन्स से मिली-जुली चीज़ है, वो साइन्स की औलाद है, टेक्निकल इंस्टीट्यूट्स जहाँ हज़ारों लड़के और लड़कियाँ सीख रहे हैं। वो ही निकल के फिर, हिन्दुस्तान से निकलते आते हैं और हिन्दुस्तान की इण्डस्ट्री वगैरह में पड़ते हैं और नये हिन्दुस्तान को, नये हिन्द को बनाते हैं। ये सिलसिला सब पंचवर्षीय योजना वगैरह कहलाती है। इस ढंग से आप इसको देखें, तो उस काम का एक हिस्सा ये है, यहाँ वारंगल में, ये इंजीनियरिंग कॉलेज, यहाँ जिसकी बुनियाद डाली जाती है। और ये भी एक आन्ध्र प्रदेश गवर्नमेंट की खूबी की बात है कि उन्होंने इन्तज़ार नहीं किया ईट-पत्थर का, काम शुरू कर दिया है। ऐसे ही काम होना चाहिए। मैं बहुत परेशान हो गया हूँ। जिस काम को हम उठाते हैं, उसमें बड़ा रुपया ईट-पत्थर

में खर्च हो जाता है, लोगों के लिए कम बचता है। मैंने तो कहा कि हमारे स्कूल, ग्रामों के स्कूल में कोई मकान की आवश्यकता नहीं है। पढ़ाने वाला हो, पढ़ने वाले हों और एक दरख्त हो बीच में उन दोनों के, बहुत काफ़ी है। हाँ, पढ़ाने वाला अच्छा हो, उसको अच्छी तनख्वाहें मिले, अच्छा आदमी चुना जाय, ये नहीं कि सारा रुपया ईंट-पत्थर पर खर्च देते हैं, पढ़ाने वाले को तनख्वाह देने को कुछ नहीं रहता। ये उल्टी बात है। बाद में मकान बन जायेंगे जब हमारे पास पैसा हो, लेकिन इस समय हमें पढ़ने और पढ़ाने की ज़रूरत है, एक-एक बच्चे को। कोई बच्चा देश में नहीं होना चाहिए जिसको पढ़ने का मौक़ा नहीं मिले, जिसके स्वास्थ्य की देख-भाल नहीं होती है। आप देखें, जर्मनी का आप सुनते हैं, जर्मनी तबाह हो गया था। लड़ाई के बाद। शहर-के-शहर उनके बम से गिरा दिये गये थे। अब आजकल तगड़ा है, खड़ा है, फिर। कैसे? पहला काम उन्होंने क्या किया? पहला काम उन्होंने बैठ कर गिरे हुए अपने शहर को नहीं बनाया, उन्होंने घर रहने को नहीं बनाये। पहला काम उन्होंने किया, लोग काम करना शुरू कर दें। चाहे घर हो, चाहे न हो। इस तरह से उन्होंने सारे कारखाने चलाये, चाहे कारखाने की छत नहीं थी तो बग़ैर छत के चलाये, जब चलने लगे तो दौलत पैदा होने लगी वहाँ, उससे फिर उन्होंने बाद में पाँच-सात बरस करके फिर मकान बनाये, बहुत सारे बना डाले। हमारे यहाँ उलटी बात होती है, सारा ध्यान होता है बड़े नक्शे बनते हैं मकान बने, चार मंज़िल का, तीन मंज़िल का, लम्बा-चौड़ा, फिर सोच-विचार होता है, कितने वहाँ चपरासी रखे जायें, कितने क्या हों, कितने क्या हों। सब ये इन्तज़ाम करते-करते जो असली काम है, उसके लिए कम रुपया बचता है, इधर-उधर में फ़िज़ूल बातों में रुपया खर्च हो जाता है। शायद कभी हम इस सिलसिले से निकलेंगे, क्योंकि जब तक हम इस सिलसिले से निकलते नहीं, हमारी तरक्की हल्की होगी। तो [...] गरज़ [ये] कि हमारे पास एक ये हमारे लिए बहुत ज़रूरी है, ये दोनों काम, ये एक तरफ़ ऐग्रिकल्चर, खेती वग़ैरह, और दूसरी तरफ़ इण्डस्ट्री। और ऐग्रिकल्चर और इण्डस्ट्री दोनों के लिए हमें तरह-तरह के इंजीनियरिंग इल्म की ज़रूरत है। और ये जो एक सारे हिन्दुस्तान में एक नक्शा फैल रहा है इंजीनियरिंग कॉलेज का, इंस्टीट्यूट्स का, पोलिटेक्नक्स का क्या-क्या है, उसमें से एक खास केन्द्रीय गवर्नमेंट का कॉलेज आपके वारंगल में होगा। याद रखो, केन्द्रीय गवर्नमेंट यहाँ आयी है तो उसके माने हैं कि आपका जो कॉलेज होगा, जैसे कि आपने सुना, उसमें आस-पास के और प्रदेशों के लोग भी आ कर पढ़ेंगे, और ठीक है पढ़ना, इस तरह आपका भी लाभ हो, उनका भी हो, एक-दूसरे से मिलें। ख़ाली आन्ध्र के लोग अपने ही लोगों को देखा करें तो और भारत को कैसे पहचानें? ख़ाली और लोग अपने यहाँ बैठे... पंजाब वाले पंजाब में रहें, तो कैसे और भारत को देखें? इसलिए अच्छा है कि विद्यार्थी इस कॉलेज में अलग-अलग प्रान्तों से आयें, मिलें। बल्कि कभी-कभी ये भी पसन्द करें कि और देशों से आ जायें। हमने बहुत कुछ स्कॉलरशिप्स दिये हैं और देशों से आते हैं लोग अफ़्रीका के और कहाँ-कहाँ के, एशिया के। मिलें एक-दूसरे से, मिलने से आप दुनिया को कुछ पहचानें।

लेकिन एक बात मैं आप से कह दूँ, कि आप से ज़रूरत नहीं है कहने की, हमारे सामने इतना बड़ा काम है देश में कि हम अपनी ताक़त छोटी बातों में ज़ाया नहीं कर सकते, हमें मिल



कर चलना है सारे देश में, एकता से, चाहे हम किसी प्रदेश-प्रान्त में रहें, चाहे कोई हमारा धर्म या मज़हब हो, क्योंकि सब लोगों की, सबकी, हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्क़ी से तरक्क़ी होगी। अलग किसी से नहीं होगी, न किसी प्रान्त की, प्रदेश की होती है और न किसी अलग शख्स की या व्यक्ति की। तो ये हमेशा याद रखिए। एकता। चाहे कोई प्रदेश हो, चाहे कोई भाषा हो, हमें मिल कर चलना है, चाहे कोई मज़हब हो, हिन्दू, मुसलमान ईसाई, बौद्ध, पारसी, सिख, वगैरह, जो कोई हमारे देश में रहते हैं, देश के बच्चे हैं वो, कोई भी उनका धर्म-मज़हब हो। हमें मिल कर चलना है, और इस तरह से काम करना है। तो इस ढंग से आप वारंगल में क्या, आन्ध्र में काम करें तो और आन्ध्र की तरक्क़ी होगी। और आन्ध्र कोई अलग चीज़ तो नहीं है, इसके माने कि आन्ध्र प्रदेश के रहने वालों की तरक्क़ी होगी।

अब मैं नीचे जाने वाला हूँ, शिलान्यास करने के लिए, जाने के पहले मेरे साथ मिल कर तीन दफ़े जय हिन्द कहिए। जय हिन्द...अरे, कैसी आपकी पतली धीमी आवाज़ है, और बच्चों की तरफ़ से कोई आयी ही नहीं...जय हिन्द...और बच्चों की तरफ़ से आये, जय हिन्द। जय हिन्द।

[Translation begins:

Mr Chief Minister, sisters, brothers and children,  
Already, by coming here I have upset all the arrangements. I was to have laid the foundation stone first and then come here. That work is yet to be done and that is the reason the organisers have had to change the programme around quickly.

I have come to Andhra Pradesh after quite some time and my tour of this province begins with Warangal. I am happy to be here because Andhra is leading in many areas and making good progress. In agriculture, the average yield per acre is more than in other places. We want the whole country to catch up. The most important thing is self-sufficiency in food grains and Andhra Pradesh has contributed a great deal to that. We have great hopes from you.

I have come here to lay the foundation stone of your engineering college. It is an auspicious day. This is the period of Navaratri and tomorrow is Dussehra. So, we are beginning this new task on a propitious day. The entire progress of India is linked to the growth of industries, big and small. Industries cannot flourish with bricks and mortar alone, though the edifice has to be built with them. But ultimately a nation's progress depends on the human beings, educated and trained human beings, not on bricks and mortar. Human beings produce the machines and not the other way round. A country where there are large numbers of qualified and trained human beings, engineers, scientists, doctors, etc., progress is very quick. Therefore, it is very essential that we should make arrangements to train people in new fields and professions and give them

education in science and technology, factory management, and so on. People seem to think that it is enough to get the capital and put up a factory. That is not true. It is easy to put up a building of bricks and mortar. But it is much more difficult to train human beings. As Mr Humayun Kabir pointed out just now, we are putting up four new steel plants in the country. It will take us five years to complete them. But it will take fifteen or twenty years to train the engineers who will run them. So, what really counts is trained human beings. People do not understand this. The college students think that they have achieved everything by getting a B.A. degree. But the real education and training starts only after that.

It is extremely important to put up as many technical institutes and engineering colleges as possible in the country. Even now, I think, there are more than a lakh engineers working in India. By the end of the Third Plan we will need to treble that numbers. There are jobs for every engineer who passes out. But that does not mean that all of them must look for government jobs. That is not proper. The work in the public sector is bound to expand as huge industries are coming up. But they must also think of setting up small-scale industries and become private entrepreneurs.

We want that there must be some heavy industries in the public sector in the essential areas. Three new steel plants are coming up. There is a fertilizer plant in Sindri and a machine tools factory as well as a locomotive factory is coming up. All these industries in the public sector are doing well. But apart from this, we want millions of small scale industries to come up, with three or four trained people and small machines. I think in the small scale industries, Punjab has made the greatest progress. It is a small state and yet the people are very skilled and hard working. I think nearly fifty thousand small factories have come up in the Punjab in the last few years. The government has not had any hand in that except to give some aid here and there.

So I want to see this engineering college come up, of course. But at the same time, I want thousands of little industries to come up in Andhra Pradesh. The heavy industries will be in the public sector. But as far as the small industries are concerned, it would be a good thing if they were formed into cooperatives. If hundreds of thousands of such industries come up, millions of people will get employment and the goods that they produce will add to the national wealth. That is the only way to eradicate poverty.

One way to remove poverty is to increase agricultural production and the other is to set up large numbers of industries, big, medium and small, to produce essential consumer goods. Three, cottage industries must grow and use small machines to increase their output. All these three things together will help India to progress. New wealth will be produced, people will get employment and the



standard of living of the people will improve day by day.

Our task is to lift up forty crore human beings. As Mr Humayun Kabir told you just now, three crore boys and girls are reading in schools and colleges today, and the number continues to increase. I think in the next six, seven years, it will increase to seven crores. At least that is our intention. Just imagine, at the end of the Third Plan, there will be sixty or seventy million boys and girls in schools and colleges. If every single child in the country is educated, the number will cross ten crores. It is a gigantic problem.

Why are we laying such great stress on education? It is because only with education, human beings can learn new skills and the use of machines, science and technology, etc.; we must learn to take advantage of the new knowledge. We have become backward because we have not kept up to date with the knowledge of science and technology. We are backward, because we are clinging to outdated methods of production. We must change all that. We must adopt new techniques of production and do original research in science and technology.

The five year plans aim at providing employment to the largest number of people, productive employment which will add to the national wealth. Gold and silver are not real wealth. What we produce from our fields and factories is the real wealth of a nation. Merely transferring money from one pocket to another does not add to the national wealth. If the people of India work together to implement the five year plans, they will benefit personally and serve the country also in the process. But first of all, it is very essential to train people in useful, productive occupations. People work very hard in India but there are few avenues of productive work.

If you go to the United States, England or the Soviet Union, you will find that science and technology have opened up innumerable avenues of employment. We must also do the same and for that we need to train people through education. On the one hand, every child in India, boy or girl, must be given basic education for seven or eight years. Perhaps in the beginning we may be able to do it only for four-five years. But ultimately it should be extended to eight or nine years. Then the bright ones among them should be given the opportunity to go in for higher education at the moment, only the children whose parents are well-off can get higher education. That is not right. The boys and girls who have the ability and intelligence must be given every opportunity to go ahead. They must be able to go in for medicine or engineering or some other profession. We want that new techniques of production and education must spread all over the country. Once the infrastructure is strong, you will see how quickly the wealth of the nation increases.

We have been paying a great deal of attention to this during the last twelve or thirteen years, particularly since the five year plans began. First of all, we

opened huge national science laboratories all over the country. Science is at the root of everything in the modern world. You read about satellites being sent to the moon by the Soviet Union. It is a feat of modern science. So as soon as India became free, we set up huge science laboratories to train young scientists in research and development. Thousands of our young boys and girls are working in these laboratories. Then we have set up technical institutes. Technology and science go hand in hand. Thousands of boys and girls are being trained in these institutes and later absorbed in the new industries which are coming up. They are the builders of modern India.

All these things come under the five year plans. The new engineering college which is to come up in Warangal is a part of this. The Andhra Pradesh government has shown great wisdom in not waiting for the building of bricks and mortar to come up to start working. This is the way to achieve our goals. I am extremely perturbed by the fact that whenever we take up a new project, enormous sums of money are spent on bricks and mortar and very little left for actual development. I have even said that there is no need for school buildings in the villages. There should be a teacher and the children can be taught under a tree. The teacher must be good and ought to be paid well. Instead of that, all the money goes on bricks and mortar and the teachers are paid very poorly. Buildings can come up later when we have the money. At the moment what we have to do is to educate every single child in the country. There must be no child who is deprived of the opportunity for education or good health care facilities.

Take Germany, for instance. It lay in ruins after the Second World War and entire cities had been reduced to rubble. Today it is once again on its feet strong and affluent. That is, because they did not waste time in rebuilding their cities or houses but got the people working in their factories. Often the factories had no roofs even and yet they functioned and produced wealth. It is only six or seven years later that they started building houses. In India we do just the opposite. All our attention is on building huge, three or four storey building and a great deal of time and attention is paid to the number of peons to be employed and other minor details. When all this is done, very little money is left for the real tasks. Most of the resources are wasted in futile, useless things. We must somehow get rid of this tendency because our rate of progress will be very slow until we do so.

Anyhow, we have to pay special attention to agriculture on the one hand and industry on the other. We need all kinds of technical know-how and knowledge of engineering for both agriculture and industry. Your central government college at Warangal will be one link of the long chain of engineering colleges, institutes and polytechnics which is coming up all over the country.



Please remember that since this will be a central government college, students from other states will also come here to read. That is a good thing because you will learn about other provinces through contact with them. If the people of Andhra are concerned only about themselves, how can they learn to recognise what India is all about? This applies to all the states. It is a good thing for students of different provinces to mingle with one another. In fact, it would be a good thing to have some foreign students also. We are giving scholarships to students from Africa and other Asian countries. It helps you to learn about the larger world.

I want to tell you one thing in particular. Not that it is necessary for me to do so. But we have great tasks ahead and must not fritter away our energies in useless, petty squabbles. We must maintain unity in the country irrespective of the province we live in or the religion we follow. Our progress depends on India's progress. No state in India can hope to go ahead on its own. So please remember that we must maintain unity, no matter which province we belong to or the language we speak and whether we are Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Buddhists, Christians or Sikhs. We are all part of a large family and that is how we must behave. The people of Warangal, of Andhra Pradesh must always work together for the common good of India.

Now I shall go down to lay the foundation stone. Please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Louder. Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]

### 13. Public Meeting, Hyderabad: Production and Technology <sup>106</sup>

मुख्यमन्त्री जी,<sup>107</sup> बहनो और भाइयो, बच्चो,  
एक साल भर हुए मैं यहाँ हैदराबाद आया था। ऑल इंडिया कांग्रेस कमेटी की बैठक थी<sup>108</sup> उस ज़माने में, और उस समय कुछ ऐसे फ़ैसले हुए उस मीटिंग में कि उसके अक्सर नतीजे हुए, उसकी निस्वत में आप से कुछ कहूँगा। लेकिन इस साल में बहुत सारी बातें हमारे देश में और दुनिया में हुई हैं और अगर आप उस पर गौर करें तो देखें कि कितनी तेज़ी से दुनिया बदल

106. Speech at Nizam College Grounds, Hyderabad, 10 October 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

107. N. Sanjiva Reddy.

108. In October 1958.

रही है, उसकी चाल, उसकी रफ़्तार कितनी तेज़ है। ख़ाली दुनिया नहीं, लेकिन हमारा देश भी कैसे बदल रहा है। लोग-बाग़ समझते हैं कि देश के बदलने के माने हैं कि लड़ाई-झगड़ा हो, फ़साद हो। ये तो एक बचपन का ख़याल है। असल में देश बदलता है बुनियाद से और जड़ से। असल क्रान्ति जो होती है इनक्रलाब, वो ऐसे ही होता है जिससे लाखों-करोड़ों आदमियों के रहने में, रहन-सहन में हल्के-हल्के फ़रक़ हो।

अभी संजीव रेड्डी जी ने आपको याद दिलाया कि मैं एक ख़ास मुबारक दिन यहाँ आया हूँ। आजकल सारे हिन्दुस्तान में और किसी क़दर ज़्यादा उत्तर भारत में ये नवरात्रि मनायी जाती है, दशहरे, दुर्गा-पूजा वग़ैरह उसके अलग-अलग नाम हैं, और कल उसका ख़ास दिन है — दशमी का, विजय दशमी का जो कि एक बहुत शुभ दिन समझा जाता है। तो ऐसे मौक़े पर मैं आपके यहाँ आया, और आन्ध्र प्रदेश में पहला काम जो मैंने आज किया वो वारंगल में एक इंजीनियरिंग कॉलेज का शिलान्यास किया, उसका बुनियादी पत्थर लगाया।<sup>109</sup> मुझे वो बहुत अच्छा लगा, क्योंकि इस वक़्त हमारे देश का सारा ध्यान जा रहा है एक नये भारत के बनाने को और उस नये भारत के बनाने में सब में ज़्यादा साइन्स, विज्ञान, टेक्नोलॉजी, इंजीनियरिंग वग़ैरह, उसकी ज़रूरत है। तो इस काम से मैंने ये चार दिन का अपना दौरा आन्ध्र प्रदेश में शुरू किया था।

तो मैं अभी आपसे कह रहा था कि दुनिया की रफ़्तार कितनी तेज़ होती जाती है। बाज़ बातें तो ऐसी हैं जिनको आप सब जानते हैं, मालूम नहीं उसके नतीजे को आप पूरा समझते हैं कि नहीं। आपने देखा कि इस पिछले साल में साइन्स ने और उसकी औलाद ने कितनी तरक्क़ी की। यहाँ तक कि अभी कुछ दिन हुए, महीना भर या उससे भी कम, रूसी साइण्टिस्ट ने चौद तक एक रॉकेट, एक तीर अपना फेंका तो वहाँ पहुँच गया,<sup>110</sup> उसके बाद एक और फेंका। अमेरिका वाले भी इसी तरह से रॉकेट वग़ैरह भेज रहे हैं इस दुनिया से दूर। आप कहें, कि इससे हमें क्या फ़ायदा? कोई ख़ास आपको-मुझे फ़ायदा नहीं है। लेकिन जब इल्म बढ़ता है, विद्या बढ़ती है तो उसके साथ नयी-नयी ताक़तें आती हैं इन्सान के हाथ में और उन ताक़तों के इस्तेमाल से, प्रयोग से, दुनिया बदलती है। आजकल हम और आप रहते हैं जिस दुनिया में, मामूली बात है। मैं आज दिल्ली से हवाई जहाज़ से आया। आप चढ़ते हैं हवाई जहाज़ पर, रेल पर, मोटर पर, आप बिजली का इस्तेमाल करते हैं, आपके कारख़ाने बिजली से अक्सर चलते हैं। मैं इस वक़्त बोल रहा हूँ लाउड स्पीकर पर, आप रेडियो सुनते हैं—कितनी बातें हैं आजकल की हमारी ज़िन्दगी में, जो साइन्स से निकली हैं। आप सोचो कि एक सौ बरस पहले या डेढ़ सौ बरस पहले क्या दुनिया का हाल था? और पहले आप जायें, कोई दो सौ बरस, तो आप देखेंगे कि अगर मुक़ाबला किया जाय उस वक़्त के हिन्दुस्तान का और यूरोप के मुल्कों का या और दुनिया के मुल्कों का तो कोई ख़ास फ़रक़ आप नहीं पायें, बल्कि अगर कोई फ़रक़ हो तो

109. On 10 October 1959.

110. On 12 September 1959.



ऐसा हो कि कुछ हिन्दुस्तान के हक में हो। कुछ हमारे यहाँ कारोबार अच्छा था, हमारे यहाँ कारखाने थे, आजकल की बड़ी मशीनें नहीं, लेकिन फिर भी बड़े कारखाने में, तरह-तरह का सामान पैदा होता था यहाँ, और हिन्दुस्तान और मुल्कों के मुकाबले में एक दौलतमन्द मुल्क गिना जाता था। असल में दौलतमन्द तो बहुत नहीं था, उस ज़माने में कोई मुल्क भी दौलतमन्द नहीं था, आम लोगों के लिहाज़ से, आम लोग ग़रीब थे उस वक़्त भी और उसके पहले भी। लेकिन और मुल्कों के मुकाबले में एक धनी देश गिना जाता था। इसीलिए अंग्रेज़ और फ्रेंच और पोर्चुगीज़ और कौन-कौन यहाँ आये। दो सौ बरस हुए? डेढ़ सौ बरस पीछे आप देखें, तब भी कोई फ़रक़ बहुत नहीं था। लेकिन फ़रक़ शुरू हो गया था, और तेज़ी से उसने यूरोप के मुल्कों को बदला। क्यों? क्या चीज़ नयी आयी यूरोप में जिसने यूरोप को बदला? साइन्स आयी, टेक्नालोजी आयी, विज्ञान और उसकी औलाद आये, जो नयी-नयी चीज़ें निकलती हैं दा हाता था यहा, आर हिन्दुस्तान आर मुल्का क मुकाबल म एक दौलतमन्द मुल्क ता था। असल में दौलतमन्द तो बहुत नहीं था, उस ज़माने में कोई मुल्क भी दौलतमन्द आम लोगों के लिहाज़ से, आम लोग ग़रीब थे उस वक़्त भी और उसके पहले भी। और मुल्कों के मुकाबले में एक धनी देश गिना जाता था। इसीलिए अंग्रेज़ और फ्रेंच गीज़ और कौन-कौन यहाँ आये। दो सौ बरस हुए? डेढ़ सौ बरस पीछे आप देखें, तब फ़रक़ बहुत नहीं था। लेकिन फ़रक़ शुरू हो गया था, और तेज़ी से उसने यूरोप के को बदला। क्यों? क्या चीज़ नयी आयी यूरोप में जिसने यूरोप को बदला? साइन्स टेक्नालोजी आयी, विज्ञान और उसकी औलाद आये, जो नयी-नयी चीज़ें निकलती हैं के ज़रिये से यूरोप के लोगों ने और सब मे पहले अंग्रेज़ों ने फिर बाद में जर्मन, फ्रेंच, वगैरह सभी ने उस साइन्स से फ़ायदा उठा कर जो नयी-नयी ताक़तें, शक्तियाँ उनके आयी थीं, उसको काम में लाये वो। उसी शक्ति से, चाहे वो स्टीम की हो, भाप की चले, समुन्दर के जहाज़ चले, एक नयी ताक़त आ गयी न? उसी शक्ति से कारखाने शक्ति से लोहा निकाल के उन्होंने लोहे का इस्तेमाल बहुत किया और यूरोप के मुल्क ततवर मुल्क हो गये। ताक़तवर हुए और धनी होने लगे, क्योंकि उन्होंने इन नयी नयी दौलत पैदा की, ज़मीन से, कारखानों से और उन्होंने यूरोप और एशिया और के देशों पर हमले किये और उनको क़ाबू में ले आये अपने, अपने मातहत कर लिया ये बात थी।

करें आप कि कितना बड़ा फ़रक़ हुआ। अगर कोई डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए, या सौ बरस गो, सौ बरस से ज़रा ज़्यादा कोई आदमी सफ़र करता था तो कैसे करता था? वो घोड़े गाड़ी पर करें, घोड़े की गाड़ी पर करें और कैसे करें, या पैदल करें? इससे तेज़ सफ़र था। अगर आप हज़ार बरस जाइए पहले, दो हज़ार बरस जाइए, ढाई हज़ार बरस शोक के वक़्त में, गौतम बुद्ध के वक़्त में, तो सफ़र ऐसे ही होता था न? गाड़ी से घोड़े से, रथ से, और उता ही वक़्त लेता था। अगर आप कोई ख़बर भेजना चाहें तो इससे तेज़ नहीं भेज सकते और सौ बरस हुए तब भी वही बात थी। यानी दुनिया हज़ार बरस में कोई बहुत फ़रक़ नहीं हुआ। फ़रक़ तो हुआ था, लेकिन लोगों के न में, चलने में, सफ़र में, ख़बर भेजने में कोई फ़रक़ नहीं हुआ, उतना ही समय लगता एक नयी चीज़ आयी, यानी साइन्स तो पहले भी थी, लेकिन साइन्स के ज़रिये से

सामान प  
गिना जा  
नहीं था,  
लेकिन उ  
और पोच  
भी कोई  
मुल्कों क  
आयी, टे  
और उस  
अमेरिक  
हाथ में  
हो, रेल  
चले, उस  
एक ता  
ताक़तों  
अफ्रीका  
उन्होंने।

गौर  
हुए सम  
पर करें,  
नहीं होत  
[...], अ  
होता था  
किसी को  
में इस व  
रहन-सह  
था। फिर

के हाथ में ये नयी ताक़त बिजली की और स्टीम की तब आप सौ आदमी का काम करें, क्या आप हजार आदमी का काम करें तो आपकी ताक़त बढ़ गयी न? इस तरह से ये फ़रक़ होने लगा यूरोप के मुल्कों में और एशिया के मुल्कों में। हम पिछड़ने लगे, क्योंकि साइन्स की पहुँच हमारे मुल्क में ठीक-ठीक नहीं हुई। और बाद में जब अंग्रेज़ी हुकूमत यहाँ हुई तो उन्होंने भी बहुत पसन्द इस को नहीं किया। हाँ, थोड़ा बहुत स्कूल-कॉलेज में हल्के-हल्के पढ़ाई, थोड़ी, वो तो बचपन की साइन्स थी, असली ऊँचे दर्जे की तो नहीं थी साइन्स, टेक्नॉलोजी नहीं और बहुत कम लोग बढ़ते थे। तो फिर आप देखें कि पिछले सौ बरस, सवा सौ बरस में एकदम से फ़रक़ पड़ने लगा, यूरोप के कुछ मुल्कों में और एशिया के मुल्कों में। उनकी ताक़त बढ़ती गयी, उनकी दौलत बढ़ती गयी, उनके मुल्क में, उनका रहन-सहन बदल गया, और हमारे मुल्क और ग़रीब होते गये। फ़रक़ बढ़ता गया। ये सब सौ-सवा सौ बरस की बात है। तो...और ये सब बढ़ा अगर आप देखें तो इसी तरह से कि एक साइन्स-टेक्नॉलोजी-मशीन वगैरह के ज़रिये से। उन्होंने बढ़ाया और जो सिलसिला बढ़ाने का चलता जाता है, अब भी चला जाता है। अब एक नयी ताक़त उनके हाथ में आयी है — ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी की, बड़ी ज़बरदस्त ताक़त, अभी तक उसका पूरा इस्तेमाल नहीं हुआ। हाँ, जापान में हिरोशिमा में, नागासाकी में बम फेंके गये, लाखों आदमी मरे, और और भी बढ़ती जाती है। लेकिन अभी तक उसका पूरा इस्तेमाल नहीं हुआ। तो यक़ीनन दस-बीस बरस में आप देखेंगे कि एक नयी दुनिया पैदा होगी, उसमें ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी ज़ोरों से चलेगी, और जिन देशों में वो काम में लायी जाती है, वो देश आगे बढ़ेंगे, क्योंकि नयी ताक़त है।

मैं चाहता हूँ आप समझें कि देश कैसे बढ़ते हैं, कैसे धनी होते हैं, कैसे उनकी ताक़त बढ़ती है। खाली रेज़ोल्यूशन कर देने से नहीं होता, खाली एक गुस्सा दिखाने से नहीं होता, या हम एक जुलूस निकालें, डिमॉन्स्ट्रेशन करें, उससे देश की ताक़त नहीं बढ़ती। कभी-कभी आप जोश में डिमॉन्स्ट्रेशन करें, अच्छा है, करें आप, लेकिन असली ताक़त नहीं होती। और अगर आप डिमॉन्स्ट्रेशन हैदराबाद में या दिल्ली में करें तो आप एक-दूसरे पर असर डालें, मुझ पर डालें, आप और देशों पर तो नहीं डालेंगे। उन पर क्या असर हो, आपके डिमॉन्स्ट्रेशन का? असल ताक़त तो दूसरे देश की है, उस पर हम कैसे असर डालें? यहाँ जुलूस निकाल के और एक रेज़ोल्यूशन पास करके डिमॉन्स्ट्रेशन करके।

तो अगर इस तरह से यूरोप के मुल्क ताक़तवर हुए तब हमारे सामने सवाल है हम कैसे ताक़तवर हों, कैसे खुशहाल हों, कैसे इस मुल्क की ग़रीबी दूर करें? क्योंकि यूरोप के मुल्कों में, खासकर पश्चिमी यूरोप के मुल्कों में कहा जा सकता है कि ग़रीबी नहीं है। अब कहीं थोड़ा इधर-उधर हो, और बात है। लेकिन ग़रीबी को उन्होंने ख़त्म कर दिया। और ये भी कहा जा सकता है कि रोज़गार भी क़रीब-क़रीब हरेक को मिलता है, इतफ़ाक़ से अनएम्प्लॉयमेंट हो जाय, बेरोज़गारी, लेकिन आम तौर से मिलता है। हम भी यही चाहते हैं कि हमारी हालत खुशहाल हो, सब लोगों को काम मिले, इस मुल्क से ग़रीबी दूर हो। ये सब बातें हम चाहते हैं। और भी बातें चाहते हैं। तो कैसे करें? ज़ाहिर है कि हम तभी कर सकते हैं जब हम उन



बातों से फ़ायदा उठायें जिनसे यूरोप ने फ़ायदा उठाया, यानी साइन्स, टेक्नॉलोजी वगैरह, वगैरह; और कोई ज़रिया नहीं है। यानी हम भी नेचर की ताक़तों को हम अपने काम में लायें, यानी हम, दूसरे माने में कहा जाय, अपने मुल्क में इन ताक़तों को ला कर इण्डस्ट्रीज़ उद्योगशाले, वगैरह शुरू करें, साइन्स की तरक्की करें, इण्डस्ट्रीज़ की तरक्की करें, जिससे हम ज़्यादा दौलत पैदा कर सकें।

दौलत क्या चीज़ है ? धन क्या चीज़ है ? रुपया-पैसा ? आप तनखाह पायें, मज़दूरी पायें, वो तो एक दिखाने की चीज़ है, व्यापार की चीज़ है, लेन-देन की चीज़ है। असली दौलत तो नहीं है वो। कोई आदमी सोना-चाँदी खा कर नहीं रह सकता, अगर और कुछ न हो। सोना-चाँदी से वो नहीं रह सकता है। वो मर जायेगा, अगर उसे खाना न मिले। असल दौलत होती है सामान, जो पैदा किया जाता है आपके इस्तेमाल के लिए, आपके यूज़ के लिए, चाहे वो...सब में पहली चीज़ तो ज़मीन से खाने का सामान पैदा होता है, खेती से, ऐग्रिकल्चर से, उससे पैदा होता है। वो देश का धन है। ज़मीन से कोई पैदा करता है, किसी दूसरे की जेब से नहीं ले लेता है, वो अपनी मेहनत से परिश्रम से ज़मीन से पैदा करता है, वो धन है। जितना ज़्यादा आप ज़मीन से पैदा करें, उतना ही देश का धन है, आपका है, इसी तरह से जितना ज़्यादा आप कोई और चीज़ पैदा करें, कारखाने से, बड़ा कारखाना या छोटा कारखाना या घरेलू धन्धा या ग्रामोद्योग, वो सब नयी चीज़ें हैं, देश का धन है। तो जितना ज़्यादा देश धन पैदा करेगा, उतना ही वो खर्च कर सकता है, ज़ाहिर है। कोई धन और रुपये-पैसे नोट वगैरह निकालते हैं, वो तो उतने ही निकल सकते हैं देश में, लेन-देन, व्यापार के लिए, जितना कि धन देश पैदा करता है। ये तो है नहीं कि हम कागज़ के नोट छापते जायें, जितना चाहे छापते जायें, और हरेक के पास हो जाय रुपया, क्योंकि अगर उसके पीछे सामान नहीं है तो नोट की हैसियत कुछ नहीं रही। इसलिए असली दौलत पैदा करना है, सामान पैदा करना है, हर क्रिस्म की पैदावार बड़े ज़मीन से और कारखाने से, बड़े कारखाने, छोटे कारखाने, ग्रामोद्योग — सब तरह से; कारीगरी जो भी कुछ हो, जो नयी चीज़ देश में निकले। यूरोप और अमेरिका में साइन्स और मशीन के ज़रिये से बहुत चीज़ें वो बनाते हैं, वो उनका धन हो जाता है। उसकी एवज़ में फिर रुपया, डॉलर, पाउण्ड वगैरह आ जाता है, लेकिन चीज़ तो असली पैदा हुई ज़मीन से, और कारखाने से, तभी तो उनके डॉलर की हैसियत बढ़ गयी या पाउण्ड की।

तो इसलिए हमारे सामने सवाल आ जाता है, ग़रीबी दूर करने का सवाल। कैसे ग़रीबी दूर करें कि जो हमारे लोगों के लिए ज़रूरी चीज़ें हैं, सामान हैं, उसको हम पैदा करें, ज़्यादा-से-ज़्यादा ज़मीन से पैदा करें, ग़ल्ला, अन्न, वगैरह और सामान ऐग्रिकल्चर का और कारखाने बनायें, बड़े कारखाने, छोटे, हर क्रिस्म के तो उसमें दो-तीन बातें होती हैं — एक तो लोग लगते हैं, लोगों को काम मिलता है, रोज़गार मिलता है और दूसरे धन पैदा होता है और इस तरह से हैसियत मुल्क की बढ़ती जाती है। हम-आप सुनते हैं कि हम पंचवर्षीय योजना और फ़ाइव इयर प्लैन वगैरह बनाते हैं। क्या, माने क्या हैं इसके ? प्लैनिंग कमीशन हमारा है। आप दिल्ली केन्द्रीय गवर्नमेंट या यहाँ आन्ध्र की सरकार उसके सामने क्या काम है ? ये तो काम उसका नहीं है

महज़ कि इसको नौकर रखो, इसको न रखो, इसकी अदला-बदली करो। ये तो एक फ़िज़ूल ऊपर की चीज़ है। असली काम उसका ये है कि किस तरह से हम अपने देश की, या प्रदेश की, ज़्यादा-से-ज़्यादा दौलत पैदा करें, जिससे लोगों की हालत अच्छी हो। कैसे पैदा करें? ये सवाल आ जाता है। इसी में प्लैनिंग हो जाता है, क्योंकि हमारे पास इस वक़्त दौलत इतनी तो है नहीं कि जो चाहें हम, कर दें। अगर होती तो हम ग़रीब न होते। नहीं है हमारे पास। हमें इसको बढ़ाना है। तो जो हमारे पास थोड़ा-बहुत धन है, उसका हम अच्छे-से-अच्छा इस्तेमाल, प्रयोग, कैसे करें, जिससे लाभ हो, जिससे हमारी शक्ति और पैदा करने की बढ़े, ये सवाल हो जाता है। एक आप मकान बनाते हैं तो आप पहले उसकी बुनियाद मज़बूत करते हैं, फिर और ऊपर के हिस्से बनाते हैं, दो मंज़िला, तीन मंज़िला और चौथी मंज़िल, बुनियाद मज़बूत होनी चाहिए। तो अगर आप नये भारत का मकान बनाना चाहते हैं तो उसकी बुनियाद मज़बूत बनायें। बुनियाद कैसे मज़बूत हो? मैंने आपसे कहा कि हम पिछड़ गये हैं साइन्स वगैरह में, मामूली पढ़ने-लिखने में भी पिछड़ गये हैं और मुल्कों के मुक़ाबले में। तो हमें इस बात को पूरा करना है और यहाँ इन चीज़ों को सिखाने का इन्तज़ाम करना है। एक माने में पहली बात तो हो जाती है पढ़ाई-लिखाई। क्योंकि पढ़े-लिखे आदमी ये कर सकते हैं। आप स्कूल-कॉलेज जाते हैं, और हो सकता है आप शायद इम्तहान पास हो जाते हों। इम्तहान पास करना आप बड़ी बात समझते हों, ठीक है। इम्तहान एक तरह की निशानी होती है, आपने क्या सीखा? लेकिन असल बात इम्तहान पास करना नहीं है, असल बात ये है कि आपने नये काम करने कितने सीखे। ये आप समझें कि [...] इम्तहान पास करके आपको नौकरी मिल जायेगी, रोज़ी मिल जायेगी, वो तो निकम्मी बात है। हाँ, नौकरी मिले, मिले, लेकिन असल बात ये है कि हमारे मुल्क में कितने ऐसे लोग तैयार होते हैं, सीखते हैं, ट्रेण्ड होते हैं जो नये-नये काम हिन्दुस्तान में कर सकें। अब चाहे नौकरी करें, चाहे कुछ करें, चाहे कारख़ाने में जायें, चाहे खेती करें, वो और बात है। तो ज़रा देखिए न ये खयाल, मेरे पास लोग आते हैं नौकरी के लिए, और मैं नौकरी कहाँ से दूँ? अजीब बात है तो ये है कि हमारे वहाँ दिल्ली में मुझे बारह-तेरह बरस हो गये काम करते, वहाँ की सरकार के साथ। आपको ताज़्जुब होगा कि मैंने बज़ाते खुद एक चपरासी तक को नहीं रखा है अब तक। क्योंकि वहाँ तो एक दस्तूर है, जिसको रखना हो वो यूनिन पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन या कोई इधर कमेटी, उधर कमेटी वो चुनते हैं, मैं तो नहीं चुनता। हाँ, मैं आपको बता दूँ, मेरा हाथ आ जाता है चुनने में कुछ, वो आता है एक तो गवर्नर के चुनने में, दूसरे हमारे और मुल्कों में सफ़ीर जाते हैं, राजदूत, एम्बैसेडर — उनके चुनने में। लेकिन उनके चुनने में भी, सफ़ीर के भी, थोड़ा-सा ही आता है, क्योंकि वो तो वो भी एक फ़ॉरेन सर्विस है, उसी में से चुनने पड़ते हैं। तो मैं इतने ऊँचे औहदे पर हूँ, प्राइम मिनिस्टर हूँ, लेकिन मैं एक चपरासी को नहीं रख सकता, क़ायदे से। और मैं चाहता नहीं कि क़ायदा तोड़ कर या सिफ़ारिश करके, वो मुझे पसन्द नहीं। तो लोगों को बहुत ताज़्जुब होता है, आते हैं मेरे पास। लेकिन ठीक बात ये नहीं है कि अक्सर जो क़ायदे में होता है अच्छा आदमी, नहीं रखा जाता, वो लाचारी है। लेकिन क़ायदे से अच्छे हैं कि पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन के ज़रिये से खे



जायें या और कमेटी है वो चुने वगैरा, नहीं तो बहुत ज्यादा उसमें सिफारिश वगैरह चल जाती है। लेकिन ये नौकर-चाकर रखने में सरकारी नौकरी में कितने लोग हैं, बहुत हैं, लाखों हैं माना मैंने, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी तो चालीस करोड़ की है, वो सब लोग दिल्ली और हैदराबाद में नौकरी तो नहीं कर सकते। सवाल तो ये है कि चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को उठाना है और ये नामुमकिन है कि सारी आबादी सरकारी नौकरी करे, नामुमकिन बात है। लेकिन काम उनको चाहिए, काम जिससे वो पैदा कर सकें, कुछ-न-कुछ, तो इसलिए बुनियादी बात हो जाती है मुल्क के बढ़ाने की ये, शिक्षा, तालीम, और ढंग की तालीम, खाली कोई फुटकर इम्तहान पास करने की नहीं, लेकिन तालीम जिससे आपका दिमाग तेज़ हो, आपका जिस्म, शरीर, अच्छा बने, और आपका कैरेक्टर, चरित्र, अच्छा हो, क्योंकि एक मुल्क का अन्दाज़ा होता है आखिर में, उसकी गिनती से नहीं होता है [कि] कितने लोग मुल्क में रहते हैं, देश में, बल्कि होता है कि उस देश में कितने लोग ऊँचे दर्जे के हैं, अपने-अपने फ़न में। सब ढंग के न हों। कोई ऊँचा डॉक्टर हो, कोई ऊँचा इंजीनियर हो, कोई ऊँचा साइण्टिस्ट हो, कोई ऊँचा ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटर हो। अपने फ़न में कितने ऊँचे दर्जे के लोग हैं, उससे मुल्क बढ़ता है। नहीं तो हमारे यहाँ चालीस करोड़ हैं, हम सब में, दुनिया में, ऊँचे मुल्क हो गये होते, लेकिन नहीं हुए न? चालीस करोड़ से तो नहीं होता और चालीस करोड़ एक बोझा हो जाता है हमारे ऊपर। अब कैसे ऊँचे किये जायें? फिर एक तरह की शिक्षा हो जाती है, एजुकेशन और खाली एजुकेशन नहीं, घर में कैसे माँ-बाप अपने बच्चों को पालते हैं, पलता है, वो एक ज़रूरी बातें हैं। क्योंकि छोटे बच्चे याद रखो कि असल में आप स्कूल जाते हों, शायद छै-सात बरस की उम्र में, छोटे बच्चे, लेकिन छै-सात बरस की उम्र के पहले क्या बच्चा सीखता है, वो बड़ी आवश्यक, बड़ी ज़रूरी बात है। उसी से बच्चा ढल जाता है, उसके बाद सीखता है खुद, लेकिन अगर माँ-बाप ने छोटे बच्चे को ठीक नहीं सिखाया तो मुश्किल हो जायेगी बाद में बच्चे को। ये सब बातें हैं जिससे आदमी बने। आखिर में, देश में और सब बातें दूसरी हैं, अब्बल बात ये है कि कैसे अच्छे आदमी-औरत बनते हैं, साइण्टिस्ट होते हैं, डॉक्टर होते हैं, इंजीनियर होते हैं, ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटर होते हैं, जितनी हज़ारों चीज़ें दुनिया में काम की हैं, वो सब करते हैं और जितने अच्छे सीखे हुए उतना ही अच्छा काम होगा, देश बढ़ेगा।

अब हमारे अब मुल्क में फ़र्ज़ कर लीजिए कि कोई साइण्टिस्ट अच्छा न हो ऊँचे दर्जे का, तो कितने ही और लायक और लोग हों, साइन्स में हम तरक्की नहीं कर सकते। आपके यहाँ नाचने वाले अच्छे हों, म्यूज़िशियन्स अच्छे हों, आपके यहाँ वकील अच्छे हों, बड़ी खुशी की बात है, लेकिन साइन्स में आप तरक्की नहीं कर सकते अगर ऊँचे दर्जे का साइण्टिस्ट नहीं है और ऊँचे दर्जे के साइण्टिस्ट के माने नहीं हैं कि आप स्कूल-कॉलेज में ज़रा-सी साइन्स सीख ली, वो तो फुटकर, ऊपर की चीज़ है। वो तो बाद में आती है, आपके कॉलेज वगैरह छोड़ कर आप बड़ी तरक्की करें। इस वक़्त अगर हिन्दुस्तान में हमें उम्मीद होती है, हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की की, कई बातें हैं उसमें, लेकिन उसमें एक बात ये है कि हमारे यहाँ काफ़ी अच्छे नवयुवक लोग, नौजवान लोग, अच्छे साइण्टिस्ट हैं और बढ़ते जाते हैं। हज़ारों हैं अच्छे लड़के और लड़कियाँ,

दोनों। और दूसरी बात हमारे यहाँ काफ़ी अच्छे इंजीनियर हैं, इससे आशा होती है और इसी तरह से हमारे यहाँ, दूसरी तरफ़ से आप देखें हमारे नौजवान फ़ौज में, एयर फ़ोर्स में, नेवी में जाते हैं, अच्छे हैं, तगड़े हैं, दिमाग़ उनका दुरस्त है, डिसिपिलिण्ड हैं, सीखे हुए हैं तो इससे मुल्क की ताक़त होती है, चुने हुए लोगों की, चालीस करोड़ से नहीं होती। हाँ, अगर चालीस करोड़ चुने हुए हो जायें तो फिर मुल्क कहीं-से-कहीं पहुँच जाये। तो हमारा काम ये है कि हम मुल्क में लोगों को, जहाँ तक बन पड़े, अव्वल दर्जे का बनायें। सब लोग तो अव्वल दर्जे के नहीं हो सकते एकदम से; एकदम से क्या, एक ज़माने में भी न हों और सब लोगों में क्राबिलियत भी नहीं होती होने की। सब लोग एक-से तो होते नहीं। आप जानते हैं, बाज़ लोग तेज़ होते हैं, बाज़ लोग निहायत बेवकूफ़ होते हैं। अब बिलकुल बेवकूफ़ को आप पढ़ा कर भी अक्लमन्द नहीं बना सकते। लेकिन एक बेवकूफ़ को भी कुछ-न-कुछ आप सिखा सकते हैं, उसके दर्जे का। और जो बात नहीं होनी चाहिए मुल्क में, वो ये कि एक होनहार बच्चा है, लड़का है, लड़की है, और उसको मौक़ा नहीं मिलता तरक्की का। ये ग़लत बात है, इसलिए मुल्क में हर एक बच्चे को, लड़के और लड़की को मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए। ये नहीं कि जिसके पास पैसा है, उसको मौक़ा मिलता है, ये ग़लत बात है। हर एक को मिलना चाहिए और इसी का इन्तज़ाम होना चाहिए। इसके माने ये हैं कि अव्वल तो ये कि मुल्क में हर बच्चे की पढ़ाई का इन्तज़ाम हो, शासन की तरफ़ से, गवर्नमेंट की तरफ़ से। पहले तो ये है कि प्राइमरी एजुकेशन का इन्तज़ाम हो, प्राथमिक शिक्षा का। याद रखिए, लड़के और लड़की, दोनों को पाँच-छै-सात बरस तक। अभी ये हम कर नहीं सकते, लेकिन ये हमारे सामने है और उसको हम बढ़ाते जायें वक़्त पर। उसके बाद बहुतां को सेकेण्डरी एजुकेशन का इन्तज़ाम हो, लाखों-करोड़ों का। लाखों की बात भी नहीं, उनका इन्तज़ाम हो। और फिर चुने हुए तेज़ लड़के-लड़कियों को ऊपर का इन्तज़ाम हो, स्पेशलिस्ट इन्तज़ाम हो, यूनिवर्सिटी में, टेक्निकल इंस्टीट्यूट्स वगैरह में। इस तरह से हर एक को मौक़ा मिले। एक तो सभी को हो, एक तो बुनियादी तालीम हो सब, हर बच्चे के लिए, दूसरे दर्जे में कुछ चुनना हो, तीसरे दर्जे में और भी चुनना हो। चुनना हो लियाक़त से, चुनना इस तरह से न हो जैसे आजकल होता है, एक तो क्या दो तरह से चुनना आजकल होता है। एक तो ख़ैर, जिसके पास पैसा है, उसके बच्चे पढ़ सकते हैं। दूसरे, आजकल ये, आजकल बहुत रिज़र्वेशन होती है, ये बड़ी ख़तरनाक चीज़ है। साहब इस जाति को लो, इस जाति को लो। ये मैं मानता हूँ कि जो हमारे पिछड़े हुए भाई हैं, उनको हमें मौक़ा देना चाहिए, पूरा मौक़ा देना चाहिए, वो उठें, आगे बढ़ें। उनको देना ही है। लेकिन उसकी वजह से अगर ये हो कि जो हमारे तेज़ लड़के-लड़कियाँ हैं, उनको बारी नहीं मिलती तो ग़लत बात हुई न। मुल्क गिर जायेगा आपका। मौक़ा तेज़ लड़के-लड़कियों को हमेशा मिलना है, चाहे उसकी कोई जाति हो, उसका कोई पेशा हो या न हो, क्योंकि वो ही मुल्क का खम्भा है। आगे बढ़ के वो ही क्वालिटी देगा, उनको हैसियत देगा।

तो, जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा कि पढ़ाई पहली चीज़ है। बड़ी खुशी की बात है। करो भाई। कैसे करें? ये करोड़ों आदमियों को पढ़ाना। इसका इन्तज़ाम कैसे हम करें? न तो हमारे पास



पैसा है, न पढ़ाने वाले हैं। करोड़ों आदमियों को पढ़ाने के लिए, करोड़ों पढ़ाने वाले चाहिए, ज़ाहिर है। इस वक़्त मैंने...आज ही हुमायूँ कबीर साहब कह रहे थे वहाँ बारांगल में और वो कह रहे थे, मैं समझता हूँ सही कहते होंगे, कि तीन करोड़ बच्चे आजकल प्राइमरी स्कूल में हमारे देश में पढ़ रहे हैं। और शायद एक करोड़ और ऊपर के स्कूलों में, कॉलेज में, यूनिवर्सिटी में सब मिला के, यानी चार करोड़ लड़के-लड़कियाँ पढ़ रहे हैं, या पढ़ा रहे हैं, दोनों मिला के।<sup>111</sup> काफ़ी नम्बर है चार करोड़ का। चालीस मिलियन। यानी बहुत सारे दुनिया में मुल्क हैं जिनकी आबादी चालीस मिलियन की नहीं है। और इतने लोग पढ़ रहे हैं, इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ आप से कि ये जो हम अक्सर देखते, कहते हैं कि तुम्हारे मुल्क में कितने लोग क्या परसेंट है पढ़ाई का, लिटरेसी का, तो वो कुछ कम है। जितना होना चाहिए, उससे कम है। तो वो कहते हैं, वाह साहब, आप के यहाँ सिर्फ़...आजकल तो नहीं पहले...सिर्फ़ अट्ठारह परसेंट हैं लिटरेसी, या बीस परसेंट है, ये तो बहुत कम है। बात ठीक है। आजकल मैंने सुना है कि चालीस परसेंट हो गया है। काफ़ी तरक्की हुई है और बढ़ती जाती है तेज़ी से लिटरेसी। लेकिन वो चालीस परसेंट को आप समझ लीजिए कितनी आबादी हो जाती है। चालीस परसेंट वो चार सौ मिलियन में मालूम नहीं कितने चालीस परसेंट होता है सौ मिलियन कि अट्ठारह करोड़ हो गया या क्या। तो नम्बर में काफ़ी हो जाते हैं। और इसीलिए क्योंकि काफ़ी तादाद में लोग पढ़े-लिखे हुए हो गये, इसलिए मुल्क में एक जान है, मुल्क में तरक्की हो रही है। ये नहीं कहता कि इस वक़्त जो लोग क़लम-दवात ले कर अपना नाम लिख सकते हैं, बड़े लायक हो जाते हैं। ये तो महज़ एक पहला क़दम है। लेकिन उसमें काफ़ी लोग और भी अच्छे पढ़ रहे हैं। अब तीन करोड़ बच्चे आजकल प्राइमरी स्कूल में जाते हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि तीसरी, तीसरी ये पंचवर्षीय योजना के आखिर तक ये तीन करोड़ से सात करोड़ हो जायें, छै-सात करोड़ हो जायें, दुगने से ज़्यादा हो जायें। और अगर उसमें मिला लीजिए सेकेण्डरी एजुकेशन और यूनिवर्सिटी एजुकेशन और स्पेशल इंस्टीट्यूट्स, टेक्निकल इंस्टीट्यूट्स, वगैरह, तो ग़ालिबन मैं समझता हूँ कि उस वक़्त तक भी वो सात-आठ करोड़ के बीच में हो जायेंगे, इन सात-आठ बरस के अन्दर और अगर आप उसमें और भी बढ़ाइए जो हम करना चाहते हैं, क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं कि ये तालीम हर बच्चे की ग्यारह-बारह बरस तक न हो, बल्कि पन्द्रह बरस तक हो तब वो दस करोड़ हो जाता है। एकदम से नहीं हो सकता शायद, उसमें दस बरस लगें, हो सकता है, बारह बरस लगें, मैं नहीं जानता। दस करोड़ पढ़ने वाले और पढ़ाने वाले, अब उसके देखिए क्या माने हैं? दस करोड़ के पढ़ाने वाले भी करोड़ हो जायें, सब मिला के। क़रीब-क़रीब। और अगर करोड़ हो जाते हैं तो कितने जो लोग हमारे कॉलेज से निकलते हैं पढ़ के, कितने लोग हमारे स्कूल के, कॉलेज के, टीचर्स, प्रोफ़ेसर्स हो जाते हैं। क़रीब करोड़ यानी एम्प्लॉयमेंट के लिहाज़

111. Humayun Kabir, the Union Minister for Scientific Affairs, said this while he laid the foundation stone of the auditorium of the Andhra Saraswath Parishad, an organisation promoting Telugu.

से मैं आपको कहता हूँ कि कितना एक दरवाज़ा खुल जाता है जो जो पढ़ाई फैलती है तो कितने लोग पढ़ाई में लग जाते हैं ऊँचे दर्जे के लोग। एक तो ये होता है।

दूसरा ये कि इतने दस करोड़ पढ़ने वाले लोग, बहुत ज़रूरी काम कर रहे हैं। लेकिन उन पर खर्चा होता है? मुल्क का खर्चा होता है उस पर। वो उस उम्र में कुछ पैदा नहीं करते। कुछ कर सकते हैं मैंने माना और करना चाहिए, कुछ हमारी बुनियादी तालीम में कुछ-न-कुछ पैदा करना चाहिए। लेकिन फिर भी दस करोड़ को पढ़ाने का बोझा ज़बरदस्त है। कौन लोग कहाँ से आयें। जब हो तो हो सकता है न कि जब [...] मुल्क में इतनी दौलत कमायी जाय कि उसमें से बचे। और उसको हम लगा सकें, खर्च सकें, इस बात के ऊपर। अब इस वक़्त हम क्यों नहीं पढ़ाई एकदम से हिन्दुस्तान में हरेक की कर देते। दो बातें हैं। एक तो ये साफ़ बात है कि हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है। दूसरी बात ये है कि हमारे पास पढ़ाने वाले भी नहीं हैं। दोनों बातें ज़रूरी हैं। वो बढ़ते जाते हैं और पिछले पाँच-सात-दस बरस में काफ़ी तेज़ी से पढ़ाई हमारे मुल्क में बढ़ी है, बहुत तेज़ी से। और कहा जाता है कि और मुल्कों में चाहे वो अमेरिका क्यों न हो और चाहे वो रूस क्यों न हो? आजकल का नहीं कहता, लेकिन ज़रा पहले ज़माने में इस तेज़ी से वहाँ नहीं थी। खैर, तो मैं आपको बता रहा हूँ कि आखिर में पढ़ाई को बढ़ाने के लिए भी हमारे लिए ये ज़रूरी हो जाता है कि हम अपने यहाँ इण्डस्ट्री वगैरह बढ़ायें, जिससे दौलत पैदा हो, जिससे हम पढ़ाई करें। तो घूम के वहीं आ गये आप।

तो ये सब पेंच हैं जिसमें प्लैनिंग करनी पड़ती है। और इस प्लैनिंग में हमें आजकल की दुनिया को समझना है, आजकल की साइन्स को, आजकल की दुनिया की शक्ति को, पावर्स को, ताक़तों को, दुनिया में जिसकी मामूली निशानी तो यही है जो आप देखते हैं स्टीम है, बिजली है, वगैरह, ये सब ताक़तें हैं जिनको काम में लायें, समझें, लेकिन और बड़ी लीजिए तो ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी है और बीच में भी बहुत है और रोज़-ब-रोज़ दुनिया को नहीं समझें, तो हम पिछड़ जाते हैं। हम क्यों गुलाम हो गये? इसलिए कि यूरोप में साइन्स और टेक्नॉलोजी और इण्डस्ट्री बढ़ी, साइन्स। हम यहाँ अपने ग़रूर में बैठे रहे कि हम तो बड़े पढ़े-लिखे लोग हैं, ऊँचे दर्जे के हैं, और हमें कुछ और सीखना नहीं है। दुनिया बढ़ गयी और हम वहीं-के-वहीं रहे। और दुनिया में हिम्मत हुई वहाँ से, वहाँ से इंग्लैण्ड से और कहाँ-कहाँ से लोग दस हज़ार, बीस हज़ार मील समुन्दर का सफ़र करके हिन्दुस्तान पहुँचते हैं। हिम्मत थी उनमें, दम था। और हम क्या पोर्चुगीज़ आये। अब, हम कहते हैं कि अंग्रेज़ों ने ज़ुल्म किया, हम कहते हैं और ठीक कहते हैं कि पोर्चुगीज़ ने ज़ुल्म किया हिन्दुस्तान पर। अब तक वो कोने में बैठे हुए हैं। जाना पड़ेगा उन्हें (तालियाँ) लेकिन, ये आप पहलू देख लें कि ज़ुल्म हो, ज़ालिम हो, जो कुछ हो, हिम्मत उन्होंने दिखायी कि अपने छोटे-से मुल्क को छोड़ कर, ऐसे ज़माने में जब लोग जानते भी नहीं थे दुनिया का नक्शा, वो हज़ारों-सैकड़ों [मील] समुन्दर पास करके हमारे यहाँ आये। एक दम की बात थी, हिम्मत की बात थी, खतरे का सामना करना। जिस क्रौम में हिम्मत होती है, और खतरे से भय से डरते नहीं, वो आगे बढ़ते हैं। हमारी क्रौम को आप देखें। आज नहीं, कल नहीं, बल्कि ज़रा और पीछे जाइए, दो हज़ार बरस हुए जाइए, ढाई हज़ार बरस जाइए या



डेढ़ हज़ार बरस जाइए। क्या आप पाते हैं? कि हमारे लोग हिन्दुस्तान छोड़ कर दूर-दूर जाते थे, ख़तरे का सामना करके। सारा आपका ये साउथ ईस्ट एशिया है— इण्डोनेशिया, बर्मा, इण्डो-चाइना, ये, मलाया वगैरह, ये सब दूर-दूर के मुल्क, आप इस समय वहाँ जायें तो आप वहाँ भारत की निशानी पायेंगे, भारत की कला, भारत की भाषा, यानी संस्कृति, भारत के नाच-गाने। ऐसा सिक्का डेढ़ हज़ार बरस हुए भारत ने जमाया है इन देशों पर कि अब तक दिखता है। इसके माने क्या हैं? ये कि उस वक़्त हमारे देश के रहने वालों में दम था, हिम्मत थी, डरते नहीं थे, समुन्दर पार करके जाते थे। बहुत बँधे हुए नहीं थे, ये जाति भेद से और कास्ट-सिस्टम से। इसने तबाह किया हमारे देश को। और गये, वहाँ बसे, और वहाँ, उधर मंगोलिया आप जाइए, कितनी दूर है मंगोलिया। वहाँ भी आप भारत की निशानी पायेंगे। वहाँ के वो, मंगोलिया का जो झण्डा है देश का, पुराना झण्डा है, अब [...] कुछ बढ़ा दिया है उन्होंने, जहाँ तक मुझे याद है उस झण्डे का नाम है स्वयंभू। इस समय स्वयंभू कहते हैं। जो मंगोलिया के राष्ट्रपति हैं, उनका नाम है शम्भू।<sup>112</sup> अब आप देखें तो ये पुराने, आज की बात नहीं है, हज़ार-डेढ़ हज़ार बरस की बात है, लोग पहुँचते थे वहाँ। उनका असर अब तक है। ये नहीं कि वो भारत ऐसा था, एक जीवित जागृत लोग यहाँ थे। जो डरते नहीं थे। जो दूर-दूर जाते थे। जो आपस में भेद नहीं करते थे और अपनी कला में अपनी विद्या, इल्म, ले जाते थे वहाँ, और अब भी जो भारत की कलाओं के सब में प्रसिद्ध, शायद सब में मशहूर, इमारत है, [...] उसको आप देखना चाहते हैं तो आप जाओ इण्डोनेशिया, जावा आप जायें, वहाँ कम्बोज — कम्बोडिया — हाँगकाँग, वहाँ आप देखें कि भारत के कलाकारों ने कैसा बनाया; दूर-दूर जाओ।

अच्छा, फिर समय आया हमारे देश में हमारे देश के पतन का, गिरने का। जब कुछ हमारी हिम्मत कम होने लगी। हम आपस में अलग-अलग टुकड़े हो गये, अलग-अलग जातियाँ हो गयीं, अलग-अलग, कोई आपस में, इसके साथ विवाह कर सकते हो, इसके साथ नहीं कर सकते हो, इसके साथ खाना खाओ, उसके साथ नहीं खाओ। इसे न छुओ, उसको छुओ। और देश को छोड़ना एक पाप हो गया। देश को छोड़ के जायें तो कहा जाता था ये धर्महीन हो गया। आ के प्रायश्चित्त करें, क्या-क्या करें। आप देखिए न, कैसे हमारा देश पलटा। एक देश जो दुनिया को देखता था, दुनिया से डरता नहीं था, एक देश, कुएँ में, कुएँ की तरह से अपनी बिरादरी में रह के, न इसको छुओ, न इसको देखो, न इससे मिलो, न इससे विवाह करो। बस, सारा विचार इसी में शामिल कि एकदम निकला जाता था, क्या खायें और किस से विवाह करें? दुनिया का और काम ही नहीं रहा। सारी दुनिया से डरें, बाहर क्या जाना। और देश गिरे नहीं तो क्या हो? गिरा हमारा देश, गुलाम हुआ। चाहे कितने ही करोड़ उसकी गिनती हो, उसमें

112. Nehru is relating the name of the national flag of Mongolia, Soyombo, to the Sanskrit Swayambhu, meaning created out of oneself; likewise, the name of the President of Mongolia, Jamsrangiin Sambuu, to Shambhu. See also SWJN/SS/42/p. 28.

जान नहीं रही, या आजकल हो गयी। और उन लोगों में जान थी और हज़ारों मील आये। फिर अब हमें मौक़ा मिला, फिर से हमारी जान बढ़ गयी है देश में तो कैसे हम लाभ उठायें इससे, कैसे हम फ़ायदा उठायें? कैसे फिर से जीवित जागृत देश करें? और कैसे हम सबक़ सीखें इस पिछले हज़ारों बरस का, डेढ़ हज़ार बरस के इतिहास से हमारे। हमारे इतिहास में महापुरुष कितने हुए, वीर पुरुष हुए, बहादुर आदमी हुए, आदमी हुए, लेकिन हमारा इतिहास ये भी दिखाता है ख़क़ि, हम में आपस में फूट बहुत रही, एक-दूसरे से लड़ें और राजा लोग लड़ें या कोई लड़े। और अब भी आप देखें कि कितनी जल्द हमारे वहाँ फूट हो जाती है, किसी नाम पर, कभी तो धर्म, मज़हब के नाम पर, हिन्दू-मुसलमान-सिख — सब झगड़ा करें या प्रान्त-प्रदेश के नाम पर, भाषा के नाम पर या जाति के नाम पर, जो कुछ भी हो। तो ये दो बातें निकल आती हैं जिससे हमारे भारत की एकता कमज़ोर हो जाती है, इतिहास कम हो जाता है, ताक़त नहीं रहती है, और हमारी ताक़तें एक-दूसरे के मुक़ाबले में लग जाती हैं। तो इन बातों को हमें छोड़ना है। और ये जाति भेद, जिसने हमारे देश को गिराया, कमज़ोर किया, दुर्बल किया। यहाँ जाति भेद है, वो जनतन्त्र से सम्बन्ध नहीं रखता। जब तक जाति भेद पक्की तौर से है, जनतन्त्र हो नहीं सकता पक्का, ये मान लीजिए। ये ऊपर की बातें जनतन्त्र नहीं है कि हम एक समझें हम ऊँच जाति के हैं और दूसरा नीच जाति का है। और बहुत डेमोक्रेसी हम कहें वो फ़िज़ूल बात है। समाजवाद तो और भी आगे है। तो ये बातें हैं जो, ये बातें दुर्बल कर देती हैं, हमें छोड़नी हैं, और इस नयी दुनिया को समझना है। इस नयी दुनिया में थोड़े दिन बाद जाति को तो आप छोड़ दें, ये अलग-अलग देश का रहना भी कठिन हो जा रहा है, क्योंकि दुनिया छोटी होती जा रही है और दुनिया से बाहर लोग जा रहे हैं, या जायेंगे, तो हल्के-हल्के दुनिया की एकता आती है अगर हम पुराने ज़माने में रहेंगे, पुराने दौर में रहेंगे तो हम फिर पिछड़ जायेंगे। तो ये तो बुनियाद है, एकता। दूसरे ये कि इस दुनिया का इल्म हासिल करना और ऐसे नहीं कि नक़ल करना कि अंग्रेज़ी की टेक्स्ट बुक पढ़ ली, केमिस्ट्री और फ़िज़िक्स की या रूसी पढ़ ली, वो नहीं, बल्कि इत्ता हमारे यहाँ साइन्स और टेक्नॉलोजी बढ़े कि हमारे यहाँ खुद नयी बातें निकलें, आगे बढ़ें दुनिया से और लोग उससे सीखें। ये हमें करना है।

और इसके करने के लिए हमें मुल्क में, मैंने कहा पढ़ाई-लिखाई हो ठीक है, लेकिन आखिर में हमारी इण्डस्ट्रियल तरक्क़ी होनी चाहिए, उन्नति। क्योंकि उससे दौलत निकले तब तो हम सब काम कर सकें, सच बात है। असल में बातें सब साथ होती हैं, यानी जो बात यूरोप में हुई थी सौ बरस हुए, डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए शुरू हुई थी, यानी इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन, उसको हिन्दुस्तान में हमें करना है और हम कर रहे हैं, और हो रहा है आजकल। हम इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन ऐसे मौक़े पर कर रहे हैं जब कि दुनिया में एक-दूसरा रेवोल्यूशन आ रहा है — ऐटॉमिक रेवोल्यूशन, क्रान्ति। तो हमें दोनों करने हैं। और वो ज़मी हो सकते हैं, क्योंकि ये चीज़ें कोई गुल मचाने से, हुल्लड़बाज़ी से नहीं होतीं, या प्रस्ताव करने से। ये तो परिश्रम से, पढ़ने से, मेहनत से होती हैं, चाहे आप एक पूँजीवादी देश में रहें अमेरिका की तरह, चाहे साम्यवादी रूस की तरह, दोनों जगह आप कुछ बातें देखेंगे। एक, एक तो लोग बड़ी मेहनत करते हैं,



परिश्रम करते हैं, काम करते हैं; दूसरे ये कि आपस में कितनी बहस करें वो दोनों एक ही बात कर रहे हैं। साइन्स की पूजा कर रहे हैं, टेक्नॉलोजी की खिदमत करते हैं, मशीन की खिदमत करते हैं, बढ़ाते हैं। दोनों में एक बात है तो आप इस...बहकिए नहीं, बहुत समझिए कि बड़ी दुनिया में फ़र्क है। कुछ इधर, कुछ उधर फ़र्क है, इसमें कोई शक नहीं, लेकिन बुनियादी तौर से एक ही तरफ़ देखते हैं, एक ही बात करते हैं। और नयी-नयी दुनिया, साइन्स की दुनिया, मशीन की दुनिया — उसको समझने की कोशिश करते हैं, और इससे बढ़ते हैं।

तो गरज़ कि हमें अपने यहाँ इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन लाना है तेज़ी से। हम ला रहे हैं उसे और काफ़ी तेज़ी से आ रहा है। अब कैसे लायें इसको? अगर आप वहाँ अमरीका इंग्लैण्ड वगैरह को देखें तो वहाँ तो एक सौ-डेढ़ सौ बरस में वो आया था हल्के-हल्के। अब सौ-डेढ़ सौ बरस तक तो हम नहीं ठहर सकते उसके लिए। हमारा मुल्क ख़तम हो जायेगा उस वक़्त, क्योंकि हमारे मुल्क के सामने ग़रीबी तो है, लेकिन उसी के साथ एक और बात है कि जिससे ग़रीबी बढ़ सकती है और वो ये कि हमारी आबादी तेज़ी से बढ़ती जाती है। तो अगर हमारी दौलत उससे भी तेज़ी से ज़्यादा न बढ़े तो ये बढ़ती हुई आबादी और ग़रीब कर देगी देश को। मोटी बात है। अगर आपके यहाँ जितना अन्न पैदा होता है, उता ही रहे, और खाने वाले बढ़ते जायें तो आप ग़रीब होते जायेंगे। कपड़ा उता ही रहे तो आपके पास कपड़ा नहीं होगा। घर उते ही रहे तो आपके पास घर नहीं होगा। लोग बढ़ते जाते हैं, ज़्यादा स्कूल की ज़रूरत, ज़्यादा कॉलेज की ज़रूरत, चारों तरफ़ से है न? तो जब तक लोगों के बढ़ने से कहीं ज़्यादा तेज़ मुल्क न बढ़े, मुल्क की दौलत न बढ़े, मुल्क का प्रोडक्शन नहीं बढ़े, तो ग़रीब होता जायेगा मुल्क, ये मुसीबत है न। तो उसका एक उपाय एक इलाज तो ये है कि कोशिश की जाय कि आबादी का बढ़ना तेज़ी से न हो, रोक-थाम हो। फ़ैमिली प्लैनिंग हो, बर्थ कण्ट्रोल हो। ये बातें कोई हँसी की हैं, न परदे की। ये बातें समझने की हैं, क्योंकि इसको न करने से हमारी मंज़िल और दूर होती जाती है, और हमारी ग़रीबी बढ़ने का अन्देशा है। लेकिन दूसरा जो असली उपाय है वो ये कि हम जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा कि सौ बरस तो हम ठहर नहीं सकते, इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन के लिए। वो करना है जल्दी।

अब बाज़ मुल्कों में कहा जाता है जल्दी किया गया, जैसे रूस में। और इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि जो रूस में हुआ है, वो बहुत बड़ी बातें हुई हैं और आश्चर्यजनक बातें हैं, हुई हैं, और तारीफ़ के क़ाबिल बातें हुई हैं। लेकिन कई बातें उसमें आप याद रखें। अव्वल तो ये कि जो रूस में हुआ, वो बड़ी एक ख़ास हालत में, एक बड़ी लड़ाई हुई थी चालीस बरस हुए [...] उसने रूस को तबाह कर दिया था, टूट गया था रूस, न वहाँ गवर्नमेंट रही, फ़ौज ग़ायब हो गयी। यानी स्लेट साफ़ हो गयी। तो उस वक़्त करना था। दूसरे ये कि जो कुछ रूस ने किया, उसकी क़ीमत, बहुत बड़ी क़ीमत दी है। बहुत बड़ी क़ीमत दी, मुसीबत में, फ़ाक़ेमस्ती में। मुझे बहुत शक है कि आप हिन्दुस्तान के रहने वाले, इतनी ज़बरदस्त क़ीमत देने को तैयार हैं। कोई मुल्क नहीं तैयार होता सिवा इसके कि ज़बरदस्ती ग़ला घोट के किया जाय। कोई भी तैयार नहीं होता। अब रूस ने किया। उनको हक़ था, जैसा मुनासिब समझें करें, लेकिन हमारे क़ाबू के

बाहर बातें है कि हम उस तरह से गला घोट के ये तकलीफ़ करोड़ों को दें। यहाँ गवर्नमेंट नहीं क़ायम रह सकती है, ज़ाहिर है, ऐसे। तीसरे ये कि रूस ने जो कुछ किया, उसको चालीस बरस लगे करने में। आखिर उसके, उसके इनक़लाब को बयालीस बरस हो गये। तो इत्ते-इत्ते ज़ोर लगाने पर भी, सब बातें करने पर भी, चालीस बरस से ऊपर लगे उनको। तो फिर, हमारे यहाँ जाने क्या लोग समझते हैं कि जादू से दस-पन्द्रह बरस में हमारा मुल्क बदल जाय। और इस मुल्क में कुछ ख़ूबियाँ हैं और कुछ मुश्किलें हैं। और मुश्किलें मैंने आप को बतायी आबादी की, बहुत बड़ी आबादी है चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को उठाना। रूस में इसकी आधी से कम आबादी है, और हिन्दुस्तान से तिगुनी ज़मीन है। तो आप देखें कितना फ़र्क़ हो जाता है। जो रेशियो होता है ज़मीन और आदमी का एक मुल्क में वो बहुत एक ज़रूरी चीज़ है। हमारे मुल्क में वो रेशियो, एक बड़ा मुल्क है, लेकिन वो रेशियो ज़मीन और इन्सान का, इन्सान ज़्यादा है, ज़मीन कम है रूस में या अमरीका में ज़मीन ज़्यादा है आदमी कम है, तो फ़ौरन गुंजाइश हो जाती है उनके फैलने की। बोझा नहीं रहता। ये सब बातें हैं, जिससे ज़ाहिर होता है कि हर मुल्क के सवाल अलग-अलग होते हैं। दूसरे मुल्क की नक़ल हम नहीं कर सकते। हम न अमरीका की नक़ल कर सकते हैं, न रूस की। हाँ, हम रूस से सीख सकते हैं और सीखेंगे। सीख रहे हैं। हम अमरीका से सीख सकते हैं, और सीखना चाहिए, वो तो ठीक है। लेकिन जहाँ आँख बन्द करके हमने उनकी नक़ल करनी शुरू की तो बात चलती नहीं है, और उससे हमें काफ़ी फ़ायदा नहीं होगा।

लोग जाते हैं, अमरीका में पढ़ने जाते हैं। अक्सर लोग हमारे इन्जीनियरिंग और ये और वो, तरह-तरह की बातें, और वहाँ से वापस आते हैं तो नाक-भौं चढ़ाते हैं यहाँ। कहते हैं वो मशीन लाओ। यहाँ मशीन नहीं है। वो अमेरिका में मशीन से काम करते थे। ज़ाहिर है, अमरीका में करते हैं, लेकिन उनको काम हिन्दुस्तान में करना है। ये अमरीका नहीं है। परेशान कर देते हैं। हर वक़्त तरह-तरह की पेचीदा मशीनें माँगते हैं। अव्वल तो हमारे पास मशीन नहीं है। हो सकता है दस-बीस बरस बाद हों। लेकिन अलावा इसके, हमारा सवाल दूसरा है। क्योंकि हमारे यहाँ आदमी ज़्यादा हैं, हमें आदमियों से काम भी लेना है। अमरीका में कम आदमी हैं, वो मशीन से भी ले सकते हैं, फ़ायदा होता है। लेकिन हम क्या करें? हम मशीन लगा दें, तो हमारे सौ-हज़ार आदमी घर बैठे रहें, उनको काम न रहे। इसलिए हर मुल्क के सवाल अलग हैं। मैं मशीन के हक़ में हूँ। मैं पूरी तौर से मशीन को मानता हूँ। और हम बग़ैर मशीन को लाये हिन्दुस्तान में तरक्की नहीं कर सकते, मानता हूँ, लेकिन मैं अपने ढंग से मशीन को लाया चाहता हूँ, ये देख कर कि कहाँ वो आजकल के हिन्दुस्तान में मौजूद है, कहाँ नहीं है। अमरीका से नक़ल करूँ मैं तो एक जगह फ़ायदा हो तो दस जगह मुझे नुक़सान हो। इसी तरह से मैं रूस की नक़ल करूँ तो कहीं फ़ायदा हो, कहीं नुक़सान हो। तो हमें अमरीका से सीखना है, हमें रूस से सीखना है, हमें इंग्लैण्ड से सीखना है, हर मुल्क से सीखना है। लेकिन आखिर में हमें अपने मुल्क की तरफ़ देखना है और क्या उसके सवाल हैं और उन सवालों को फिर अपने ढंग से हल करना है। आप में से लोग होंगे, लड़के-लड़कियाँ होंगे जो इकोनॉमिक्स



पढ़ते हैं, जो बहुत ज़रूरी चीज़ है। अब थोड़े दिन हुए तक इकोनॉमिक्स पढ़ाई जाती थी जिसमें ज्यादातर अमरीका और इंग्लैण्ड और इन जगह के सवालों का चर्चा था। और ज्यादातर अंग्रेज़ों की लिखी हुई किताबें पढ़ाई जाती थीं। अंग्रेज़ों की लिखी हुई किताबों में इकोनॉमिक्स इंग्लैण्ड की थी, यूरोप की थी, हिन्दुस्तान की नहीं थी। वो आपको पढ़ाई जाय, चाहे उससे मतलब हो, चाहे न हो। तो पहली बात ये जो समझनी है आपको, विद्यार्थियों को, और उससे भी ज्यादा आपको पढ़ाने वालों को कि हिन्दुस्तान के सवाल न इंग्लैण्ड के हैं इस वक़्त, न अमरीका के हैं, न रूस के हैं। और अगर हम किताबें पढ़ें उनकी, पढ़ें हम ज़रूर, उससे फ़ायदा उठावें। लेकिन उसमें ख़्बे, हमारे सवालों के ढंग से नहीं लिखी हैं। अब नयी किताबें निकल रही हैं कुछ। हमारे सवाल क्या हैं? हमारे सवाल आजकल अण्डर-डेवलपड मुल्क के हैं, उनके सवाल हैं इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़्ड मुल्कों के, डेवलपड मुल्कों के। फ़र्क़ हो जाता है। इसलिए हमें अपनी इकोनॉमिक्स खुद बनानी है। खुद समझनी है। फिर उस पर अमल करना है। अच्छा, तो हम ठहर नहीं सकते। न हम अमरीका और इंग्लैण्ड की तरह से डेढ़ सौ बरस इन्तज़ार करें उसको करने का, न हम रूस की तरह कर सकते हैं, क्योंकि हालात दूसरे हैं और हम नहीं चाहते कि वो क़्रीमत दें, क़्रीमत, जिसमें लोगों की शख़्सी आज़ादी, इन्डिविजुयल फ़्रीडम को हमें छोड़ देना पड़ेगा। हम नहीं चाहते ये करें। हम पसन्द करते हैं कि ये शख़्सी आज़ादी रहे उनकी। मुझे एतराज़ नहीं है कोई और मुल्क जो चाहे करे। मैं तो अपने मुल्क के निस्बत कहता हूँ। तो फिर हमें अपना रास्ता ढूँढना होगा जो न सोलह आना अमेरिका का है, हालाँकि हम उनसे सीखेंगे, न वो सोलह आने रूस का है, हालाँकि उनसे भी हम सीखेंगे और सीखते हैं। लेकिन वो हिन्दुस्तान का रास्ता होगा जो यहाँ के लिए मौजूद है। मैं नहीं किसी और मुल्क को सलाह देने के लिए तैयार हूँ कि वो क्या करें। सब मुल्क सोचें। मुझे कौन-सा हक़ है कि मैं दूसरे मुल्क के तरीक़े की बुराई करूँ। मैं नहीं...मुझे कोई हक़ नहीं है मैं अमरीका के तरीक़े की बुराई करूँ, मुझे कोई हक़ नहीं है कि रूस में जो रूसी लोग करते हैं, मैं उसकी बुराई करूँ। न मुझे हक़ है कि मैं किसी तीसरे मुल्क में यूरोप, एशिया या अफ़्रीका के, जाके कहूँ कि तुम इस रास्ते पर चलो, सब खुद तय करें, जैसा मुनासिब समझें अपना रास्ता चुनें, लेकिन मुझे और आपको हक़ है कि हम अपने मुल्क में क्या करें, उसको सोचें, उसको निश्चय करें, औरों से सलाह करें, लेकिन आख़िर में फ़ैसला हम करें, और लोग न करें।

अब हम प्लैनिंग वग़ैरह करते हैं और हम इस प्लैनिंग में, आपको ताज़्जुब होगा, आश्चर्य होगा, कि कितने लोगों से हम सलाह करते हैं। अपने देश में तो करते ही हैं और उससे ज्यादा-से-ज्यादा हम करना चाहते हैं, हमने तो बहुत सारे प्लैनिंग फ़ोरम्स कॉलेजेज़ में, यूनिवर्सिटीज़ में भी बनाये। हमारा इन्जीनियर का है, पैनल है, साइण्टिस्ट का है, एजुकेशनिस्ट्स का है, ट्रेड यूनियन का है, लेबर का है, तरह-तरह के लोग आते हैं, सलाह करने। तो हिन्दुस्तान में तो हम करते ही हैं और चाहते हैं कि वो बढ़ता जाय। एक-एक पंचायत हमें अपनी सलाह दे, लेकिन बाहर के लोगों से हमने कितनी सलाह ली है। और काफ़ी चुने हुए लोग आये हैं। अपने-अपने मुल्क में बढ़े हैं। अमरीका के लोग आये हैं। कैनाडा के लोग आये हैं, इंग्लैण्ड के

आये हैं, आयरलैण्ड के आये हैं, फ्रांस के आये हैं, जर्मनी के आये हैं, इटली के आये हैं, रूस के आये हैं, रूमानिया के आये हैं, चेकोस्लोवाकिया के आये हैं। पोलेण्ड के...याद रखिये, ये, याद रखिये, कम्युनिस्ट मुल्क हैं, वो आये हैं। जापान के आये हैं। चीन के आये हैं। तो आप देखिए न हमने, जहाँ भी हमें कोई माकूल लोग नज़र आये, हमने उनको दावत दी कि आइए, यहाँ रहिए, हमारे सवालों को देखिए। हम आपसे बात करें, बहस करें, वो हम आप से इत्फ़ाक़ करें-न करें, दूसरा सवाल है। तो हमने इस तरह से दरवाज़े खुले रखे और खुले रहेंगे वो। हम दरवाज़े बन्द नहीं करेंगे। लेकिन फ़ैसला हम करें। और फ़ैसला इस बात को रख के करेंगे कि हमें तेज़ी से बढ़ना है। और तेज़ी से इण्डस्ट्रियाइज़ करना है। तेज़ी से अपने ऐग्रिकल्चर और खेती को बढ़ाना है कि ज़्यादा पैदा हो, पिछड़ी हुई है, और अगर हम न करेंगे तो हम दब जाते हैं बढ़ती हुई आबादी से। ये मुसीबत है।

तो इसमें गुंजाइश आराम करने की नहीं है। मुल्क को चलते जाना है, जहाँ ये तो वही है कि आप एक दरिया पार जाना चाहते हैं तो दरिया के बीच में पहुँच कर आप आराम नहीं कर सकते। आपको उस पार पहुँचना है और आप आराम करें तो आप गोता खा जायेंगे। इस ढंग से देखना है। मैं इसलिए कहता हूँ ये कि बाज़ लोग कहते हैं कि भाई साहब, बड़ा ज़ोर लगाया पिछले छै-सात बरस में, अब कुछ आराम करें। वो बात, कुछ बुनियादी बात वो समझे ही नहीं। क्या, मसला क्या है हिन्दुस्तान का। एक और बात आप देखें कि ये हमारे इण्डस्ट्रियाइज़ करने का सिलसिला, इसमें भी कई रायें हैं। अच्छा है, कई रायें हों, और मेरा ख़याल ये है कि अक्सर वो राय बिलकुल ग़लत है। एक, एक नयी चीज़ पैदा हुई है, स्वतन्त्र पार्टी।<sup>113</sup> वो इत्ते स्वतन्त्र हैं कि अक्ल से भी दूर हो जाते हैं। (हर्ष धवनि) उनका आजकल के सवालों से, इस मुल्क से, कोई मानी नहीं है। उनको कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है। वो कुछ उसूल सामने रखते हैं, अपनी राय दें [मैं] चौदह-पन्द्रह उसूल रखे हैं और बाज़ उसूल अच्छे हैं और बाज़ से कुछ ख़ास ताल्लुक नहीं है। लेकिन कोई आजकल के सवालों से कुछ मतलब नहीं है। उन्होंने कह दिया कि हर एक आदमी आज़ाद है। कि वो अपने ढंग पर चले और सरकार को दखल नहीं देना चाहिए, काम में, काज में, और प्लैनिंग वग़ैरह फ़िज़ूल है। यानी वो हमला करते हैं बुनियादी बात पर, प्लैनिंग पर, योजना बनाने पर, इसी को नापसन्द करते हैं। वो समझते हैं, समझते होंगे कि हर एक आदमी को छोड़ दिया जाय तो वो अपने आप से ज़ोर लगायेगा तो ज़्यादा दूर तक जायेगा और प्लैनिंग करने से रुकावट आ जाती है। ये एक जड़ और बुनियाद की बात है, हमें समझनी है। मैं, मेरा ख़याल था, कि पिछले वर्षों में, पिछले दस बारह वर्ष में एक बात पक्की हो गयी है, और वो ये कि मुल्क में इस बात को स्वीकार किया है, समझ लिया है कि...और पूरी तौर से...कि प्लैनिंग होनी चाहिए। प्लैनिंग कॉन्शस हो गया है मुल्क, मेरा ख़याल है और अब भी ख़याल है आम तौर से। इसके माने ये नहीं है कि प्लैनिंग के ऊपर एक ही राय हो, उसके



अन्दर कैसे प्लैन हों उस पर दो राय हो सकती हैं, तीन राय हो, चार राय, लेकिन प्लैनिंग होना आवश्यक है, ज़रूरी है। और कोई बड़ा काम आप कर नहीं सकते बग़ैर प्लैनिंग के, कोई भी बात।

एक मिसाल में आप को दूँ, बड़े ख़तरे की बात है। फ़र्ज़ कीजिए हिन्दुस्तान बदक्रिस्मती से लड़ाई में पड़ जाय किसी दूसरे मुल्क से तो कैसे आप लड़ाई लड़ेंगे। आप हर एक से कहेंगे कि तुम ख़ूब पूरी कोशिश करो जिस तरह से तुम्हारा जी चाहे, आप कोई प्लैन करेंगे कि नहीं? आपका एक फ़ौज और एयर फ़ौज बनाना ही प्लैन करना है और उसके बाद कैसे फ़ौज और एयर फ़ौज और नेवी काम करे, वो एक ज़बरदस्त प्लैनिंग के हिसाब से होगी, जोकि आपके मिलिट्री हैडक्वार्टर्स में हो, जिसको स्ट्रेटजी कहते हैं, जिस को टैक्टिक्स कहते हैं। किस तरह से दुश्मन को हरायें? आप हर सिपाही से तो नहीं कहते, जाओ लड़ो जा के दुश्मन से, जैसे तुम्हारा जी चाहे। वो कोई तरक्की है? जहाँ मुल्क के सामने ख़तरा आया, जैसे लड़ाई में आता है, उस वक़्त गुंजायश नहीं रहती कि हर एक आदमी अपने रास्ते पर चले। उस वक़्त मुल्क.. क्योंकि मुल्क के लिए जीने और मरने का सवाल आ जाता है... उस वक़्त सारी ताक़त मुल्क की होती है कि हम अपनी आज़ादी को बचायें, और दुश्मन को हरायें। तो उस वक़्त सख़्खी से प्लैन होता है। स्ट्रेटजी होती है, प्लैनिंग होती है, और हर क्रिस्म की कार्रवाई मुल्क के अन्दर उस प्लैन के नीचे आती है। क्या खायें, क्या पियें, वो तक ले आते हैं? अब मेरा मतलब नहीं कि लड़ाई के वक़्त जो होता है, वो हमें करना चाहिए इस वक़्त, खाना-पीना करना चाहिए। वो तो मेरा मतलब नहीं है, लेकिन मैं आपको दिखा दूँ कि जब कोई बड़ा सवाल उठ आता है, तब प्लैनिंग होती है, और ज़ोरों से प्लैनिंग होती है, नहीं तो ताक़त ज़ाया हो जाती है। और भी आपको मैं मिसालें दे सकता हूँ, नहीं देता, क्योंकि ये तो मोटी बात है कि प्लैनिंग के बग़ैर हो नहीं सकता। हमारे पास कम पैसा है, हम किधर लगायें पैसा? क्योंकि तरक्की के माने क्या हैं? तरक्की के माने मोटी तौर से मैं ये सब पढ़ाई-लिखाई को नहीं कहता कि हम रुपया इनवेस्ट करें तरक्की में, प्रोग्रेस में, रुपया इनवेस्ट करें। जितना रुपया ज़्यादा हम इनवेस्ट करेंगे, उतनी ज़्यादा तरक्की होगी। अच्छा इनवेस्ट करने के लिए रुपया कहाँ से आये? अब थोड़ा-बहुत और मुल्कों से आपकी मदद हो जाय वो अच्छी बात है। लेकिन आखिर में आप उतना ही रुपया इनवेस्ट कर सकते हैं, जो आप बचायें, सेव करें अपनी आमदनी से, खर्च करके जो बचता है मुल्क में, वो सेविंग होती है मुल्क की, वही इनवेस्ट हो सकता है, इसलिए इस बात का चर्चा होता है कि जितना ज़्यादा सेव करें, उतना ही ज़्यादा इनवेस्ट करेंगे, उतना ही तेज़ी से मुल्क बढ़ेगा। अगर इनवेस्ट, सेविंग न हो मुल्क की और उसके माने कि इनवेस्ट करने को रुपया न हो, उसके माने मुल्क में कोई आप नयी बात कर नहीं सकते हैं। पुरानी बात जो हो, सो हो। नये काम आप नहीं कर सकते तरक्की के। एक तो यह। दूसरे ये कि जो रुपया आपके पास बचे, सेव करके किधर लगाया जाय? एक साहब, वो समझे कि मामूली लोग कैसे रुपया लगाते हैं? वो लगाते हैं अपने फ़ायदे के लिए, ठीक है। ग़लत बात नहीं है। लगायें। कोई दुकान खोलता है अपने फ़ायदे के लिए, अच्छी बात है। कोई छोटा कारखाना खोलता है, अपने

फ़ायदे के लिए। मुझे उसमें कोई ऐतराज नहीं है, लेकिन अब आप देखें। कुछ लोग समझें जैसे कि समझते हैं कि बड़ा फ़ायदा होता है सिनेमा हाउसेज़ खोलने से। खोलें सिनेमा हाउस, मुझे कोई ऐतराज नहीं, लेकिन हमारे पास अगर फ़र्ज कर लो कि सौ करोड़ रुपये बचे हैं। अब सौ करोड़ रुपये कैसे खर्च हों? अगर आप मामूली लोगों को छोड़ दीजिए, क्योंकि फैले हुए हैं रुपये तो बहुत सारे सिनेमा हाउसेज़ बना लेंगे, उससे फ़ायदा होगा, बहुत सारे कुछ और इधर-उधर की चीज़ें बना लेंगे, जो अच्छी चीज़ें हैं, बुरी नहीं हैं, लेकिन जिससे मुल्क की तरक्की नहीं होती। और अगर आप सोचें मुल्क की तरक्की कैसे होगी तो शायद आप निश्चय करें कि सौ करोड़ रुपये का हम एक लोहे का कारखाना बनाये। क्योंकि लोहा जड़ है, बुनियाद है, मुल्क बढ़ने की, इण्डस्ट्री के बढ़ने की। तो हम अगर आप लोगों को छोड़ दें तो हमारे पास कभी ऐसी बड़ी चीज़ें आसानी से न हों। स्टील प्लान्ट्स वगैरह, क्योंकि उसमें पाँच बरस तक लगते हैं बनने में तब तक उससे कोई फ़ायदा नहीं होता और उसके बाद हल्के-हल्के फ़ायदा होता है।

अब हमने पिछले चार-पाँच-छै बरस में, बड़ा ज़ोर लगा के, बड़ी हिम्मत करके, चार आयरन एण्ड स्टील प्लान्ट्स, लोहे के प्लान्ट्स, हमने शुरू किये। एक-एक प्लान्ट में डेढ़ सौ करोड़ रुपये लग रहे हैं। सोचिए आप, ग़रीब मुल्क हमारा और हम पाँच सौ, छै सौ करोड़ रुपये लोहे के पैदा करने में लगाये। क्यों हमने किया ये? और उसके करने से बोझा आपके ऊपर पड़ा बहुत-कुछ, आप को शिकायतें हैं, मुल्क को इसलिए कि हमने छै सौ करोड़ रुपये आयरन और स्टील प्लान्ट्स में लगाये और इसी तरह से और जगह भी क्यों हमने किया ये? क्योंकि हमने देखा कि हमारे मुल्क की तरक्की नहीं हो सकती, इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ेशन नहीं हो सकता, जब तक कि काफ़ी स्टील पैदा न हो। मामूली बात है, हरेक जानता है। और मैं एक बात आपसे कह दूँ कि परसों, आज से दो दिन हुए, वो जो भिलाई का स्टील प्लान्ट है, उसमें पहली दफ़े स्टील निकलने वाला है।<sup>114</sup> अच्छी बात है। और जगह भी निकलेगा। राउरकेला है, दुर्गापुर है, हल्के-हल्के वहाँ भी निकलेगा। अब इतने रोज़ ठहरने के बाद, सैकड़ों-करोड़ों रुपये लगाने के बाद अब वक़्त आता है कि हम उससे फ़ायदा उठायें। उससे आमदनी होगी, स्टील आयेगा, इण्डस्ट्री बढ़ेगी, सब बातें होंगी। लेकिन ये बात हो नहीं सकती हिन्दुस्तान में, अगर हम प्लैन न करते, अगर हम इत्ता सारा रुपया कहीं से ला के, औरों को नुक़सान पहुँचा के, और काम रोक कर के हम उसमें न लगाते तो नहीं हो सकती थी बात। ये कोई प्राइवेट एण्टरप्राइज़ पर हम छोड़ देते तो हो सकती थी बात? नहीं चल सकती बात। माना प्राइवेट एण्टरप्राइज़ बहुत बातें कर सकता है, और मैं चाहता हूँ कि प्राइवेट एण्टरप्राइज़ का दरवाज़ा खुला हो, लेकिन प्राइवेट एण्टरप्राइज़ से आज तक मेरे युग में कोई लड़ाई नहीं लड़ी गयी है। इतिहास भर के आप खोल लीजिए। तो ये एक बचपन की बात हो जाती है जब कोई मुझसे कहे कि यहाँ हिन्दुस्तान के जीने-मरने का सवाल है, आगे बढ़ने का सवाल है, इसको प्राइवेट एण्टरप्राइज़ पर छोड़ दो, बढ़ जायेगा हिन्दुस्तान। और ये बुनियादी उसूल स्वतन्त्र पार्टी का है। (हर्ष ध्वनि)

मुश्किल ये है कि ये स्वतन्त्र पार्टी में लियाक़त की तो कमी है नहीं, ज़ाहिर-सी बात है,

114. Steel production began on 12 October 1959.



लेकिन ये लियाक़त उन्नीसवीं सदी की लियाक़त है, बीसवीं सदी की नहीं है। (हर्ष ध्वनि) और हम उसमें रहते हैं, बीसवीं सदी के बीच में। अब स्ट्रैटेजी मैंने कहा, इस लड़ाई की, जो हमारी लड़ाई है...लड़ाई कैसी ? किसी दूसरे देश से नहीं। लड़ाई हमारी है, हमारी ग़रीबी से, हमारी बेरोजगारी से...इस लड़ाई में हमारी स्ट्रैटेजी क्या होगी ? इसके माने हैं कि किन बातों को हम पहले करें ? हम सब बातें कर नहीं सकते। हमारी ताक़त नहीं, पैसा नहीं। किन बातों को पहले करें, किन को बाद में करें। एक बात तो पहले आ ही जाती है पढ़ाई-लिखाई की, क्योंकि बग़ैर पढ़े-लिखे मुल्क बढ़ नहीं सकता। और पढ़ाई-लिखाई में भी टेक्निकल ट्रेनिंग ख़ास आ जाती है। लेकिन अलावा इसके कि क्या हम करें, इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ करना है। ठीक है, तो हम छोटी इण्डस्ट्री शुरू करें, बड़ी इण्डस्ट्री शुरू करें, हम ऐग्रीकल्चर पर किता लगायें। असल में प्लैनिंग के मोटे हिस्से होते हैं कि क्या रिश्ता है इण्डस्ट्रीज़ और ऐग्रीकल्चर का, क्या रिश्ता हो हेवी इण्डस्ट्रीज़ और लाइट इण्डस्ट्रीज़ का ? ये अलग-अलग रिश्ते हैं। अब लाइट इण्डस्ट्री या हेवी इण्डस्ट्री, ऐग्रीकल्चर तो है ही ज़रूर, कोई शक़ नहीं, बहुत ही ज़रूरी हमारे लिए है। इण्डस्ट्रियल डेवलपमेंट। अगर हम लाइट इण्डस्ट्रीज़ पर ज़ोर देंगे, ज़ोर तो हम देते हैं, लेकिन ख़ाली उस पर ज़ोर दें तो उसके माने ये हैं कि हम मोहताज रहेंगे और मुल्कों के ? क्योंकि लाइट इण्डस्ट्रीज़ के लिए मशीन हम और मुल्कों से मँगायें ? और नहीं तो, नहीं तो हम उनको चला नहीं सकते। इसलिए स्ट्रैटेजी ये होती है कि इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ करने की अगर आप जल्दी चाहते हैं हेवी इण्डस्ट्रीज़ को आगे बढ़ाना है, क्योंकि हेवी इण्डस्ट्री में तकलीफ़ होती है करने में, लेकिन एक दफ़े ज़म जाय, तब उसकी औलाद लाइट इण्डस्ट्री होती है, मशीन-पर-मशीन निकलती आयेगी। और अगर आप नहीं करते तो एक-एक मशीन को आपको जर्मनी, जापान, रूस, इंग्लैण्ड से ख़रीदनी पड़ेगी। उसका स्पेयर पार्ट टूट जाय तो लाइए जा के। तो ये बात चलती नहीं। इसलिए ज़रूरी है...तीन बातें ज़रूरी हो जाती हैं। एक तो आयरन एण्ड स्टील। लोहा पैदा करना, क्योंकि वो जड़ है। दूसरे, पावर पैदा करना...शक्ति...इलेक्ट्रिक पावर, थर्मल पावर या जो कुछ हो। उसी के ज़रिये से फैक्ट्री चलती है। और ये सब आपके यहाँ इलेक्ट्रिक वर्क्स हो, वग़ैरह, इसलिए कि हम पावर पैदा करें। तीसरे “बिग” मशीन बिल्डिंग इण्डस्ट्री, हेवी मशीन बनाने की इण्डस्ट्री। क्योंकि हेवी मशीन बनाने की इण्डस्ट्री बन जाये, तब उस मशीन से आप बढ़ा सकते हैं मुल्क को। ये है। यह सवाल है अब इस स्ट्रैटेजी को प्राइवेट एण्टरप्राइज़ नहीं मानता। कोई इक्के-दुक्के माने नहीं मानता, क्योंकि इसमें तो बड़ा पैसा लगता है, फ़ायदा एकदम से नहीं होता, फ़ायदा बाद में होता है और छोटी फुटकर चीज़ें तेज़ी से नहीं बढ़ सकतीं। ख़ैर, हमारी स्ट्रैटेजी यही रही। मैंने कहा आपसे कि हम चार कारख़ाने बना रहे हैं। और तीसरे प्लैन में और बनायेंगे। मालूम नहीं किते बनायेंगे, बढ़ता जायेगा। हम पावर बढ़ा रहे हैं और हम मशीन बिल्डिंग प्लान्ट्स यहाँ लगा रहे हैं, बिग मशीन, छोटी तो हैं हमारे यहाँ, “बिग” मशीन बिल्डिंग प्लान्ट्स हम यहाँ लगा रहे हैं। तो ये है।

अब इसमें काफ़ी बोझा आप पर पड़ा है, लोगों पर, यानी एक माने में हम रुपया खर्च कर रहे हैं आपके फ़ायदे के लिए, आज के फ़ायदे के लिए नहीं, बल्कि आप के कल और परसों

के फ़ायदे के लिए। कल-परसों को देखना है। आज हम सब लड्डू-पेड़े खा के ख़तम कर दें तो फिर कल क्या होगा? असल में तो कल का देखना है। क्रौम बढ़ रही है। हम बच्चों को पढ़ाते हैं। कल का हिन्दुस्तान हैं बच्चे आज के। तो इसलिए हेवी इण्डस्ट्रीज़ पर हमने ज़ोर दिया और पावर प्रोडक्शन पर और स्टील पर। इस पर हम देखें। इसके माने [यह नहीं] हैं कि हम लाइट इण्डस्ट्री को ज़रूरी नहीं समझते। हम उसको बहुत ज़रूरी समझते हैं। लेकिन लाइट इण्डस्ट्रीज़ की वजह से हेवी इण्डस्ट्रीज़ को छोड़ेंगे नहीं। मैं तो चाहता हूँ और अब मौक़ा आ रहा है कि लाइट इण्डस्ट्री यहाँ तेज़ी से बढ़े। और प्राइवेट सेक्टर में बढ़े। लाइट इण्डस्ट्रीज़ तो...हाँ, कोई गवर्नमेंट करना चाहे तो करे, लेकिन आम तौर से गवर्नमेंट उसमें दखल नहीं देगी। हम तो चाहते हैं कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर बढ़े, लेकिन हम नहीं चाहते कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर मुल्क का गला घोट के, अपने फ़ायदे के लिए मुल्क को चलाये। ये हम नहीं चाहते। लेकिन यों बढ़े और अपना फ़ायदा उसका हो, और प्लान्ड इकॉनोमी में प्राइवेट सेक्टर को बहुत फ़ायदा होता है, याद रखिए। कैसे? इसलिए कि प्लान्ड इकॉनोमी में जो प्राइवेट सेक्टर चीज़ें पैदा करते हैं, उनकी मार्किट उनके लिए हाज़िर रहती है, इसलिए प्लान्ड इकॉनोमी है। तो उनको परेशानी नहीं उठानी पड़ती, उनको, रिस्क नहीं लेना पड़ता। तो मैं तो चाहता हूँ, मैं चाहता हूँ कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर, हिन्दुस्तान में रहे, बढ़े, लेकिन अपनी जगह पर। लेकिन मेरी-उसकी बहस क्या है? बहस ये है कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर ज़ुरत करता है कि स्टेट की छाती पर बैठकर पाँव जमाये। ये मुझे मंज़ूर नहीं है। कोई प्राइवेट सेक्टर स्टेट पर ऊपर नहीं बैठ सकता है। स्टेट तरक्की कर सकता है, मैं मानता हूँ क्योंकि प्राइवेट सेक्टर का फ़र्ज़ सवालों को देखने का प्राइवेट प्रॉफ़िट है। मेरा मतलब नहीं है कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर के लोग अच्छे नहीं होते। अच्छे भी होते हैं, बहुत अच्छे हैं, लायक़ हैं, लेकिन ग्रुप, एक गिरोह की तरह से उनका ढंग देखने का एक है। और वो प्राइवेट प्रॉफ़िट है। वो एक पॉज़िटिव सोसाइटी है। और मैं समझता हूँ कि आजकल की दुनिया में ये चीज़ें मुनासिब नहीं हैं, उसको हल्के-हल्के बदलना है। चुनांचे, मैं चाहता हूँ कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर मुबारक हो। उनके लिए सारा हिन्दुस्तान पड़ा हुआ है, लाखों एंटरप्राइज़ कर सकते हैं, हमारे प्लैन के अन्दर। लेकिन जो हमारे इकोनॉमिक पैटर्न, जो हमारी बुनियादी जगहें हैं वो पब्लिक सेक्टर में होंगी, ताकि प्राइवेट सेक्टर गला न घोट सकें किसी का, न नाजायज़ फ़ायदा उठाये, ये बुनियादी बात है। बाक़ी प्राइवेट सेक्टर बढ़े, हम बढ़ायेंगे, उसकी मदद करेंगे। और मुझे खुशी होती है।

मैं अभी पंजाब में था दस रोज़ हुए।<sup>115</sup> पंजाब में इस दस बरस के अन्दर इतने छोटे-छोटे कारख़ाने बढ़ गये हैं, मेरा ख़याल है चालीस हज़ार उन्होंने बढ़ाये हैं, छोटे-छोटे। पंजाब पार्टीशन के बाद, छोटा-सा सूबा है, लेकिन काफ़ी बढ़ा है, और बढ़ता जा रहा है। पंजाबी लोग अच्छे मेकैनिक्स होते हैं, अच्छे इंजीनियर्स होते हैं और हाथ-पैर चलाते हैं, तो खुशी होती है। मैं



चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में लाखों-करोड़ों ऐसे छोटे-छोटे कारखाने सब जगह हों [...] और उससे एम्प्लॉयमेंट भी हो, प्रोडक्शन भी हो, लेकिन जो हमारी इकॉनोमी हो, वो क्राबू में प्राइवेट सेक्टर के न हो। ये मोटी तौर से।

अब मैंने आपका वक्ता [...] बहुत ले लिया, लेकिन दो-एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ जो बहुत बहसतलब हो गयी है। मैंने आपसे जिक्र किया था, साल भर हुए जब मैं यहाँ आया था ऑल इण्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी की मीटिंग में उस ऑल इण्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी की मीटिंग में जो अक्टूबर में हुई थी; हाँ, इसी महीने में एक कमेटी मुकर्रर की थी, दो कमेटियाँ मुकर्रर की थीं। एक तो हमारे खेती, लैण्ड रिफॉर्म्स, ऐग्रिकल्चर, वगैरह के बारे में जो उस पर विचार करे। दूसरी कमेटी उसने की थी, तीसरे या थर्ड फ़ाइव इयर प्लैन के बारे में क्या मशविरा वो देती है। और कमेटी के चुने हुए लोग थे सारे हिन्दुस्तान से। उन कमेटियों में, उस कमेटी ने, पहली कमेटी ने एक रिपोर्ट दी थी। यानी वो लैण्ड रिफॉर्म्स वगैरह की थी। वो रिपोर्ट नागपुर कांग्रेस के सामने आयी।<sup>116</sup> उस रिपोर्ट में कई बातें थीं। कोई नयी बात नहीं थी, लेकिन कई बातें थी, जिसका चर्चा पहले से होता आ रहा है। एक तो बात थी सीलिंग ऑफ़ लैण्ड। यानी कोई शख्स एक बहुत ज्यादा ज़मीन न रखे। उसका नाप-तोल हो। दूसरे, उसमें ज़ोर था कोऑपरेशन ऑफ़ लैण्ड, सरकारी संघ। दो बातें थी ख़ासकर। और भी थीं। दो ख़ास थीं, क्योंकि आप याद रखें, जब आप मुल्क को इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ किया चाहते हैं, यानी कोई भी तरक्क़ी करना चाहते हैं तब लैण्ड सिस्टम को बदलना ज़रूरी हो जाता है। लैण्ड सिस्टम एक सोशल ऑर्गेनाइज़ेशन होती है। उसको मिल-जुल कर होना चाहिए और सोशल ऑर्गेनाइज़ेशन्स से। [...] एक ज़माने में आप जाइए, पहले जब कि फ़्यूडल सिस्टम था, तो लैण्ड सिस्टम का एक ख़ास संगठन था एक तरीक़ा अच्छा था उस ज़माने के लिए, दूसरे ज़माने में वो नहीं चलता। एक ज़माना आता है जब बड़े-बड़े ताल्लुक्देदार-ज़मींदार वगैरह होते थे। अपने वक्ता में मौजूद होगा वो, लेकिन दूसरे वक्ता में नामौजूद हो जाता है। हमने क्यों...आज नहीं, पहला काम जो हमने किया स्वराज आने के बाद, लैण्ड रिफॉर्म्स हमने शुरू किया, और ये ज़मींदारी सिलसिला जो था, ज़मींदारी प्रथा, इसको ख़तम करने की कोशिश की, और की बहुत कुछ। क्यों? इसलिए एक तो ये कि उससे बोझा पड़ता था आम रियाया पर। वो मुनासिब नहीं था। लेकिन दूसरी बुनियादी बात ये कि उस ज़मींदारी सिस्टम ने [में], जैसा वो था हिन्दुस्तान में, अक्सर जगहें, [अक्सर जगहों पर] तरक्क़ी नहीं हो सकती थी ज़मीन की। हम उसमें साइन्स, वगैरह, नये तरीक़े नहीं ला सकते थे। तो गरज़ कि ज़रूरी हो गया कि नये सोशल ऑर्गेनाइज़ेशन में ये पुराने ढंग हटा दिये जायें। इसके माने नहीं थे कि हम कोई ज़मींदारी के दुश्मन, या ताल्लुक्देदार के दुश्मन, या जागीरदार के दुश्मन [थे]। वो भले आदमी थे, हमारी कौन दुश्मनी? लेकिन अगर एक मुल्क, एक नया क़दम बढ़ाता है सोशल ऑर्गेनाइज़ेशन में, तो ज़ाहिर है कि कुछ लोगों को नुक़सान होता है। हम चाहते हैं कि नुक़सान कम हो, लेकिन होता ही है। क्योंकि आख़िर में हमें देखना है कि



मुल्क को फ़ायदा कैसे होता है। हमने उसको हटाया, आपके यहाँ हैदराबाद में भी कितना फ़्यूडल, ग्रेड्स थे तरह-तरह के, और चुनांचे आपका हैदराबाद शहर खूबसूरत हो, सब हो, लेकिन आम लोगों का बुरा हाल था, इस तेलंगाना में ग़रीब थे इन्तहा दरजे। तो हटाना था वो, हटाया हमने। अब उसी सिलसिले में हमें लैण्ड रिफ़ॉर्म को पूरा करना है, ताकि हमारे आजकल के ज़माने ख़यालों के मुताबिक़ हों, और हमें मदद मिले पूरी तौर से, ज़मीन में पैदावार बड़े, प्रोडक्शन बढ़े जो बहुत पीछे है, कम है। तो उस कमेटी ने दो बातें कही थीं। सीलिंग ऑफ़ लैण्ड, और कोऑपरेटिव्स। सीलिंग ऑफ़ लैण्ड समझ लीजिए आप, इसको देखिए आप, हिन्दुस्तान को, अमेरिका से मुक्काबला न कीजिए, क्योंकि जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा कि अमरीका में ज़मीन ज़्यादा है और लोग कम हैं, हमारे यहाँ लोग ज़्यादा हैं, ज़मीन कम है। अगर आप मुक्काबला करना चाहते हैं, फ़र्ज़ कीजिए जापान से कीजिए। मैं चीन का नहीं कहता, क्योंकि चीन में उलट-पलट वो ख़ास ढंग से हो रही है। लेकिन जापान को आप लें। जापान, जापान में अभी इस लड़ाई के बाद सीलिंग ऑफ़ लैण्ड लगायी। किसने लगायी। अमरीकनों ने लगायी। वो कोई बड़े समाजवादी लोग नहीं, साम्यवादी, समाजवादी। अमरीकन अफ़सर ने मैकार्थर ने वहाँ सीलिंग ऑफ़ लैण्ड जापान में लगायी। एक मुझे ठीक याद नहीं कि क्या सीलिंग है, लेकिन पन्द्रह एकड़ की है, शायद ऐसी है, कम है। जापानी बड़े ज़बरदस्त काम करने वाले हैं। वो वैज्ञानिक एक...जापानी फ़ार्मर के यहाँ...उसके यहाँ बारह एकड़ का उसका फ़ार्म था। लेकिन बारह एकड़ में वो इतना कमाता था...फ़ार्म के अलावा उसके पास कुछ जानवर भी थे...इतना कमाता था कि उसके यहाँ एक रेडियो, उसके यहाँ पे टेलीविजन, उसके यहाँ सब बातें थीं, उस बारह एकड़ की ज़मीन में। हमारे यहाँ उसकी दुगुनी-तिगुनी ज़मीन हो, चौगुनी भी होगी, लेकिन फिर भी फ़ाकेमस्त होंगे वो, क्योंकि वो नये तरीक़े इस्तेमाल नहीं करते। तो मैंने जापान की आपको मिसाल दी, क्योंकि आजकल के ज़माने में जो क्राउडेड मुल्क हो, जैसे जापान है, जैसे हिन्दुस्तान है, ये नामुनासिब बात है, ग़लत बात है, नुक़सानदेह बात है कि ज़्यादा ज़मीन लोग दबा के बैठें। इसके माने नहीं हैं कि हम उसकी आमदनी को रोकना चाहते हैं या आमदनी पर कोई लिमिटेशन रखना चाहते हैं, ये माने नहीं हैं, लेकिन मुझे यक़ीन है जैसे मैंने जापानी फ़ार्मर देखा, आपका फ़ार्मर अगर उसको मौक़ा मिलेगा, सीखेगा, पढ़ेगा, इस्तेमाल करेगा नये तरीक़े तो उसकी आमदनी दुगुनी-तिगुनी-चौगुनी होख़ी,। इसके अलावा वो और भी ज़रूरी बातें कर सकता है, यानी मेरा मतलब और लोगों से मिल के छोटे-छोटे कारख़ाने वग़ैरह, बहुत बातें हैं जो हम करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन ये सीलिंग ऑफ़ लैण्ड, ये एक बात है जो कि बड़े सोशलिस्ट नहीं हैं, ये तो जैसे मैंने आपको मिसाल दी, कैपिटलिस्ट मुल्क, जैसे जापान है, और कैपिटलिस्ट मुल्क, जैसे अमरीका है, उसने जापान में कराया। मैं इस बहस में नहीं जाता, लम्बी बहस हो जाती है, लेकिन मिसाल आपको दी मैंने। और एक इन्साफ़ की [बात] है। तो ये हमने कहा।

दूसरे, सहकारी संघ, कोऑपरेटिव्स। उसमें ये कहा गया कि हम ज़ोर दें तीन बरस तक, ज़ोर दें, जिसको सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव्स कहते हैं, यानी लोग अपनी-अपनी ज़मीन अलग रखें, अलग उसमें खेती करें, लेकिन गाँव वाले मिल कर और अपने काम करें, ख़रीदने का, बेचने



का। बहुत सारे काम होते हैं। बीज, अच्छे बीज लाना, अच्छी खाद लाना। फर्टिलाइज़र लाना, अच्छे हल लाना, प्लाउज़ लाना और कोई मशीन छोटी-मोटी हो, वो लायें। बेचना आपका सामान जो पैदा हो, वो कोऑपरेटिव करे। तो कहीं ज्यादा उनको फ़ायदा है, बनिस्वत इसके कि कोई बीच का आदमी, कोई बनिया-साहूकार करे। इससे फ़ायदा उसको होता है। मामूली बात है। दुनिया में फ़ार्मर्स कोऑपरेटिव चलते हैं, हर जगह, चाहे कम्युनिस्ट मुल्क हो, सोशलिस्ट हो, कैपिटलिस्ट हो। ज़ाहिर है, कोई चालीस बरस हुए, एक कमीशन बैठा था ऐग्रिकल्चर का यहाँ, एक अंग्रेज़ी हुकूमत के ज़माने में बड़ा भारी ज़ोरदार कमीशन बनाया गया था। उसमें कुछ अंग्रेज़ भी थे, कुछ हिन्दुस्तानी भी थे।<sup>117</sup> उसने, उस कमीशन ने पहली बात ये रखी थी कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान के फ़ार्मर, हिन्दुस्तान के ऐग्रिकल्चर में कोऑपरेशन नहीं बढ़ता तो हिन्दुस्तान के ऐग्रिकल्चर का कोई भविष्य नहीं है, कोई फ़्यूचर नहीं है। मोटी बात है, दुनिया जानती है, सिवा कुछ हमारे भाई स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के जो अभी इतनी दूर तक नहीं पहुँचे हैं। ख़ैर। अब ये तो काम है सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव्स का। दूसरी बात हमने कही थी कि हमारी राय ये है कि इस पर ज़ोर दें, लेकिन आखिरी तस्वीर जो हम देखते हैं, वो हम जॉयण्ट कल्टिवेशन की देखते हैं। कांग्रेस के रेज़ोल्यूशन में था। यानी गाँव वाले मिल-जुल कर खेती करें। ये बात हमने साफ़ कही। पहले तो ये कि सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव्स तीन बरस तक उस पर ज़ोर दें। दूसरे, ये कि हम समझते हैं जॉयण्ट कल्टिवेशन से, ये ठीक तरीक़ा है, फ़ायदा होगा। लेकिन उसको भी हम बग़ैर लोगों की रज़ामन्दी के नहीं...अगर गाँव वाले चाहें तो करें, कोई ज़बरदस्ती तो नहीं। तीसरे ये कि फिर भी ज़मीन उन्हीं की रहे, यानी उनकी मिल्कियत, ओनरशिप ज़मीन की अपने-अपने हिस्से की रहेगी, चाहे वो मिल के भी खेती करें। ये बातें कहीं। और भी कही हैं। मोटी बातें मैंने आपको बतायीं। तो इसमें कोई ज़बरदस्ती का सवाल तो नहीं है, उनके ख़ुद चुनने का है। और फिर भी ज़मीन उन्हीं की रहती है। कोई ज़मीन तो उनकी [...] लेता नहीं। और यहाँ तक कहा है कि अगर कोई बाद में कुछ अरसे बाद निकलना चाहे उससे, जॉयण्ट कल्टिवेशन से, तो निकल भी सकता है। उसके क़ायदे-क़ानून बनें। अच्छा, क्यों हम ये कहते थे कि ये, ये जॉयण्ट कल्टिवेशन आगे हो? इसलिए कि फिर भी हिन्दुस्तान का सिलसिला देख कर, हिन्दुस्तान में आप देखें तो...मैं नहीं जानता, आन्ध्र में कितनी ज़मीन फ़ार्मर के पास होती है, लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश में बहुत अधिकतर लोगों के पास एक एकड़ से ज़मीन ज्यादा नहीं है, एक एकड़ से भी कम है या डेढ़ एकड़ या दो है, इससे ज्यादा नहीं है। पंजाब में कुछ ज्यादा है। अब हिन्दुस्तान के औसत फ़ार्मर की होल्डिंग, ज़मीन, इतनी छोटी है कि वो बेचारा उसमें कुछ कर नहीं सकता, कोई तरक्की नहीं कर सकता। उसकी ताक़त नहीं है कि कुछ कर सके उसमें। जिसके पास एक एकड़ ज़मीन है, उसकी क्या शक्ति है। हाँ, माना, इसलिए कोऑपरेशन बड़ा ज़रूरी होता है। अगर यहाँ सब लोगों के पास फ़र्ज़ कर लो, सौ एकड़ ज़मीन हो या पचास एकड़ ज़मीन हो तो कोऑपरेटिव नहीं भी हो, तो काम कर सकते हैं। हो सकता

117. See item 6, fn 19.

है, सौ-सौ एकड़ ज़मीन हरेक के पास हो। लेकिन जहाँ उनके पास एक एकड़, दो एकड़, तीन एकड़ ज़मीन है तब वो कोई तरक्की की बात कर सकता ही नहीं है, उनमें दम् नहीं है, हिम्मत नहीं, सामान नहीं है, न उनकी कोई मदद कर सकता है, इसलिए कोऑपरेशन यहाँ और भी ज़रूरी हो जाता है, बनिस्बत ऐसे मुल्कों के, जहाँ ज़मीन ज़्यादा है। क्योंकि होल्डिंग बहुत छोटी है, और चूँकि बहुत जगह बहुत ही छोटी होल्डिंग है, वहाँ और भी फ़ायदा होगा जॉयण्ट कल्टिवेशन से। आप सोचें कि कितनी ज़मीन ज़ाया होती है। एक गाँव में दो खेतों के बीच में ज़रा-सी ज़मीन यहाँ है, वहाँ है, मुँडेरें बनी हैं, ज़ाया होती है। हमारे मुल्क में लाखों एकड़ ज़मीन ज़ाया होती है, बाउन्डरीज़ से। तो वो हट जाती है और फ़ौरन अगर आप एक एकड़ ज़मीन का आप हल चलायें, प्लाउ करें तो उसमें कितना वेस्ट होता है लेबर। अगर पचास किसान उस गाँव के मिल जायें और उनके पास सौ एकड़ हो जाय तो कहीं ज़्यादा हो जाता है मिल कर, उसमें प्लाउ करना, [...] उससे प्रोडक्शन दुगुना-तिगुना होना आसान होगा, समय बचेगा, दस बातें होंगी, और उसको बाँटा जायगा उन सभी को, उनका लाभ होगा। मेरा कौन-सा उससे फ़ायदा होगा? मोटी बात है [...]। मुझे कोई शक नहीं है कि जॉयण्ट कल्टिवेशन एक सही चीज़ है, मुनासिब है। मैं ये नहीं कहता कि हर जगह हिन्दुस्तान में जॉयण्ट कल्टिवेशन मुनासिब हो, मैं नहीं जानता। कहीं हो, कहीं न हो, लेकिन जहाँ ये छोटे-छोटे हैं, वहाँ है मुनासिब ज़रूर। उसको भी मैं तो ज़बरदस्ती नहीं कहता, जहाँ लोग चाहे करे, अच्छी बात है कुछ और करें और याद रखिए, उनकी ज़मीन उनसे कोई नहीं लेता, ज़मीन उन्हीं की रहती है। तो इसमें झगड़े की कौन-सी बात है, मेरी समझ में नहीं आती? और खैर, मैं नहीं चाहता कि मैं गाँधीजी का नाम लाऊँ इसमें, औरों का नाम, लेकिन आप गाँधी जी को पढ़िए, जो कुछ उन्होंने लिखा है। वो तो हमेशा जॉयण्ट कल्टिवेशन के हक़ में थे। विनोबाजी आजकल हैं, वो भी समझते हैं और कहते हैं ज़मीन हरेक की है। तो ये इत्ता जो हमारे स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के लोगों ने इसी को पकड़ लिया, और वो, मैं उनसे बहुत अदब से दरखास्त करूँगा कि कुछ दिन वो बैठ कर कुछ किताबें पढ़ें, आजकल की दुनिया क्या है, आजकल के तरीक़े क्या हैं? (हँसी) और अलावा उसके ये भी समझें कि हमारे ऐग्रिकल्चर में, आप के भी...आन्ध्र के नेता आचार्य रंगाजी भी आजकल स्वतन्त्र पार्टी का झण्डा हिलाते हैं और कांग्रेस पार्टी को इसी बारे में छोड़ गये।<sup>118</sup> खैर, उनको अधिकार है छोड़ने का। लेकिन मुझे तो बहुत आश्चर्य हो, अगर आन्ध्र के लोग इस मोटी बात को समझें नहीं। बात ये है, मैं आपको बताऊँ कि जहाँ बड़े फ़ार्मर्स हैं, उन लोगों को डर होता है कि इस तरह से मिल जाने से हमारा नुक़सान है, छोटे फ़ार्मर्स को डर हो नहीं सकता, जैसे बड़ों को होता है। हालाँकि बड़े फ़ार्मर्स का भी नुक़सान नहीं होगा उसमें। बड़े फ़ार्मर्स क्या, वो जो आपके सीलिंग के हैं, वो ही रहेंगे, सीलिंग पर भी वो एतराज़ करते हैं। तो वो तो एक नक्कशा ही दूसरा हो जाता है। तो ये बातें वहाँ नागपुर में तय हुई थीं, इस हैदराबाद की कमेटी में, और उसके बाद वो निश्चय हो गया। और उसमें याद रखिए, फिर भी

118. Left the Congress in 1959. See SWJN/SS/49/p. 245.



कि हमारा बिलफ़ेल प्रोग्राम है सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव्स का, जोनल वगैरा। हाँ, उसमें अगर कोई कहीं-कहीं हमारे यहाँ अब भी एक हज़ार, डेढ़ हज़ार जॉयण्ट कल्टिवेशन मिल कर खेती के आजकल भी कोऑपरेटिव्स हैं, हमारे रेज़ोलूशन के पहले से ही, कोई नयी बात नहीं है, चल रहे हैं। और अब भी हमारे पास दरखास्तें आती हैं, आपके आन्ध्र से भी आती हैं, करने को। जो करना चाहते हैं, करें, हम थोड़े ही किसी को रोकते हैं। बड़ी खुशी की बात है। [...] तो हमने बहुत ज़ोर दिया है कि लोग अच्छी तरह से ट्रेण्ड हों, हर तरह की ट्रेनिंग हो जो आपके प्रदेश की है, स्टेट की है, उसमें कुछ लोग तो बिलकुल पक्की तरह से एक्सपर्ट हों। यानी साल-दो साल उनकी स्पेशल ट्रेनिंग हो। ये सवाल नहीं है कि आप अपने एक ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटर..जैसे पुराने ज़माने में होता था, आई.सी.एस. के आदमी...जहाँ भी हों, उन्हें रख देते थे, चाहे वो जानें बात या न जानें। ये समझा जाता था कि आई.सी.एस. आदमी अधिक बात कर सकता है। ये निकम्मी बात है। ये एक स्पेशल ट्रेनिंग की बात है, और स्पेशल ट्रेनिंग कोऑपरेटिव्स [की] हो, वो अच्छी हो, साल-दो साल की हो, ये तो जो लोग प्रदेश में उसको ऑर्गनाइज़ करें, उनकी हो, लेकिन और लोगों की कम हो, बहुतों की छह महीने की ट्रेनिंग हो और लाखों आदमियों की थोड़ी ट्रेनिंग हो, चाहे वो दो हफ़्ते, सप्ताह की, एक महीने की हो। आपके पंच-सरपंच सभों को कुछ-न-कुछ कैम्पस में इधर-उधर ले जा कर ट्रेन करें, क्योंकि बग़ैर ट्रेन किये रखने में वो काम ठीक नहीं होता। और फिर हानि होगी और फिर लोग प्रचार करेंगे कि देखो, कोऑपरेटिव तुम्हारा टूट गया। ये बात है, इसलिए हमने ज़ोर दिया ट्रेनिंग पर, मामूली कोऑपरेटिव्स के भी और जॉयण्ट कल्टिवेशन में तो ख़ैर, बहुत ट्रेनिंग की आवश्यकता है।

एक और बात मैं आपसे कहूँ कि हमने कहा कि ये तीन, ये सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव हों और उससे बहुत लाभ हुआ। हमने जॉयण्ट कल्टिवेशन में कहा, उसके पीछे उनका लाभ तो है ही अगर वो स्वीकार करें, लेकिन उसके पीछे एक नया नक्शा है सोसाइटी का। कोऑपरेशन है, हम चाहते हैं कोऑपरेशन हमारी इण्डस्ट्री में भी आये, जहाँ तक बन पड़े। छोटी इण्डस्ट्री, बड़ी, बहुत बड़ी में तो शायद कठिन हो जाता है, लेकिन छोटी इण्डस्ट्री में कोऑपरेटिव हो। आज नहीं, बहुत बरस हुए, बीस बरस हुए, कांग्रेस ने अपने जो ध्येय रखा था, मक़सद, लक्ष्य रखा था, उसमें लिखा था कि भारत में कोऑपरेटिव कॉमनवेल्थ हो।<sup>119</sup> ये कोई नयी बात नहीं है, क्योंकि आजकल की दुनिया में... कोऑपरेशन के अलावा ये दुनिया चलती नहीं है। सौ बरस पहले दुनिया कैसे चलती थी, उस पर आप विचार न करें। दूसरी दुनिया थी, आजकल का ज़माना आ गया, उसमें ये करना है। तो इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि कोऑपरेशन की तरफ़, हर तरफ़ देखते हैं। तो मैंने आपका समय लिया इसको समझाने पर, क्योंकि इस पर बहस इती हुई थी, और आपके नेता यहाँ के जो हैं आचार्य रंगाजी, जो मेरे पुराने मित्र हैं, साथी हैं, वो भी बहक के उधर चले गये। तो आप तो न बहकें, आप तो सोच-विचार कर लें इसे, देख लें,

क्योंकि आन्ध्र में यहाँ के ग्रामों, देहात में ऐग्रिकल्चर है, एक तरह से हमारे देश भर में, यहाँ के लोग आगे हैं, यहाँ के फ़ार्मर्स आगे हैं और उसका टेस्ट, इन्तहान ये है कि वो फ़्री एकड़ जितना पैदा करते हैं, वो देश की औसत से अधिक है। अच्छी चीज़ है, उसको मैं चाहता हूँ और भी ऊँचा करें। और भी बढ़ायें, लेकिन इस वक़्त भी आन्ध्र के फ़ार्मर्स और भारत के फ़ार्मर्स से अधिक पैदा कर रहे हैं, फ़्री एकड़, और हमारे सामने यही है कि हम फ़्री एकड़ अपना प्रोडक्शन दुगुना-तिगुना करें। बहुत कम है भारत का, वो इसीलिए कम है कि वो उसके पीछे कोई साइन्स नहीं है, पुराने ढर्रे हैं।

आप लोगों में से कुछ ऐग्रिकल्चर सीखते हों अपने कॉलेजेज़, यूनिवर्सिटीज़ में, सीखना चाहिए। इसलिए नहीं कि आप आगे जा कर कहीं प्रोफ़ेसर हो जायें। जाइए, खेत में काम कीजिए सीखने के बाद और अपने गाँव को सिखाइए, क्योंकि उससे आप गाँव का बहुत फ़ायदा करेंगे। एक नये मेथड्स आयेंगे, नये तरीक़े आयेंगे, आपका फ़ायदा होगा, वो होगा, और ये बिलकुल जड़ की बात है कि हमारे ऐग्रिकल्चर को हमें इम्पूव करना है, अच्छा करना है और दुनिया के लेवल पर लाना है, उससे आगे ले जाना है, दुगुना-तिगुना बढ़ाना है। आप समझ लें कि हमारे ऐग्रिकल्चर में तरक्की हो, दुगुना हो जाय प्रोडक्शन तो हमारे सारे सवाल हल हो जाते हैं, हमारा सरप्लस हमें मिल जाता है, इनवेस्टमेंट के लिए ये सब बातें हो जाती हैं। और फ़ार्मर्स को अलग लाभ होता है। तो ये इत्ता सवाल ये नहीं है कि हम जा-जा के नयी ज़मीन खोदें, बल्कि जहाँ खेती होती है उसका प्रोडक्शन बढ़ायें, नये मेथड्स से, चाहे आप खोदें ज़्यादा, गहरा खोदें, चाहे बीज अच्छे दें, चाहे फ़र्टिलाइज़र दें, जो-जो बातें हों, मामूली, उसको करें। तो आन्ध्र में जहाँ के फ़ार्मर्स अच्छे हैं तो ख़ास तौर से ये करने की गुंजायश है, और करना चाहिए।

तो अभी कल कि परसों, मुझे याद नहीं, मैं जा रहा हूँ कहीं आप के आन्ध्र प्रदेश के हिस्से में और पंचायतों को कुछ अधिकार दिये गये हैं, उसके सिलसिले में।<sup>120</sup> अभी कुछ दिन हुए मैं राजस्थान में था<sup>121</sup> और ये अभी दूसरी अक्टूबर को गाँधीजी की जयन्ती के दिन शुभ दिन चुना गया था, क्योंकि एक बहुत बड़ा काम राजस्थान की गवर्नमेंट ने किया। उन्होंने सारे राजस्थान की पंचायतों को सारी डेवलपमेंट के अधिकार दिये गये हैं पूरे, और पैसा दे दिया गया। आपके यहाँ भी ये बात परसाल से हो रही है। हर ज़िले में चुनी हुई पंचायतों को दिये गये हैं, अब बढ़ाया जा रहा है तो राजस्थान और आन्ध्र प्रदेश इस माने में भारत में सब में आगे हो गये हैं। और मुझे इस बात की बहुत खुशी है, क्योंकि मैं समझता हूँ कि देश की तरक्की होती है जनता पर भरोसा करने से, अधिकार देने से और ये जो हम डेवलपमेंट के और और बहुत सारे अधिकार हम पंचायतों को देते हैं उसमें हो सकता है कि पंचायत वाले गड़बड़ करें, आपस में लड़ाई लड़ें, सब कुछ हो सकता है। लेकिन फिर भी उनको अधिकार देने से सीखेंगे काम, उनमें

120. He inaugurated a Panchayat Samiti at Shadnagar of Mahbubnagar district, Andhra Pradesh on 12 October 1959.

121. He was in Jaipur on 2-3 September 1959. See items 4-6 in this volume.



ज़िम्मेदारी आयेगी, रिसर्पोन्सिबिलिटी आयेगी और तरक्की होगी। बड़े काम देश में सरकारी अफ़सरों के द्वारा नहीं होते। सरकारी अफ़सर सेवा कर सकते हैं, मदद कर सकते हैं, लेकिन जिस काम को आप ने ख़ाली सरकारी अफ़सरों पर छोड़ा बड़े काम को, वो काम बढ़ नहीं सकता। क्योंकि बड़े काम में जनता को आना है, बग़ैर उसके हम नहीं कर सकते। कोऑपरेशन का मैं अभी आप से कह रहा था सहकारी संघ, कोऑपरेशन में सरकारी अफ़सरों को पास नहीं जाना चाहिए, ये मेरी पक्की राय है। सलाह दें वो और बात है। लेकिन कोऑपरेशन को सरकारी अफ़सर से कोई बन्धन नहीं होना चाहिए। कोऑपरेशन एक नॉन-ऑफ़िशियल चीज़ है। कोऑपरेशन एक चीज़ है जिसमें ज़िम्मेदारी उसके मेम्बर्स पर होनी चाहिए। जहाँ सरकारी अफ़सर एक बड़ा पंच बैठ [कर] बड़ा बाबू बन कर बैठ गया वहाँ जा कर, तो वो काम अच्छा कर सकता है, लेकिन कोऑपरेशन ख़त्म हो गया। ये मेरी राय है, पक्की राय है। इसी तरह से सरकारी अफ़सर तो हमारे अच्छे हैं, मैं उनका कोई विरोध नहीं कर रहा हूँ, लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारी जनता में, विशेषकर हमारी ग्राम की जनता में, शक्ति आये खुद काम करने की। इसीलिए शायद ये पंचायत में उनको अधिकार दिये जायें ग़लत-सही जो कुछ करें, गड़बड़ करें, तब भी करने को उनको दिये जायें। और ग्राम में तीन चीज़ें जड़ की हैं। एक तो पंचायत, एक सहकारी-संघ हर गाँव में होना चाहिए, तीसरा स्कूल। तीन चीज़ें हर गाँव में होनी चाहिए। पक्की है ये और अगर आपको और पंचायत को और पंचायतों का भी और पंचायतें हों इस से बड़ी तो इस से जनतन्त्र की जड़ मज़बूत हो जाती है। फिर ऊपर जो कुछ हो, कोई हरज नहीं, फिर आपके देश में जनतन्त्र पक्की तौर से मज़बूत से हो जाता है।

अब बहुत सारी बातें मैंने आपसे कहीं, देश की बातें, क्योंकि मैं चाहता हूँ आप समझें। मैं ख़ाली आप से उत्साह देने का एक व्याख्यान दे दूँ, जोश दिलाने को कि ये करो, वो करो, उछल-कूद करो, ये तो आसान बात है, लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ आप समझें इस बात को कि इस समय हम कैसे इनक़लाबी ज़माने में रहते हैं। और इस ज़माने का दौर किस तेज़ी से बदल रहा है। हमारा देश बदल रहा है। गाँव में, शहर में, हर जगह इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन आ रहा है। हमारे कॉलेजेज़ से, स्कूल से लड़के-लड़कियाँ निकल रहे हैं पढ़ कर, ऐसे लड़के-लड़कियाँ, जिनके परिवार में कभी पहले कभी पढ़ा नहीं था। नये लोग आ रहे हैं। गाँव के लोग आ रहे हैं, सारा नक्शा बदल रहा है। रहन-सहन बदल रहा है, विशेषकर बदल रहा है इसलिए कि हमारी लड़कियाँ, स्त्रियाँ पढ़ रही हैं, उनसे ज़्यादा सामाजिक क्रान्ति होती है, उनकी पढ़ाई से, वो अच्छी बात है। ये सब हो रहा है और ये इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन की क्रान्ति हो रही है, बदल रही है। चूँकि गुल-शोर नहीं मचता, लड़ाई-झगड़ा नहीं होता, लोग समझते नहीं कि कितनी क्रान्ति देश में हो रही है।

आपके हैदराबाद में काफ़ी उलट-पलट देखा। पिछले बारह-तेरह-चौदह बरस में पहले, स्वराज आने पर, उसके बाद कशमकश हुई, यहाँ की हुकूमत से। उसके बाद पुलिस ऐक्शन हुआ। इसके बाद कुछ हुआ, कुछ हुआ आपने देखा। तो ज़ाहिर है, इस सब ऊँच-नीच में, यहाँ

के अक्सर लोगों को नुकसान भी पहुँचा, परेशानी हुई। पुराना ढंग था, बल्कि फ्रूडल ढंग था। उसको आप हटायें तो नुकसान पहुँचेगा लोगों को, इसलिए नहीं कि हम नुकसान पहुँचाना चाहते हैं, वो तो है ही, लाचारी है। अगर उन लोगों को समझ हो तो नये ज़माने को समझ के उसमें फ़िट-इन करें, उसमें आयें तो उनको मौक़ा मिलेगा। पुराने सिलसिले, वो तो चल नहीं सकते आजकल के ज़माने में कि हज़ारों-लाखों आदमी महज़ एक पेंशनयाप्तता बैठे हैं, पेंशन पा रहे हैं। ये तो सिलसिला आजकल का नहीं है। एक ज़माना आने वाला है और मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि बहुत दिन नहीं होंगे उसके आने में, जब कोई शख्स भी बग़ैर मेहनत, उसको हक़ नहीं होगा...चाहे दिमाग़ की मेहनत करे, चाहे हाथ की और हाथ-पैर की मेहनत की आपको काफ़ी क़दर करनी चाहिए, वो ही दुनिया को चलाती है। ये पेशा है ग़दीनशीनी का, बग़ैर काम किये औरों के काम से फ़ायदा उठाना, इससे देश की ताक़त नहीं बढ़ती।

ख़ैर, मैं चाहता हूँ आप ज़रा सोचें कि कैसे-कैसे इस इनकलाबी दुनिया में आपका क्या हिस्सा है? एक चालीस करोड़ आदमियों की क्रौम बढ़ रही है। आप उसके जुज़ हैं, आपको उसमें लीडरशिप देनी है, आप कुछ पढ़े-लिखे अधिक हैं, पढ़ रहे हैं, सीखें, तैयार करें अपने को, क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान को एक-दो नहीं लाखों लीडर्स की ज़रूरत है। अपने ज़िले में, अपने सूबे में, अपने हर जगह। वो ज़रूरत नहीं है जैसे अधिकतर लोग समझते हैं आजकल असेम्बली या पार्लियामेंट में जाने से पॉलिटिक्स होता है। ख़ैर, ये भी एक चीज़ है, हो, लेकिन उससे कहीं ज़्यादा ज़रूरी काम और हैं।

दो-एक और बातें मैं आपसे कह दूँ हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर के बारे में, जिसमें आपको ज़रूर दिलचस्पी होगी, और होनी चाहिए। एक तो ये चीन का मसला उठा है हमारी सरहद पर। अब उसमें जो कुछ हमारे पत्र-व्यवहार, ख़तो-किताबत हुई है, वो छपी है।<sup>122</sup> अभी आज से पाँच-सात दिन हुए एक लम्बा ख़त जो मैंने चीन के प्राइममिनिस्टर को लिखा था, वो भी अखबारों में छपा, आपने पढ़ा होगा। तो वो कुछ हमारा मुक़दमा है, वो उसमें सारा दिया है, और उस मुक़दमे को आपको समझाने की ज़रूरत नहीं है, क्योंकि आप समझे हुए हैं, आप उसके हक़ में हैं। लेकिन अब एक शिकायत होती है। बाज़ साहब कहते हैं कि क्यों साहब, वो एक चीन वाले एक गाँव में बैठे हुए हैं, हमारे गाँव पर कब्ज़ा किये, लोंगजू है वो और लद्दाख में भी एकाध कोई खास गाँव तो नहीं है, लेकिन एकाध पहाड़ की चोटी है, पहाड़ का छोटा-सा हिस्सा है, उस पर भी कब्ज़ा किये बैठे हुए हैं। तो आप उनको निकालते क्यों नहीं फ़ौरन फ़ौज ले जा कर? मुझसे सवाल किया गया था, और मैंने अभी दिल्ली में एक प्रेस कॉन्फ़रेन्स हुई थी, मैंने उसमें जवाब दिया कि हम इस वक़्त उनसे बातचीत कर रहे हैं,<sup>123</sup> ख़त भेज रहे हैं, डिप्लोमैटिक कार्रवाइयाँ हो रही हैं और हम मुनासिब नहीं समझते कि हम फ़ौजें अपनी दौड़ा दें, एक-दो गाँव के पीछे। लेकिन अगर चीनी हुकूमत ने...ज़रा भी हमारे सरहद पर

122. See item 243 in this volume.

123. On 8 October 1959. See item 16 in this volume.



और आगे बढ़े वो तो ज़रूर रोके जायेंगे और फ़ौजी तरीक़े से रोके जायेंगे (तालियाँ) तो कुछ लोग जोश में नाख़ुश हो जाते हैं कि वाह साहब, बड़ी आपने हिम्मत दिखाई। वो बैठे हैं आपके एक हिस्से पर, और आप बर्दाश्त करते हैं। और हमला हो तब? लेकिन ये बातें बड़े मुल्कों की हैं। आसानी से किसी मुल्क को अपनी फ़ौज का इस्तेमाल नहीं करना चाहिए, फ़ौज के इस्तेमाल करने के माने हैं, बात बढ़ती है और लड़ाई हो जाती है, असल लड़ाई, दो मुल्कों की लड़ाई, बड़े मुल्कों की। ये कोई पुलिस ऐक्शन नहीं होता है। वो बड़ी चीज़ है। और कोई ज़िम्मेदार शाख़ को इस तरह से नहीं करना चाहिए। जैसे कि बाज़ भाई हमारे अख़बार के समझते हैं कि मामूली बात है बस। लेकिन उसी के साथ ये भी ज़ाहिर है कि किसी मुल्क को जिसको और ज़रा भी ग़ैरत हो, वो सिर नहीं झुका सकता किसी हमले के सामने, उसका मुक़ाबला करना होता है, क्योंकि वो एक महज़ एक गाँव की या एक-दो मील ज़मीन की बात नहीं है, बल्कि उसके पीछे हज़ारों बातें होती हैं, मुल्क की इन्टेग्रिटी, मुल्क की शान, और बहुत बातें हैं। हमारी पॉलिसी रही, नीति रही कि हम इस नये चीन से दोस्ती करें, हमने कई तरह से उनकी सिफ़ारिश की, युनाइटेड नेशन्स वग़ैरह में, हालाँकि उनका तरीक़ा अलग है, अपने मुल्क का इन्तज़ाम करने का, हमारा अलग है। उनको हक़ है अपना तरीक़ा जैसे हमें हक़ है, अपने मुल्क का। लेकिन उसी के साथ यह भी है कि हम उनके मुल्क में दख़ल न दें, वो हमारे मुल्क में दख़ल न दें। इसलिए मुझे बहुत रंज हुआ था कि बावजूद इन सब बातों के, उन्होंने जो कुछ कार्रवाई की जो कि मुझे बहुत ग़लत मालूम होती थी। अगर वो कार्रवाई ऐसी होती कि बहस की कि हमारी सरहद की लाइन एक मील इधर है कि उधर है कहीं कुछ धोखा हो सकता है, क्योंकि पहाड़ी मुक़ाम है, कोई वहाँ निशान थोड़े ही है। हमने कहा, हम उस पर बात करने को तैयार हैं, जो कुछ है, सबूत पेश कीजिए। आप भी, हम भी। नज़रों देखें जायें और उन पर आपस में हम तय करें, बाअमन तरीक़ों से, शान्ति से, झगड़ा-फ़साद तो नहीं, सोच-समझ कर वो तय हो। और उसी तरह से और उसी वजह से हमने मंज़ूर है कि लोंगजू में इधर-उधर गाँव जो गया, उसमें बातचीत की जाय, बातचीत करके तय करें। हम नहीं कहते कि लोंगजू में...मेरा खयाल है कि हमारा बहुत अच्छा मुक़दमा है,<sup>124</sup> लेकिन हम नहीं कहते कि ढाई हज़ार मील में, जहाँ कोई पहाड़ी पर निशान नहीं है, वहाँ कोई दो रायें नहीं हो सकती हैं। कहीं थोड़ी-सी इधर या उधर की। तो हम तैयार हैं और एकदम से लड़ाई में कूद पड़ें ये तो एक ग़ैरज़िम्मेदारी की बात है। इस तरह से आजकल की दुनिया में कोई ज़िम्मेदार हुकूमत नहीं करती है। लेकिन जो चीन की तरफ़ से माँग एक पेश हुई है, उनके नज़रों में और उनके एकाध ख़त में भी, जिसमें एक बड़ा हिस्सा हमारे सीमा प्रान्त का आ जाता है, पूर्वी सीमा प्रान्त का और इधर-उधर और भी। ये बात तो साफ़ आप जानते हैं, कह भी दिया है कि ये तो बिल्कुल नामुमकिन है कि उस पर हम ग़ौर करेंगे आपसे आ के बात नहीं करेंगे। ये तरीक़ा नहीं होता है। तो ये बात है। अब इसमें दो ग़लतियाँ हो सकती हैं हमारी तरफ़ से, एक तो बड़ी सख़्त

124. On 27 September 1959 Nehru replied to Chou En-lai. See SWJN/SS/52/pp. 216-231.

गलती, कि हम इन बातों पर जो नया नक्शा निकाला है सरहद पर, उसकी तरफ़ तवज्जो न करें, या उसकी फ़िकर न करें, ग़फ़लत करें। जो क़ौम इस तरह से करती है, वो गिर जाती है, यानी कि उसमें दम नहीं होता कि अपने मुल्क की हिफ़ाज़त करे, ये तो बहुत ग़लत बात है। दूसरी तरफ़ से दूसरे ढंग की ग़लती की है कि हम बस एक गुल-शोर मचायें सख़्त कलामी करें और हर वक़्त धमकियाँ दें दूसरे मुल्क को और फ़ौजें दौड़ायें इधर-उधर, ये भी कुछ दानिशमन्दी की बात नहीं है। आप, जो वहाँ हुआ उस सरहद पर, उससे आगाह हो जायें। उससे आप अपने [को] और मुल्क को तैयार करें। अगर ख़तरा हो, उसका सामना करें। हाँ, वो ठीक है, लेकिन ज़रिम्मेदारी से उछल-कूद करें, बग़ैर सोचे कि अगला क़दम क्या, तीसरा क़दम क्या और चौथा क़दम क्या हो, वो समझ की बात नहीं। तो अब ये दो तरफ़ हैं और बीच में आप को रहना है, होशियार रहना है। और ये भी याद रखना है कि ये बात तो शायद चन्द हफ़्तों, चन्द महीनों की नहीं है, शायद लम्बी चले। और काफ़ी आपकी और हमारे मुल्कों की आजमायश है उसमें। तो वो आजमायश में पूरा नहीं होंगे रेज़ोलूशन पास करके, बल्कि और तरह से मुल्क को तैयार करके और मुल्क की असली तैयारी, ताक़त इन्हीं बातों पर है जो आपके फ़ाइव इयर प्लैन वग़ैरह में है—मुल्क को बनाना। हमारी बड़ी अच्छी फ़ौज है, लेकिन फ़ौज आजकल क्या चीज़ है? फ़ौज की ताक़त है, उसके पीछे इण्डस्ट्री क्या है? अगर इण्डस्ट्री नहीं है फ़ौज की तो फ़ौज के हथियार नहीं चला सकती। फिर क्या उसके पास, हर वक़्त हाथ फैलायें, इंग्लैण्ड और अमेरिका, जर्मनी और जापान जो कोई और मुल्क हैं, लाखों हमें हथियार दो, सामान दो? आजकल सिर्फ़ इण्डस्ट्रियाइज़्ड मुल्क की ताक़त है। हर तरह; जिस तरफ़ से आप देखें, चाहे हिफ़ाज़त करने को, चाहे खुशहाल बनाने को मुल्क को। इसलिए उसका नतीजा ये होना चाहिए एक तो होशियार, आगाह हों, ख़बरदार हों, हर वक़्त चौकन्ने हों, धोके में न पड़ सकें उस हालत में, और फिर जो कुछ फ़ौज की तैयारी करनी है, वो करेंगी, हिफ़ाज़त की, लेकिन हम तो कुछ नहीं कर सकते वहाँ जा कर। हमें और भी सोचना चाहिए इस मौक़े पर कि जिसमें हम अपनी ताक़त मिल कर लगायें मुल्क को मज़बूत बनाने में। पहली बात तो ये कि आपस की नाइतफ़ाक़ी हटायें, छोटे-छोटे झगड़े हटायें, छोटे-छोटे विवाद हटायें। दूसरे, पक्की तौर से हम इस मुल्क के बनाने में और इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ करने में और जो-जो हमारे योजनाएँ हैं, स्कीम हैं, प्रोजेक्ट हैं, उनको पूरा करने में लगायें। आप लोग जो पढ़ते हैं स्कूल-कॉलेज में, वो अपने को तैयार करें, मज़बूत करें, पढ़-लिख कर कि आप बाद में लीडरशिप कर सकें इन सब बड़े कामों की। ये करना है, क्योंकि ये सवाल मुल्कों के बीच के, कोई चन्द रोज़, चन्द हफ़्तों, चन्द महीने के नहीं, बरसों के हो जाते हैं और उसी तरह से हमें तैयार होना है।

तो काफ़ी वक़्त मैंने आपका लिया और मैंने कोशिश की आपके सामने चन्द आजकल के हालात रखने की, मुल्क के सवालों को, क्योंकि मैं चाहता हूँ आप समझें, आपके दिमाग़ को पकड़े। आप मुझ पर इनायत करते हैं, मोहब्बत अपनी देते हैं, उससे मेरी ताक़त बढ़ती है। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ, आप इन बातों को समझें। मैं आपका मेहमान हूँ चन्द दिन का। आपके ऊपर ज़िम्मेदारी आवेगी मुल्क को चलाने की और आपको समझना है और समझ कर



दानीशमन्दी से और हिम्मत से मुल्क को चलाना है।

जयहिन्द! मेरे साथ जयहिन्द तो कहिए तीन बार। जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द! फिर से जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Mr Chief Minister,<sup>125</sup> sisters, brothers, and children, I had come to Hyderabad a year ago to attend the All India Congress Committee meeting.<sup>126</sup> I would like to say a few words about the decisions which were taken at that session. But if you look at the innumerable things which have been happening in India and the world, you will discover how quickly the world is changing. Some people think that change has to be accompanied by fighting and violent clashes which is a childish notion. A real revolution is one in which there is a gradual change in the lifestyle of millions of human beings.

Just now Shri Sanjiva Reddy reminded you that I have come here on a particularly auspicious day. These days Navratra, Dusshera, Durga Puja, (the festival is known by different names) is being celebrated all over the country, particularly in North India. Tomorrow is Vijaya Dashami which is considered particularly auspicious. So, I have come here on such an occasion and the first task that I performed in Andhra Pradesh was to lay the foundation stone of an engineering college.<sup>127</sup> I liked the idea because our entire attention is engrossed in the task of building a new India for which we need science, technology, engineering, and so on. So, I have started my four-day tour of Andhra Pradesh keeping this task in mind.

As I was telling you just now, the pace of life today is rapidly increasing in the world. There are some things which all of us know about but we may not understand their full implications. You have seen how rapidly science and its offshoots have progressed in the past year. Just a month or so ago, the Russian scientists sent a rocket to the moon.<sup>128</sup> America is also following suit. You may ask how it benefits us. It is true that we do not directly benefit very much. But when knowledge and education spread, new forces come into the hands of man and the world changes by using those forces. In the world that we are living in, it has become an ordinary thing to travel by air, train or motor, use electricity, etc. I came here today by aeroplane. You use electricity in factories, listen to

125. See fn 107 in this section.

126. See fn 108 in this section.

127. See fn 109 in this section.

128. See fn 110 in this section.

the radio. I am now speaking through the loudspeaker. Just think back to the past and the condition of the world a hundred or a hundred and fifty years ago. If you go back a couple of hundred years earlier, you will find that there was no particular difference between the West and the rest of the world or India. In fact, it is possible that India was slightly better off than the West. We had several industries, not like the modern ones with huge machinery, but where all kinds of goods used to be produced. India was regarded as a rich country in comparison with the others. In fact, India was not really wealthy because no country was really rich in those days from the point of view of the common masses. But India was regarded as a rich country in comparison with the other countries. Even when the British, the French and the Portuguese came to the shores of India, the difference was not very marked. But the difference had started and the West had begun to change. What was it that changed Europe? It was science and technology and their offshoot which transformed Europe in the last two hundred years. First the British, then the Germans, the French, the Americans took advantage of the new forces that had come into the hands of man. Steam power and electricity were forces which made many new things possible. Industries began to come up, steam-ships and trains revolutionised the means of transport and communication. By the judicious use of steel and coal, the countries of the West became very powerful and wealthy. They began to produce an enormous amount of goods from land and industries and soon they began to extend their domination over Asia and Africa and establishing colonies all over the world.

You can see the great difference that has come over the world in the last one hundred and fifty years or less. Before that, from the time of Asoka and Gautama Buddha, for more than two thousand and five hundred years, people travelled only on horseback or by bullock cart. There was no faster means of communication available than the horse. The situation remained the same till a hundred years ago. There had been no appreciable change in the world for over two thousand years in the mode of transport and communication, life style, etc. Then a new thing happened. Science was always known but now man began to discover new forces like steam and electricity which had always been hidden in nature. This gave an immense power to man for now the work of a hundred or even a thousand human beings could be accomplished by one with the help of these new forces. So immediately man's strength increased enormously. This is the change that took place in Europe while Asia remained backward, because we did not pay attention to the new discoveries of science, and later when the British came, they did not encourage scientific learning in India, except what was taught in schools and colleges. There was no real scientific and technological advance in the country.



So, as you see, tremendous changes have come over Europe during the last hundred or a hundred and twenty-five years. Their strength increased and they grew extremely wealthy. Their entire way of life changed while the countries of Asia grew poorer. So the chasm widened. All this is a matter of the last last hundred or a hundred and twenty-five years, entirely due to the advance made by the West in science and technology. The process has gone on and now yet another new force, atomic energy, has come into their hands, which has not been fully utilised. One terrible outcome of the discovery of atomic energy is the atom bomb which razed two cities in Japan, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to the ground and killed millions of people during the Second World War. But atomic energy has not been fully used till now. You will undoubtedly see a new world in fifteen to twenty years functioning largely on atomic energy. The countries which produce it will go far.

I want you to understand how countries became rich and powerful. It cannot be done by passing resolutions or showing anger, taking out processions or holding demonstrations. Sometimes demonstrations give vent to people's feelings. But it does not add to people's strength in any way. If you hold a demonstration in Hyderabad or Delhi, it may have some impact on me or on one another. But it will make no difference to other countries. So, the real strength of a nation does not depend on such things.

The problem before us is to become strong and prosperous like the countries of Europe have done and remove poverty from the country. It is no exaggeration to say that there is no poverty in the countries of Europe, particularly Western Europe. There may be disparities here and there. But they have put an end to poverty. It can also be said that employment is generally available to everyone. So we want that India should also become well off, and unemployment and poverty may be removed from the country. How is it to be done? It is obvious that it can be done only by taking advantage of scientific learning and technological advance as the West has done. We must also harness the sources of energy available in nature and become industrialised, and advance in the field of science in order to be able to produce more wealth.

What is wealth? Money is a symbol. It is not real wealth. Human beings cannot eat gold and silver. They need food. So the real wealth of a nation consists of the goods that are produced in the country, consumer goods of which food-grains and agricultural produce are the most important. Whatever is produced from land by the effort of human beings is wealth and the more you produce, the wealthier will the country be. Similarly, what we produce from industries, big or small, cottage industries, and so on, constitute new wealth in the country. It is obvious that the more wealth we produce, the more there will be to spend. We cannot keep printing paper money if it is not backed by natural goods.

Therefore we have to increase the production of every type of goods, from land and industries, from heavy industries, village industries, etc. The countries of Europe and the United States produce an enormous amount of goods through their machines which are their wealth. This is why the pound and the dollar are such solid currencies.

So, the question before us is how to remove poverty from the country and increase the production of essential consumer goods, like food grains and other agricultural produce, set up industries, etc., and provide employment to people. Secondly, wealth is produced in the country which enhances its stature. You hear of five year plans, etc. What do they mean? There is a Planning Commission. What is the duty of the Central Government or the Government of Andhra Pradesh? It does not stop merely with postings and transfers. That is a superficial thing. Their real task is to work for the development of the country and to find ways and means of increasing the national wealth. How is that to be done? This is where planning comes in because we do not have enough wealth in the country to undertake whatever we like. If there had been wealth in the country, we would not be poor. So we must utilise the limited resources at our disposal to the maximum advantage that our capacity to produce wealth increases. When you build a house, you first lay strong-foundations for it and then build the edifice on top. So, a strong foundation is very essential. We have to lay the strong foundations of the edifice of new India. As I told you, we have become backward in the field of science and even ordinary education in comparison to the West. We must rectify this and make arrangements for the spread of education in the country and train people. It is only educated people who can help in fulfilling the task of progress. You go to schools and colleges and pass examinations which are a symbol of what you have learnt. But, in fact, the important thing is not passing examinations, but learning new things during the course of your education. It is absurd to think that you will get jobs merely by passing examinations. Some of you may manage to do so. But the important thing is how many people in the country are trained to do new kinds of jobs, whether it is government service or working on land and industries.

Often people come to me asking for jobs. Where am I to provide jobs from? It is a strange thing that though it is nearly twelve to thirteen years since I have been with the government in Delhi, you will be surprised to know that I have not appointed even one peon on my own, so far. The tradition is that the Union Public Service Commission or some other appointments committee selects them. The only posts that I have in hand in making appointments to are of the governors and ambassadors. But even that is limited because the ambassadors have to be selected from the Foreign Service. So, though I occupy a post of such high honour as the Prime Minister, I cannot by law appoint even



a peon. I do not like the idea of breaking the rule or making recommendations. Anyhow, people often come to me. But it is not proper. It is unfortunate if some worthy individual does not get selected. But the rule that the Public Service Commission must make the appointments is a good one. Otherwise everything will go by recommendations and nepotism.

However, though I agree that there are millions of government servants in the country, their number is very small when compared to the population of India which is forty crores. All of them cannot be taken into government service in Delhi or Hyderabad. It is impossible. But they must be provided with employment, productive employment. Therefore, education and training the mind and body and character become important, because ultimately the yardstick to measure a nation is not by its numbers but by the number of people who are trained in various fields, in medicine, engineering, science, administration, etc. It is by the efforts of such people that the country grows. If mere numbers were the criterion, we should be the greatest nation in the world today which we are not. In fact such a large population has become a burden upon us. Therefore, it is important to educate the people and not only that, to ensure proper upbringing of the child at home. Please remember that what a child learns in the first five to six years of his life at home is extremely important for it moulds his character. Later, he may learn more on his own but if the parents do not pay proper attention to the development of their children, they will face problems later. Ultimately everything else in a country is secondary to human beings and the moulding of their character. It is extremely important to have trained people, doctors, engineers, administrators, scientists, etc., in the country, because the progress and development of the nation depends upon them. The more the number of trained people in the country the faster the country will grow.

Now, suppose we do not have good scientists in the country. Then no matter how good and able the others are, we cannot progress in science. We may have good lawyers, dancers, musicians, etc. But we will not advance in the field of science unless we have high-class scientists in the country. The science that we learn in schools and colleges is not enough. Higher scientific learning comes later, after you have gone through school and college. Today, the heartening thing is that a large number of young men and women in India are being trained in science. Engineers are also growing in number. The youth who join the army, navy and air force are of high calibre with great discipline and strength and training. These are the people who contribute to the strength of the country, and not the forty crore human beings in the country. If all of them were to become trained, the nation would advance far beyond our dreams.

Therefore, the foremost task before us is to train people to become high-class individuals. It is not possible to do so immediately. Perhaps it will never

be possible, because everyone is not made the same way. Some are brilliant, others are extremely stupid. You cannot make a stupid person intelligent even by educating him. But education will make even a fool somewhat better. It is sad that the promising children in our country do not get opportunities for progress. It is wrong. They must be given opportunity. It is wrong that only a select few get proper opportunities today. We must make arrangements for educating every single child in the country.

First of all, the government must make arrangements for providing primary education to every child for six or seven years. We have not been able to do this so far. But we are trying and will keep extending the age as and when it is possible. Then, arrangements should be made for boys and girls in millions to get secondary education. After that select boys and girls must be given training in special areas in universities and technical institutes, etc. In this way, everyone should get a minimum basic education and the more intelligent ones should be channelised into special fields. Selection should depend on merit and not on any other consideration like the amount of money their parents have. Secondly, the business of reservations for various castes is a dangerous one. I agree that the backward sections of our society must be given full opportunities to progress. But if the deserving and intelligent boys and girls are left out because of this, it will be most improper and cause harm to the nation. Intelligent boys and girls must always get an opportunity, irrespective of their caste and status, for they are the pillars of the society and it is their calibre which will enhance the country's status.

So, as I told you, education is the first priority. But how are we to make arrangements for millions of people to be educated when we have neither money nor teachers? We need millions of teachers to teach millions of people, it is obvious. Only today Shri Humayun Kabir said in Warangal, and I think he must be right, that three crore children are reading in primary schools all over the country and more than a crore in schools, colleges and universities which makes four crores in all.<sup>129</sup> Forty million is a very large number. There are many countries in the world where the population is not forty million. I agree that the percentage of literacy in India is very low, much less than what it should be. I think it was eighteen or twenty percent which was very little. Nowadays, I have heard that it has gone up to forty percent. There is rapid progress and literacy is increasing very fast. But look at it from the point of view of our population. Forty percent of four hundred million is a very large number. It is because education is spreading very fast that the country is progressing and

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there is a new awareness among the people. I do not say that people become highly qualified the moment they can write their names. That is only a step. But innumerable people are going on for higher education too.

Today three crore children are reading in primary schools. We want that the number should become double and increase to six or seven crores by the end of the Third Plan. If you add on the number of people who are getting secondary education, university education and studying in technical institutes, etc., I think the number will rise to seven or eight crores. We want that every child in India should get education not only till the age of eleven or twelve but till fifteen years. Then the number will be ten crores. It will probably take ten or twelve years to accomplish this, because we will have to train teachers in large numbers. We will need thousands of teachers and lecturers for schools and colleges which will be a great help from the point of view of the unemployment problem also. As education spreads, new avenues will open up before the people.

Secondly, when the number of teachers and taught is nearly ten crores, the amount of money spent on them will also be enormous. While the children are in schools and colleges, they do not enter the productive age group. So the burden of educating ten crores is a great one. It can be done only when production increases in the country and we can save enough to invest in these tasks. Why is it that we are not making arrangements to provide education to everyone in the country immediately? For one thing, quite frankly, we do not have the money. Secondly, we do not have sufficient number of teachers either. Both are essential. It is increasing and education has spread quite rapidly in the last eight to ten years. It had not spread at this pace even in the United States or the Soviet Union in the past. So, anyhow, what I am trying to tell you is that even for the spread of education, it is very essential that we should industrialise the country and increase production and national wealth. So we come round to the same thing again and again.

These are the various complications which make planning essential. We have to adopt modern science and technology and the new forces that are operating in this world. The most ordinary symbols of these new forces are steam and electricity. But new discoveries are being made all the time—the latest is of course atomic energy. If we do not understand this changing world of ours, we will become backward. We lost our freedom in the past because while Europe was advancing in the field of science and technology and industrially, we, steeped in pride, refused to learn anything new. The world advanced and we remained where we were. People from England and other European countries, filled with a spirit of adventure and daring, crossed thousands of miles by sea to come to India. We talk of Portuguese or British

atrocities in India. The Portuguese are still holding on to a small corner of India, though they will have to leave. [Applause]

Anyhow, in spite of their atrocities and so on, there is no doubt that the people from the West showed great courage in setting out for the unknown. They had to face great dangers. The nation which shows courage and daring can face any danger unflinchingly. If you look at the history of India two thousand or two thousand five hundred years ago, you find that the people used to go to far off places facing grave dangers, to South-East Asia, Indonesia, Burma, Indo-China, Malaya, and so on. You will find traces of Indian culture, art, language and civilisation in all these countries. India has made such a strong impact on them that it exists to this day. What does it imply? It shows that the people in India were full of daring and spirit of adventure and were not afraid of crossing the seas. They were not rigidly bound by the caste system then which has ruined the country since. Indians reached as far as Mongolia and evidence of our civilisation is to be found to this day. The flag of Mongolia as far as I can remember is called Swayambhu. The President of Mongolia is called Shambhu.<sup>130</sup> The influence that India exerted on far-flung areas is discernible to this day, because we were a pulsating, vibrant nation, fearless, full of courage and daring. So we went out carrying the banner of our culture and knowledge and had a profound influence upon other countries and civilisations. If you want to see the best examples of Indian art, you will have to go to Cambodia, Indonesia, Java and other countries of South-East Asia.

Well, then came a period of downfall and our courage and daring began to ebb. We became divided into various compartments; the rigidity of the caste-system became a stranglehold upon the people with restrictions on who to eat with and who not to eat with; whom to touch and whom not to touch. Overseas travel began to be considered a sin and people who left the country to travel abroad became outcasts. They had to do penance and so on when they came back. You can see the change that came over the nation. A country which used to look upon the world with fearless eyes became like a frog in a well, with all kind of taboos and restrictions. Our entire religion centered on kitchen rituals and we were cut off from the outside world. So we fell and lost our freedom. In spite of our vast population, we became lifeless. Now, that we have been given an opportunity once again to prove our mettle, it is up to us to take advantage of it and make India into a strong and vibrant nation, pulsating with new life.

We must learn a lesson from the thousands of years of our history. There have been great men, brave warriors, heroes and great thinkers in the past. But

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our history also teaches us that there has been tremendous disunity in the country. Even now, you can see how quickly disagreements come to the surface at the slightest provocation in the name of religion, province, language, caste, and so on. Disunity is the single factor which has been responsible for weakening India's strength and freedom. All our energy is frittered away in futile quarrels. We must get out of this habit of fighting among ourselves. Casteism has been the bane of India for a very long time. We cannot allow it to exist any longer in the country because it has no relevance in a democracy. So long as casteism exists, democracy cannot be properly established. That is absolutely certain. If some castes consider themselves superior to the others, there can be no real democracy. Socialism will also remain a far cry. So it is essential to get rid of the customs and habits which weaken us and try to understand the new world that we are living in. Soon, a time will come when it will become difficult even to keep the identity of countries separate in the world, let alone these narrow distinctions of caste. The world is becoming a very small place. It is becoming more close knit and if we continue in our old rut, we will become backward. So unity is of fundamental importance. Secondly, we must try to acquire modern scientific learning and not merely copy others by reading text books in physics and chemistry from England and the Soviet Union and elsewhere. We must advance in the field of science and technology to such an extent that others should come to us to learn.

To do this, as I said, we have to provide education to the people. But it is equally important to industrialise the country, because that will increase the wealth in the country which we can utilise in the tasks of development. All these things are linked together. We have to bring about an industrial revolution of the kind that took place a hundred and fifty years ago in Europe. It is already happening in India and we are doing all this at a time when another revolution, the atomic revolution, is taking place in the world today. So we must do both and that is not possible by making a noise, shouting slogans or passing resolutions. It is possible only by very hard work, education and training. You will find the same thing whether you go to a capitalist country like the United States or a communist country like the Soviet Union. For one thing, the people in both countries work extremely hard and secondly, in spite of all their ideological differences, both are worshippers of science, technology and machines. Please do not be under any misconception. There is no great difference between the various countries in the world, except in very minor things. Fundamentally, they look in the same direction, the world of science and machines. They have taken advantage of these things and therefore advanced a great deal.

In short, we have to bring about an industrial revolution rapidly in India

and we are already doing it. The countries of the West have had hundred to one fifty years to bring about an industrial revolution gradually. But we do not have that much time. If we wait for a hundred to one a hundred and fifty years, the country will be finished by then. Today, the two great problems before India are her dire poverty and the rapidly growing population. If production does not keep pace with the growing population, the country will become poorer and poorer. This is a broad fact. If the production of food remains the same while the number of mouths to be fed increases, we will grow poorer. The same thing is true of clothes, houses, schools and colleges and various other things. So long as production does not grow or exceed the growth of population, the country will become poorer. This is the difficulty. One remedy for that is to make an effort to control the population growth by family planning and birth control, etc. This is no laughing matter. Everyone must realise this because otherwise our goals will recede further and there is a danger of our poverty increasing. The other solution is to bring about an industrial revolution immediately without waiting for a hundred years. This is very essential.

Now, it is said that an industrial revolution was brought about very quickly in some countries as in the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that there has been amazing progress in the Soviet Union which is really praiseworthy. But you have to remember that several factors were responsible for this extraordinary progress. First of all, events in the Soviet Union occurred under very special circumstances. The World War had wreaked tremendous havoc in Russia and the political order had broken down completely. The army was in disarray. So in a sense they started with a clean state. Secondly the Russians have paid a very heavy price for what they have achieved in terms of sacrifice and hardships and difficulties. I very much doubt if the people of India would be prepared to pay such a heavy price. No country would do it unless compelled to do so. The Soviet Union did it. They had every right to do as they wished. But it is beyond us to put such an enormous burden on millions of people and compel them to do things by force. It is obvious that no government can last for very long if it does. Thirdly, it took the Soviet Union forty years to achieve what they have done. Forty-two years have gone by since the Russian Revolution. In spite of putting their entire strength into the task of development, it has taken them nearly forty years to reach where they are today. How can we hope to do it in ten or fifteen years by magic?

India has certain advantages as well as problems. The problem, as I said, is of over-population. The population of the Soviet Union is half of ours and the area is thrice as much as India's. So you can imagine what a difference it makes. The land to man ratio is very crucial for any country. In our country the population is far in excess of the available land. In the Soviet Union and the



United States it is the other way round and so immediately their potential for progress increases enormously. There is no pressure on the land. From all these it is pretty clear that the problems are different in every country. We cannot copy any other country, neither the Soviet Union nor the United States. We can certainly learn from both of them. That is all right. But we will not benefit very much the moment we start copying the others blindly.

People often go to the United States to be trained in engineering and other fields, when they come back, they demand all kinds of machines and so on as they have in the United States. But they have to work under Indian conditions. This is not the United States. They keep pestering for all kinds of complicated machines. We do not have them at the moment. It is possible that we may have them after ten to twelve years. Moreover, our problems are entirely different. The population in India is much larger and so we have to utilise the available man power. It is different in the United States because machines are of more use. If we begin to use complicated machines, a hundred or thousand men will become redundant immediately. They will have no employment.

Therefore, the problems differ from country to country. I am in favour of machines in every way and accept that unless we industrialise the country. But I want to introduce machines in my own way, after carefully considering whether they are relevant in India today or not. Copying other countries will only create problems. We must learn from the United States, the Soviet Union, England and other countries. But ultimately we must evolve a path of our own, looking to our particular problems and find a solution for them. Many of you, boys and girls, must be studying economics which is very essential. Till recently, the economics that used to be taught in colleges was largely based on Western theories and textbooks. The textbooks in English talk about conditions in Europe and not India and are being used whether they are relevant to us or not.

So, the first thing that the students as well as teachers need to understand in India is that India's problems are neither like those of the United States or England or the Soviet Union. We can certainly read their books and benefit from them. But we cannot look for a solution to our problems in them. New textbooks are now appearing which deal with the problems of underdeveloped countries which are different from those of the developed, industrialised countries. Therefore, we will have to formulate our own economic theories and put them into practice. Moreover we do not have from a hundred to a hundred and fifty years to do it in, nor do we wish to pay a heavy price as the Soviet Union has done, sacrificing individual freedom in the process. Let the others do what they wish. We want to maintain individual liberty in India. So we will have to evolve a path for ourselves that can neither be hundred percent like the path followed by the United States or the Soviet Union though we shall continue

to learn from them. It will have to be an Indian way which will be relevant for us. I am not prepared to advise other countries which can think for themselves. What right do I have to tell everyone what to do or to criticise them? I do not have the right to criticise the Soviet Union or the United States, nor do I tell any other country in Asia or Africa what to do. You and I only have the right to do what we can in our own country. We must decide what we want to do.

You will be surprised to know how many people we consult in the process of planning. We consult the people in our own country and would like to consult many more. We have established planning forums in colleges and universities and have panels of engineers, scientists, educationists, trade unions, labour, and so on. So, we consult people from all walks of life in India and would like to extend it. We have also called in experts from outside, from the United States, Canada, England, Ireland, France, Germany, Italy, Soviet Union, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Please remember that the last few are communist countries. They have come from Japan and China. As you can see, we have invited people who are good from all over the world to come and study our problems and discuss them with us whether we agree with all the views that are expressed or not. We keep our doors open to new thinking but the ultimate decision will be ours with the goal of rapid progress and industrialisation before us. We must resolve to improve agriculture and increase production from land. If we fail to do so, the economy will be submerged by the growing population.

There is no scope for rest or relaxation for us in the country. We have to keep moving; it's like when we are trying to cross a river, there is no question of relaxing midway. We can rest only after crossing to the other side, otherwise we will flounder. I am saying this because some people feel that they have worked very hard for six to seven years and would like to rest now. They fail to understand the basic problems that India is facing today. Even in the matter of industrialisation, there are different views, which is a good thing. But I feel that some of them are absolutely wrong. A new party called the Swatantra Party has been founded<sup>131</sup> which is so free thinking that it seems to have taken leave of its senses as well. [Applause] Its members do not seem to have any conception of the situation in India. The Party has adopted fourteen to fifteen principles some of which are good but the others are meaningless. For instance, they feel that people should be free and the government has no right to intervene in their activities and that planning is futile. They attack the basic foundations themselves. They want that we should adopt the policy of laissez-faire which will mean more incentives for the individual. Planning imposes certain

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restrictions. I was under the impression that in the last ten to twelve years, it had been accepted by the nation that full-scale planning should be done. I think the country has become planning conscious by and large. That does not mean that everyone must have similar views about planning. There can be two or three or more views within the framework of planning. But planning is essential for we cannot undertake any big task without that.

Let me give you an example of a dangerous situation that could arise. Suppose unfortunately, India was to get involved in a war with some country, how will we fight? We cannot tell each individual to fight as best as he can. There has to be a plan of campaign for the army and the air force and navy. There has to be a strategy and military tactics have to be followed which the Military Headquarters plan. We cannot tell each soldier to go and fight as he pleases. So the moment a country faces danger, there is no scope for allowing each individual to do as he likes. When there is a question of the very survival of the nation, our entire strength has to be pitted to the task of protecting our freedom and vanquishing the enemy. This requires very careful planning and strategy which includes even minute details like food supplies to the army and so on. I do not say that we must impose rationing, etc., right now. What I am trying to say is that in any crisis, or when a country faces a big problem, planning is extremely important for otherwise our energy will be frittered away.

I can give you several examples to show why we cannot progress without proper planning. Our resources are limited and we must have our priorities straight for their proper utilisation. What does progress imply? I am not talking about education. But it is essential to know how to invest our money in order to progress. The more we invest, the greater will be our progress. That is all very well, but where is the money to come from? We may be able to get a little bit of aid from other countries, which is a good thing. But ultimately we can invest only what we save from our earnings. So it is often mentioned that it is essential to save as much as we can in order to invest in the development of the country. If there are no savings to invest, the country cannot take up any new projects. We may carry on with the routine tasks. But it will not be possible to take up new tasks of development. This is one thing.

Secondly, it is important to know how to invest our savings. How does a common man invest his savings? He does it for his own profit which is not wrong. He opens a shop or a small industry for his profit which is a good thing. I have no objection to that. Some people open cinema houses, because it is extremely profitable to do so. I have no objection to that either. But suppose we are able to save a hundred crore rupees. How are we to invest them? We cannot spread the money out in various small investments which may yield profits, but do not contribute to the progress of the nation in anyway. The proper way to

invest the hundred crores would be to open a steel plant because steel is the foundation of industrialisation. Things like putting up steel plants cannot be left to individuals, because they take years and there is no profit till they are completed.

In the last five to six years, we have started putting up four new iron and steel plants which is an act of great daring. Each plant is going to cost a crore and a half. Just imagine what a large sum five to six hundred crore rupees is for a poor country like ours. Why did we do this when it imposes such a tremendous burden upon us? People often complain that we should not have taken up such huge projects. We are doing it because there can be neither progress nor industrialisation in the country until we produce sufficient steel. This is a basic fact which everybody knows about. I would like to mention that in a couple of days from now, the first consignment of steel is going to be produced from the Bhilai Steel Plant.<sup>132</sup> Soon the plants in Rourkela and Durgapur will also go into production. After years of waiting, the time is coming for us to reap the benefit of these projects. Steel will mean more industries and our wealth will increase. But all these things would not have been possible if we had not planned in advance and somehow got the money together at the cost of stopping other tasks. Would this have been possible if we had left it to private enterprise? I agree that private enterprise is capable of achieving many things and I want that the doors should always be open for it. But to this day private enterprise has never been used to fight a war. You can search in history books for one example. So it is childish to say that India's progress should be left to private enterprise when it is a question of our very survival. This is the basic level of the Swatantra Party. [Applause]

The difficulty is that there is no dearth of ability in the Swatantra Party. But it is pretty obvious that it belongs to the 19th century [applause] and we are now in the middle of the 20th century. I talked about strategy for this campaign which is not against any other country, but against the poverty and unemployment in the country. What should our strategy be in this campaign? It is a question of getting our priorities right because we cannot do everything at once. Our resources do not permit that. So the first priority is of course education, because the country cannot progress without it, particularly technical training. But apart from that, we need to industrialise the country and set up small, big and medium industries. Then we have to improve agriculture. As a matter of fact, the two broad aspects of planning are industries and agriculture and it is important to have a proper ratio of agriculture and industries and then between light and

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heavy industries. There is no doubt that agriculture is extremely important to us. So also is industrial development. If we lay emphasis on light industries, it will mean that we will be dependent on other countries for heavy machines. Therefore the strategy for rapid industrialisation should be to expand heavy industries. It will impose a greater burden on the people but once this sector becomes stabilised, light industries which are the offshoots of heavy industries will follow automatically. If we fail to do this, we will have to import everything from Germany, Japan, the Soviet Union or England. We will even be dependent on other countries for spare parts. This does not work.

Therefore, three things are essential. One is iron and steel which we must produce. The second is power, electric power or thermal power or whatever it is, because it is essential to run factories. The third thing is big industries, machine building industries. Once we start producing heavy machinery in the country, the rest will follow. Now the private enterprise is not prepared to accept this strategy because it requires an enormous investment and there is no immediate profit. That comes later and the smaller industries cannot expand very well. Well, anyhow, this has been our strategy. We are putting up four new steel plants and some more will come up during the Third Plan. The number will keep increasing. We are increasing the production of power and setting up machines, building plants, to produce heavy machines.

Now all this imposes a great burden on the people. In a sense, we are investing money not for the benefit of the present generation, but for the future. If we want to reap all the benefit today, there will be nothing left over for the future. So we must look ahead. The country is on the march. We are spreading education, because the children of today are the India of tomorrow. Therefore, we are laying emphasis on heavy industries and production of steel and power. This does not mean that we do not consider light industries to be important. We think they are extremely important. But we cannot give up heavy industries for the sake of light industries. The time is coming now when rapid expansion of light industries will be possible. It will be possible in the private sector. The government can also take it up but, generally speaking, we will not interfere. We want the private sector to expand. We do not wish to strangle the growth of the private sector or to run the country for our personal benefit. But the expansion has to be balanced.

Please remember that the private sector stands to gain in a planned economy, because there is a ready market available for whatever it produces. So there is no risk involved. I want the private sector to expand in India, but in its own place. My only objection is that the private sector wants to expand at the cost of the State. That is not acceptable to me. The angle from which the private sector looks at problems is private profit. I do not say that there are no good people in

the private sector. There are good, able people in it. But as a group, their way of looking at things is private profit. This is no longer feasible in today's world. The private sector is welcome to expand and the entire country is open for millions of enterprise. But it has to be within the context of our Plan. Our basic economic pattern will be of expansion of the public sector in essential things in order to prevent the private sector from getting a monopoly or taking undue advantage. We will certainly help the private sector as much as it is possible.

I was in Punjab about ten days ago.<sup>133</sup> Innumerable small industries have come up all over the Punjab in the last ten years. I think there are nearly forty thousand industries. The Punjab was truncated after the Partition and is a small state, but it is progressing very fast. The people of the Punjab are good mechanics, engineers, etc., and know how to work which makes me very happy. I want that millions of such industries should come up all over India, for that will mean increased production and more employment. But our economy should never pass into the hands of the private sector.

I have taken up a great deal of your time, but I would like to talk about a couple of things which have become very controversial. I had mentioned them at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee which was held last year in October. We had set up two committees, one to go into land reforms and agriculture, etc., and the second to discuss the Third Five Year Plan. Select people from all over the country formed the committees. The first committee presented a report on land reforms, etc., which came before the Nagpur Congress.<sup>134</sup> There were many things mentioned in it, but nothing new. It had put together many of the things which had been discussed earlier. One was land-ceiling to prevent anyone individual from owning too much land. Secondly, it laid emphasis on cooperation, agricultural cooperatives, etc. You must remember that when you wish to industrialise a nation or make any kind of progress, it is extremely important to change the land system. Land system is a social organisation. Earlier, when there was the feudal system, the land tenure system that existed then was relevant to that age. But it is no longer feasible today. There was a time when there were big zamindars and taluqdars and jagirdars etc. But that system has become outdated now.

The first thing that we did after getting freedom was to start on land reforms and began the abolition of the zamindari system. It is because firstly the system cast an enormous burden on the masses which was not proper. But the more fundamental thing was that no improvement in agricultural production was

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possible under the system. We could not adopt new scientific techniques of agriculture. Therefore, it became essential to abolish the old system. That does not mean that we consider the zamindars, talukdars or jagirdars as our enemies. There were many good people among them. But when a new step is taken in a social organisation, it is obvious that some people are bound to suffer. We want to minimise the loss, but it is inevitable because ultimately we have to look to the larger national interests.

So we abolished the zamindari system. Even in Hyderabad, which is a beautiful city, the masses lived in dire poverty under the feudal system, especially in the Telangana area. So, we have abolished it. Now, we must complete the process of land reforms so that the land tenure becomes more modern and in tune with the ideas of today, and production may increase. The committee had suggested land ceiling and cooperatives. You must not compare India with the United States where, as I told you, people are few and land is abundant. In India it is just the reverse. If you want to make comparisons, it should be with Japan. I will not talk about China, because there is a special kind of revolution going on there. But in Japan, the American Army of Occupation imposed land ceiling after the World War. After all, they were not communists, but capitalists. It was MacArthur, an American officer who imposed land ceiling in Japan. I do not remember exactly, but the ceiling is fifteen acres, or something like that. The Japanese are extremely hardworking and scientific. A Japanese farmer had a twelve acre farm. But he earned an enormous amount from just those twelve acres and bred cattle, too. He was so prosperous that he had radio, television and other luxuries. In India, even with twice, thrice or four times as much people are poor because they do not adopt improved techniques of agriculture.

I gave you the example of Japan because in these days in over-crowded countries like Japan and India, it is most improper, wrong and harmful that a handful should grab most of the land. That does not mean that we wish to prevent people from earning or to impose a limitation on their income. But I am confident that if the Indian farmer gets an opportunity for education and training, and adopts new methods of production, as the Japanese farmer does, he can also redouble his income. Apart from that, he can do other things as well, like setting up small industries etc., by forming cooperatives. Land ceiling is not a great socialist principle. I have just given you an example of Japan which is a capitalist country. I do not wish to enter into a debate about this. I gave you an example to show that it can be done.

The second thing is cooperatives. The resolution proposes that we should lay emphasis on service cooperatives for the next three years. The farmers will retain the title to their land and do farming separately. But the cooperative can undertake various functions like buying and selling of the produce, buying

good seeds, fertilizers, ploughs and other small machines. The cooperative can also sell the produce in the market so that the middleman's profit is eliminated. Cooperative farms are very common in the communist, socialist as well as the capitalist countries. About forty years ago, an agricultural commission was set up during the British regime in which both Indians and Englishmen were members.<sup>135</sup> The first stipulation made by the commission was that Indian agriculture had no future unless the Indian farmer adopts cooperation. This is something which the whole world knows, except some of our Swatantra Party colleagues. Anyhow, we decided to lay emphasis on service cooperatives. But the ultimate picture that we have before us is of joint cultivation. We have made quite clear that we shall form service cooperatives unitedly and then try to persuade the farmers to take up joint cultivation. But even that will only be with the full consent of the farmers. There is no compulsion in this.

Even if they take up joint cultivation, the farmers will retain ownership of their land. These are the broad things outlined in the resolution. We have even said that if anyone wishes to leave the cooperative after an interval, he can do so. Rules will be framed to enable them to do so. All right, now why do we want to encourage joint cultivation? It is because by and large farmers in India do not have more than an acre or two of land. I do not know what the situation is in Andhra Pradesh. But this is so in the Uttar Pradesh. I think the average is slightly higher in the Punjab. When the average land-holding of a farmer in India is so little, he is incapable of any progress, because he has no resources to do anything. After all, what is the strength of a farmer who has one acre of land?

Therefore, cooperation is extremely important. Suppose each farmer in India had fifty or hundred acres, then it would not matter if there were no cooperatives. But when the land holdings are small, there can be no progress, because the poor farmers have neither the resources nor the courage to adopt new techniques. Therefore, cooperation is even more essential in countries like ours rather than in the countries where plenty of land is available. Joint cultivation will be particularly beneficial in places where the holding is very small. A great deal of land is wasted between the boundaries of the various farmers. Millions of acres of land are wasted in India by the boundaries. That will be brought under cultivation. Similarly, it is a great waste of labour to plough each acre of land separately. It is much easier to plough hundred acres if the farmers of a village get together and do it. The production will increase, time will be saved and the profit will be shared by the members of the cooperative

135. See fn 117 in this section.



society. I have no doubt that joint cultivation is right and proper. I do not say that it will be good for every place in India, but it will certainly be a good thing for the small land holdings. I do not want any compulsion in that. People must accept it willingly. Please remember that the land will not be taken away by anyone. It will continue to belong to the farmers. So I cannot understand why there should be any dispute over this. I do not wish to bring Gandhi ji's or anyone else's name into this. But if you read his works, you will find that he has also written in favour of joint cultivation. Vinoba ji today feels that the land belongs to everyone. I would like to humbly request the Swatantra Party members to read something and try to understand what the world is all about. (Laughter) Today, even the Andhra leader Acharya Ranga ji waves the Swatantra Party flag. He left the Congress on this issue.<sup>136</sup>

Well, anyhow, he has every right to do so. But I would be surprised if the people of Andhra do not understand this basic thing. The fact is that wherever there are big farms, the landowners are afraid of cooperative farming. But it does not apply to small farmers though even the big farmers do not stand to lose in this. They cannot hold very large areas of land in any case because land ceiling will come into operation.

Now, there is objection to land ceiling also. These issues had been decided at Nagpur.<sup>137</sup> Anyhow, it must be remembered that at the moment our programme is only for service cooperatives. If anybody wishes to take up joint cultivation, they can do so. Even now there are about a thousand or fifteen hundred cooperatives where joint cultivation is being done even before the Nagpur Congress resolution was passed. So, it is nothing new. We get requests from various places, including Andhra that they would like to take up joint cultivation. We are not stopping anybody. It is a good thing [...] So, we have laid great emphasis on training people in every way. We want that there should be experts in every state. They should be given special training and not like the past when the IAS officers used to be put everywhere as if they could perform any task more competently than the others. That is absurd. It is a question of special training and will help the cooperatives to function more efficiently. The experts who will organise these cooperatives must be given longer training for six months or so. But millions of others should be trained for weeks or a month. The panch and sarpanch, etc., should be trained and camps could be held in various places because it cannot be done without proper training. If it does not function well,

136. See fn 118 in this section.

137. See fn 119 in this section.

it will earn a bad name for the cooperative and there will be adverse publicity. Therefore we are laying special emphasis on training for ordinary cooperatives as well as joint cultivation.

We have been talking about service cooperatives and joint cultivation which are obviously beneficial. But behind all this, a new picture of society is emerging. We want that there should be cooperation in industries also as far as possible. More than twenty years ago, the Congress had adopted a cooperative commonwealth in India as the goal.<sup>138</sup> So there is nothing new in this. Today there is no alternative to cooperation. Please do not look back to the situation that existed a hundred years ago. It was an entirely different world altogether. We must do what is right in this age. Therefore, we are constantly harping on cooperation.

I have taken a great deal of your time in explaining this because there has been great controversy over this and your leader, Acharya Ranga ji, who has been my old friend and colleague, has gone over to the other side. I hope you will not be misled and consider this carefully. Andhra is full of villages dependent on agriculture and, in a sense, the farmers here are leading in every way. One test of that is the average yearly yield per acre and the average in Andhra is higher than the national average which is a very good thing. I want that it should go up further. Even now, farmers in Andhra are producing more from one acre of land than in the rest of the country. We want to double or even treble production in the country. At the moment, the average yield per acre is very low because there is no scientific method behind it. The farmers continue in their old ruts.

Perhaps some of you would be studying agriculture in colleges and universities. You should do so, not to become professors somewhere, but to go to your villages and teach others to improve their techniques and to increase production. The villages will benefit in this manner, because the people will learn new methods. So this is absolutely essential to improve agriculture in India and bring it to the world standard. We must double our production. You can take it that if agriculture in India improves all our problems will be solved. We will have a surplus for investment and the farmers will of course benefit enormously. So, it is not so much a question of bringing new land under cultivation, but of increasing production in the land already under cultivation by adopting new methods of production. Whether it is using better ploughs or using good seeds and fertilizers, etc., in Andhra where the farmers are already doing well can do even better.

138. See fn 120 in this section.



Tomorrow or the day after, I do not remember exactly, I shall be going to those parts of Andhra Pradesh where the panchayats have been given greater autonomy.<sup>139</sup> I was in Rajasthan recently where the 2nd of October, Gandhi Jayanti, was chosen as the auspicious day by the Rajasthan<sup>140</sup> Government to do this great task of giving greater autonomy to all the panchayats in Rajasthan. They have been given a completely free hand in tasks of development and the finances to support them. Even in Andhra Pradesh it has been under discussion since last year. I think some select panchayats in each village were given autonomy and now it is being extended.

So Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh are leading in this sense. I am very happy about it because I feel that the country can progress only by putting one's faith in the people, giving them greater rights. It is possible that the panchayats may make mistakes in the beginning or quarrel among themselves. But it is only by giving them greater rights that they will learn their work and acquire a sense of responsibility and there will be progress. Government officials cannot undertake the big tasks of development. They can certainly help. But if you leave things only to government officials there will be no progress. The people must participate in these tasks.

I was talking about cooperation just now. It is my firm belief that government officials must not interfere in cooperatives. They can give advice. But cooperation is a non-official matter and must not be connected in any way with government officials. Cooperation is something in which the responsibility should rest with the members. The moment a government official becomes the big boss, there can be no cooperation. This is my firm belief. I have nothing against our government servants. But I want that the people in the rural areas must learn to stand on their own feet. So even if the panchayats make mistakes, they should be given full powers.

There are three basic institutions in any village. One is the panchayat, the other is the cooperative society and the third is a school. All these three things should be firmly established in every village for they are the pillars of democracy. Once this happens, superficial things do not matter.

I have talked to you at great length about things of national importance because I want you to understand them. It would be easy to give long orations, to arouse mass excitement. But I want you to understand that we are living in revolutionary times and the rapidity with which things are changing makes the mind boggle. India is also changing very fast and the industrial revolution is

139. See fn 121 in this section.

140. See fn 122 in this section.

coming to the villages as well as the cities. Boys and girls whose families had never had any education are now going to schools and colleges. The entire pattern of society is changing very fast along with the way of life of the people. The biggest social revolution that is taking place is by the large number of boys and girls being educated in schools and colleges. An industrial revolution is going on. Since all this is happening quietly without any violence, people do not realise what a great revolution is taking place in the country.

Hyderabad has seen great ups and downs during the last twelve, thirteen and fourteen years since freedom. There was a dispute with the government of Hyderabad and then came police action and so on, and it is obvious that the people suffered in the process. When the feudal system was removed, it was inevitable that some people should suffer not because we wanted to cause harm deliberately. We were helpless. If they have any sense, they can grasp the demands of the modern age and get into the mainstream once again. They will get full opportunity to do so. The old ways of people sitting idle and collecting pensions will no longer work. I hope a time will soon come when no human being will enjoy any rights unless he does some work, whether it is manual labour or intellectual work. Manual labour should be highly respected because the world functions by that. Idleness and living off the labour of others will not make the country strong.

Well, I want you to think about your own role in this revolutionary world of ours. You are a part of the nation of forty crore human beings and those of you who are educated must give leadership to the rest. Today we need, not one or two, but millions of leaders. People go into politics and fight elections to the Assembly or Parliament. But there are far more important tasks waiting to be done.

I would like to mention two things more about international affairs which I am sure will interest you. One correspondence on this issue has been published. About five to six days ago, I wrote a long letter to the Chinese Prime Minister which was published in the newspapers.<sup>141</sup> You must have read it. Our entire case has been presented in it. I will not go into the details because you are educated people. But I often hear a complaint that we should throw out the Chinese from Indian Territory, from a small village in Longju and another post in Ladakh. I was asked why we don't do this, in the recent press conference in Delhi. I replied that since we are in the midst of diplomatic action, we do not think it proper to march in our armies just for the sake of a couple of villages. But if the Chinese try to move forward even an inch, they will certainly be

141. See fn 123 in this section.



stopped by military action. [Applause] Some people get unduly upset that we are tolerating the Chinese on our territory. But it is a sign of greatness in a nation not to use its armies at the slightest provocation. Use of armed force can lead to escalation when it is a matter between two big countries. It is not police action but something far bigger. No responsible individual should say such things. Some of our newspapers seem to think that it is something ordinary.

At the same time, it is equally obvious that no self-respecting country will permit aggression by another country without challenging it. It is not merely a village or a couple of miles of territory that is involved but the integrity and honour and other things as well. Our policy has been to befriend the new China and we recommended its entry into the United Nations, etc. China follows a different system of government from us and they are welcome to do so. But at the same time, we must not interfere in each other's affairs. Therefore, I felt very sad that China should have had recourse to such actions. Whatever they have done seems wrong to me.

I could understand it if there was a genuine mistake over the question of boundary because it is difficult terrain. We have said that we are prepared to talk and to present evidence to support our claims. We said that the matter should be settled amicably after examining the maps of both countries. For the same reasons, we were prepared to talk about the village in Longju which has been taken over by the Chinese. It is not that our case is not a good one. It is but there can be differences of opinion over some small area when the boundary stretches for over two thousand five hundred miles and lies over difficult mountainous terrain.

Therefore to jump into military action would be an irresponsible act. No responsible nation in the world would do such a thing. But we have also said that it is impossible to even talk about the Chinese claim which includes a large chunk of Indian territory on the eastern border. Now, we can make two serious mistakes over this. One would be a very serious one if we were to ignore the new map published by China or not to bother about it.<sup>142</sup> If a nation does such a thing, it would prove itself incompetent to protect itself. That is very wrong.

The second mistake would be to make a great deal of noise or to use threats or to move our armies. This is also not a sign of wisdom. We must be extremely vigilant and prepare ourselves fully to combat any danger that might arise. But it is not a wise thing to talk irresponsibly without considering what the next step should be.

142. See fn 124 in this section.

Now, we must steer clear of these two mistakes and remain vigilant. We must also remember that the matter may drag on for months. It is a test for India and her people and we cannot pass this test with flying colours by passing resolutions but by preparing the country in other ways. The real strength of a nation depends on other things like the five year plans and other tasks of nation-building. We have a very good army. But military strength has to be backed by industries to produce the equipment that an army needs. We cannot keep importing arms and military equipment from England, Germany or Japan. Today only the industrialised nations are really strong, whichever way you may look at it, whether it is in protecting the country or to make the people well-off.

Therefore, we must remain constantly vigilant so that we are not taken unawares, make whatever military preparations which are necessary, and above all think of ways and means of pitting our entire strength into the task of making the country strong. First of all, we must get out of the habit of indulging in petty disputes and wrangling. Secondly, we must pit our entire strength into the task of industrialising the country and implementing the schemes and projects which we have taken up. Those of you are in schools and colleges must study well and prepare yourselves to take on the leadership of the country in the future. Disputes between countries do not get solved in a matter of weeks or months but may take years and we must be prepared for it accordingly.

I have taken up a great deal of your time and tried to put before you some of the problems that the country is facing today so that you may grasp them. You have given me your love and regard in great abundance and it gives me strength. But I would like you to understand these things. I will be here only for a short while more and after that the responsibility of running the country will devolve upon you. You must understand this and face the challenges before you with wisdom and courage.

Jai Hind! Please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]



## 14. Public Meeting, Wanaparthi: Special Technical Education<sup>143</sup>

मुख्यमन्त्री जी और बहनो और भाइयो,

पहला प्रश्न तो मुझे आपसे ये करना है कि कितने लोग मेरी बोली इस वक्त्र समझ रहे हैं? जो लोग समझते हैं हिन्दी, हिन्दुस्तानी, वो मेहरबानी करके हाथ उठा दें। कुछ दिनों से मेरे साथी रामेश्वर राव<sup>144</sup> जी मुझे बुला रहे थे वानपार्थी में आने को और खासकर जब से यहाँ ये पोलिटेक्निक शुरू होने का सवाल उठा। पुराने मेरे साथी हैं रामेश्वर राव जी और आजकल भी लोकसभा में हम साथ काम करते हैं। तो मेरी इच्छा थी, ख्वाहिश थी, कि मैं यहाँ आऊँ। तो आज जो मैं यहाँ आया हूँ तो मुझे खुशी है। खुशी है एक तो उनकी दावत मंजूर हुई और दूसरे, यहाँ की जनता से मिलने का मुझे मौका मिला। आप सब लोग जो यहाँ दूर-दूर से जमा हुए हैं। तीसरे ये कि मुझे खास दिलचस्पी है पोलिटेक्निक्स में और इस तरह की संस्थाओं में। कल वारंगल में एक इंजीनियरिंग कॉलेज का बुनियादी पत्थर मैंने लगाया। आज यहाँ आया हूँ, क्योंकि मैं समझता हूँ ऐसे ही काम से देश की उन्नति होगी, तरक्की। और आज आया मैं, तो एक बहुत मुबारक दिन आया। आप जानते हैं, आज विजयादशमी है।

अभी रामेश्वर राव जी ने कहा कि ये ज़िला पिछड़ा हुआ है और इसलिए उनकी ख्वाहिश है और मेरी भी ये ख्वाहिश है कि यहाँ तरक्की हो और खाली यहाँ नहीं, बल्कि सारे आन्ध्र प्रदेश में और सारे हिन्दुस्तान में। क्योंकि हमें तो इस तरह से काम करना है कि देश में कोई लड़का-लड़की पुरुष-स्त्री कोई नहीं रहे जिसको मदद न मिले आगे बढ़ने की। सारे देश को हमें आगे ले जाना है। ये बड़ा काम है, क्योंकि हमारे देश में चालीस करोड़ आदमी रहते हैं, लेकिन उस काम के करने में करने वाले भी बहुत हो सकते हैं, और इसी इन्तज़ाम में हम हैं कि ज्यादा-से-ज्यादा लोग उस काम को उठा सकें।

पहले आपको याद होगा कि हमारे सामने एक बहुत बड़ा काम था—देश में स्वराज्य लेना। देश में जनता का राज्य हो, देश से विदेशी राज्य, अंग्रेज़ी राज हटे। पहला काम था और उसमें बहुत मेहनत करनी पड़ी, बहुत कुरबानी करनी पड़ी, लेकिन उसमें हमारी जीत हुई। देश की जनता की जीत हुई और हमारे उसमें बड़े लीडर, बड़े नेता, महात्मा गाँधी थे। तो उनके नीचे काम करके, उनके रास्ते पर चल कर इस देश की जीत हुई, और अंग्रेज़ी राज्य यहाँ से हटा और स्वराज्य आया। फिर उसके बाद जल्दी से हमारे सामने दूसरा सवाल आया। और वो ये कि जो हमारे देश में देशी राज्य थे, रियासतें थीं, जैसे कि हैदराबाद में भी सब में बड़ा हमारा देशी राज्य था, निज़ाम साहब का, ये सब देशी राज्य भी भारत में मिल जायें। तो उसका भी

143. Speech at Wanaparthi, Mahbubnagar District, Hyderabad. 11 October 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

144. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Mahbubnagar, Andhra Pradesh.

प्रबन्ध हुआ और वो काम भी पूरा हो गया और सारा हिन्दुस्तान फिर एक ढंग का हो गया और एक तरह का काम वहाँ चलने लगा। और दिल्ली में एक बड़ी सभा बनी, जहाँ आप लोगों के चुने हुए पंच, प्रतिनिधि, नुमाइन्दे [...] आते हैं सारे देश का काम देखने को। और वैसे ही और अलग-अलग प्रदेशों में भी, सभाएँ बनीं जहाँ आप लोगों के चुने हुए लोग जा कर काम करते हैं।

आपको याद होगा कि दो बरस हुए, ढाई बरस, पुराने हैदराबाद का जो राज्य था, रियासत, उसका तेलंगाना का हिस्सा आन्ध्र प्रदेश में मिल गया आन्ध्र में, और कुछ हिस्से बम्बई में और मैसूर प्रदेशों में मिल गये। और इस तरह से आन्ध्र प्रदेश ये एक विशाल प्रदेश बना। और हमारे देश में और भी ऐसे बड़े-बड़े प्रदेश हैं, सब जगह, एक तरह से बराबर का राज्य हो गया और सब लोगों के प्रतिनिधि अपने-अपने प्रदेशों का प्रबन्ध करते हैं और दिल्ली में जा कर सारे भारत का करते हैं।

एक तरह से आप देखोगे कि कितना बड़ा देश में इनक़लाब हुआ, क्रान्ति हुई, अंग्रेज़ी राज्य हटा, देशी राज्यों का राज्य हटा और जनता के प्रतिनिधियों का, जिनको वो चुनें, उनका प्रबन्ध देश में हुआ। तो जनता का राज्य एक तरह से हो गया। लेकिन हमारी इच्छा थी कि और भी मज़बूती से जनता का राज्य, जनतन्त्र हो, और भी मज़बूती से जमहूरी राज्य हो, जिसमें ख़ाली बड़े-बड़े अफ़सर ऊपर से राज्य न करें। अपना प्रबन्ध खुद करें। इसलिए हमने इस बात पर ज़ोर दिया कि सब जगहें पंचायतें बने, पंच चुने जायें और उनके हाथ में अधिकार हों।

तो मैंने आपसे कहा कि पहला हमारा बड़ा काम था—स्वराज्य लेना। वो एक बड़ा सफ़र था, बड़ी यात्रा थी। उसके बाद ये काम हुआ कि अपने देश को मज़बूत बनायें, संगठित करें, देश में एकता हो, अलग-अलग टुकड़े न हों और इस तरह से सब लोग मिल कर एक नये और बड़े काम को उठायें। वो बड़ा काम क्या? वो बड़ा काम ये कि देश में अधिक धन-दौलत पैदा हो, जनता में जाये, और इस तरह से हमारे सारे लोग भारत भर में खुशहाल हो जायें और ग़रीबी न रहे। ये बड़ा काम हमने उठाया, लेकिन उसके साथ आप याद रखें कि पहली बात थी कि महान देश जो कि हिमालय पहाड़ से कन्याकुमारी तक है, इसकी एकता मज़बूत हो, क्योंकि एकता नहीं होती तो हम कमज़ोर होते हैं। हम नहीं आगे बढ़ सकते। स्वराज्य हमें मिला, हमारी एकता से और मिल कर काम करने से। अब फिर हमें मिल कर काम करना, चाहे अलग-अलग प्रदेश हों। अलग-अलग हमारे प्रान्त, प्रदेश, देश में हैं, हिमालय से ले कर कश्मीर देश है। पंजाब है, हिमाचल प्रदेश है, उत्तर प्रदेश है, राजस्थान है, बिहार है, आसाम है, मध्यप्रदेश है, बम्बई है, उड़ीसा है, मद्रास है, आन्ध्र है, केरल है, ये हमारे देश के प्रदेश हैं। प्रदेश तो हैं, लेकिन असल में तो हमारा देश एक है, भारत या हिन्दुस्तान। आन्ध्र प्रदेश तो उसका एक प्रान्त है, जैसे मद्रास है, जैसे उत्तर प्रदेश है। तो हमें हमेशा याद रखना है कि हम सब लोग एक बड़े देश के नागरिक हैं, रहने वाले और वो हिन्दुस्तान है, भारत है, इण्डिया है, जो भी नाम उसका लिया जाय, और उसमें अनेक तरह के लोग रहते हैं, अलग-अलग प्रान्त हैं, अलग-अलग उनकी भाषाएँ हैं और ज़बानें हैं, अलग-अलग धर्म भी हैं, अलग-अलग जाति



भी हैं लेकिन सब लोग एक बड़े खानदान के परिवार के हैं, वो भारत का खानदान है।

तो फिर हमारा बड़ा काम हमें उठाना है, देश को गरीबी से निकालना है, देश के लोग खुशहाल हों। बड़ी भारी बात है और दस बरस से, बारह बरस से, इसी का इन्तज़ाम हो रहा है और आप लोगों ने सुना होगा, पंचवर्षीय योजना 'फ़ाइव इयर प्लैन,' पाँच-पाँच बरस का इन्तज़ाम होता है कि क्या-क्या करें। पाँच बरस में तो काम नहीं रुक जाता, वो तो होता ही जाता है, लेकिन इन्तज़ाम करने के लिए, प्रबन्ध करने के लिए हम योजनाएँ, नक्शे, बनाते हैं। तो दो योजनाएँ ऐसी बन चुकी हैं, पाँच बरस की। दूसरे के बीच में अब हैं। दो बरस बाद तीसरी होगी। वो सब इसलिए हैं कि देश भर में तरक्की हो, उन्नति हो और हम सब एक हो कर, मिल कर लड़ाई लड़ें देश की गरीबी से। हम किसी और देश से नहीं लड़ना चाहते, हमें तो शान्ति, अमन पसन्द है, लेकिन देश की गरीबी से और बेरोज़गारी से हम बड़ी लड़ाई लड़ना चाहते हैं।

कोई बड़ा भारी काम उठाया जाता है तो थोड़े-से अफ़सर लोग उस काम को नहीं कर सकते, उसमें सारी जनता को लगना होता है। सारे भारत का बोझा कोई आपके मन्त्री, आपके मिनिस्टर और आपके अफ़सर लोग नहीं उठा सकते। वो बोझा तो सारी जनता उठाये तभी भारत आगे चले; इसलिए सारी जनता को इस बात को समझना है और समझ कर इन कामों में हिस्सा लेना है।

कोई काम आप करते हैं तो उस काम को आपको सीखना होता है। अगर काम नहीं सीखते तो अच्छा नहीं होगा। आप लोग बहुत सारे यहाँ खेती करते होंगे; तो आप खेती, आपने खेती सीखी, अपने परिवार में, अपने माँ-बाप से, आपके बच्चे सीखते होंगे। जो अच्छा सीखते हैं, वो अच्छी खेती करते हैं। कोई आदमी कोई और काम करे, जो भी कोई हो, कोई बढ़ई हो तो वो काम सीखता है, कोई लुहार हो, वो काम सीखता है, इसी तरह से जिस देश में सीखे हुए लोग होते हैं, वो देश तरक्की करता है, आगे बढ़ता है। जहाँ नहीं सीखे हुए होते, वो देश पिछड़ जाता है। अब आजकल की दुनिया में और देश हमारे आगे कैसे बढ़ गये। अंग्रेज़ों का देश, अमेरिका का देश, रूस का देश और बहुत सारे देश आगे बढ़ गये। कैसे? इसलिए कि वहाँ के लोग सीखे हुए हैं। अच्छी तरह से उनको सिखाया है, पढ़ाया है, काम जानते हैं, खेती करना अच्छा सीखते हैं। खेती में कैसे अच्छे बीज लगायें, कैसे फ़र्टिलाइज़र लगायें, कैसे अच्छा हल चलायें, कैसे और बहुत सारी बातें करें। जब वो सीखते हैं तब उनका लाभ होता है, खेती से बहुत कमाते हैं, पैदा ज़्यादा करते हैं। और इसी तरह से कारखाने में, छोटे-बड़े कारखानों में भी सीखे हुए आदमी आते हैं। तो और देशों में लोगों ने अधिक सीखा, इसलिए वो आगे बढ़ गये। हमें भी अपने देश में इसका इन्तज़ाम करना है, प्रबन्ध करना है कि सभी को सीखने का मौक़ा मिले, सब बातों का, तब देश आगे बढ़ेगा।

तो हमारे सामने दो बड़ी बातें हो गयीं, जो हमें करनी हैं। बातें तो बहुत सारी हैं। दो विशेषकर। एक तो ये कि हम अपने देश में लोगों को ख़ूब काम करना सिखायें, नया काम करना, पुराना काम करना, अच्छी तरह से सिखायें। तो पहली बात तो ये कि हमारे जितने बच्चे

हैं, लड़के हैं, लड़कियाँ हैं, सभी की पढ़ाई का प्रबन्ध हो, स्कूल में, विद्यालय में। कोई ऐसा बच्चा न हो जिसको पढ़ाई नहीं मिले। पहली बात है। और वो पाँच बरस, सात बरस पढ़े और उसके बाद जो लोग अच्छे लड़के-लड़कियाँ हों, उनको और ऊँचे पढ़ाई का मौका मिले कॉलेज में, इंस्टीट्यूट में, पॉलिटेक्निक में और ऐसी जो हमारी और संस्थाएँ हैं। इस तरह से देश में सब लोग पढ़े-लिखे हो जायें और कुछ बहुत सारे लोग विशेषकर खास बातें पढ़ें, चाहे वो खेती और ऐग्रिकल्चर का काम है, चाहे वो कारखाने खोलने का, चाहे चलाने का, मशीन चलाने का और आजकल की जो दुनिया में नयी-नयी बातें हैं, नये-नये इल्म हैं, उनको सीखें, तब देश आगे बढ़ेगा।

एक तो ये बात करनी है और इसी सिलसिले में हमें देश में एक तरफ़ से तो बहुत सारे स्कूल खोलने हैं, विद्यालय, एक-एक ग्राम में विद्यालय खोलना है और दूसरी तरफ़ से और अच्छी पढ़ाई का प्रबन्ध करना, खास टेक्निकल पढ़ाई का। जैसे कि आपकी पॉलिटेक्निक यहाँ खुली है या जैसे कल वारांगल में मैंने इंजीनियरिंग कॉलेज का शिलान्यास किया, बुनियादी पत्थर लगाया। इस तरह से देश भर में आजकल इंजीनियरिंग कॉलेज, साइन्स के कॉलेज और पॉलिटेक्निक्स खुल रहे हैं। क्योंकि आज की विद्या हमारे नवयुवकों को सीखनी है तब आगे हम बढ़ेंगे। इसलिए यहाँ इस पॉलिटेक्निक का खुलना, इस जगह, एक बहुत अच्छी बात है और बहुत आवश्यक बात है। जो लोग यहाँ पढ़ेंगे और सीखेंगे, वो यहाँ से निकल कर बड़े कामों में अपने देश के लग सकते हैं।

आजकल की दुनिया कैसी है? आपमें से बहुत लोग दुनिया में नहीं फिरे, बहुत सारे लोग तो भारत में भी नहीं फिरे होंगे। लेकिन फिर भी आपको समझना है कि आजकल की दुनिया कैसी है? आजकल की दुनिया में साइन्स का और विज्ञान का बड़ा जोर है। उसी की ताकत से बहुत सारे मुल्क बड़े मज़बूत हो गये हैं और उन्होंने तरक्की की है। तो हमें भी इसमें, साइन्स में...और इन बातों को आजकल की इनको समझना है और खाली समझना नहीं है, अव्वल दर्जे का होना है, तब हम आगे बढ़ सकेंगे ज़ोरों से। तो इसलिए जब स्वराज्य आया, तो एक पहला काम हमने ये किया था कि देश भर में बड़े-बड़े साइन्स की लेबोरेटरीज़ खोलीं, उद्योगशालाएँ खोलीं, जिससे हमारे लोग अच्छा साइन्स सीख सकें। उससे अधिक जो वो यूनिवर्सिटी में, कॉलेज में, सीखते थे। उससे ज़्यादा सीखें और क्योंकि साइन्स के बग़ैर काम नहीं चलता, उसी के साथ हमने बहुत जगहें टेक्निकल इंस्टीट्यूट्स इंजीनियरिंग कॉलेज, इंजीनियरिंग यूनिवर्सिटी, पॉलिटेक्निक्स ये भी सारे हिन्दुस्तान के अलग-अलग हिस्सों में खोले। इससे बहुत सारे लोग इन नये साइन्स को, टेक्नॉलोजी को, इंजीनियरिंग, वग़ैरह को, इसको सीखें, ये सब भारत में हो रहा है और उसी की एक शाखा ये है जो कि यहाँ एक पॉलिटेक्निक खुली। दूसरी बात मैंने आपसे कही थी, वो ये कि सारी जनता को राज्य के काम में हाथ लगाना चाहिए। कैसे लगायें? आज, कौन जगह मुझे याद नहीं, हाँ, शादनगर में यहाँ आते हुए एक बड़ी सभा हुई और उसमें एक बड़ा काम शुरू किया गया कि वहाँ आन्ध्र प्रदेश में नया क़ानून बना है, उससे पंचायतों को और पंचायत समितियों को और [जो] ज़िला परिषद बने हैं, उनको बड़ा अधिकार दिया



गया है। तो ये बहुत अच्छी बात है। इससे अधिकार आपस में, अपने काम करने का आपके ग्राम में और ज़िले में, और खासकर ऐसा अधिकार जिससे आपकी तरक्की हो, वो अधिकार जनता के पंचों को दे दिया गया, पंचायत में, पंचायत समिति और ज़िला परिषदों में। तो इससे ये अधिकार ऊपर के बड़े-बड़े अफ़सर लोगों के पास नहीं ख़ाली रहा, लेकिन फैल गया है और इस तरह से आप में भी फैलेगा, देश भर में और आपके हाथ में ये अधिकार आयेगा तो आप सब अच्छी तरह से काम करें तो आपके गाँव और आपका ज़िला और प्रदेश बहुत तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ेगा। अधिकार तो आपके हाथ में आता है, बड़ा अधिकार, लेकिन अधिकार को ठीक-ठीक वही लोग चला सकते हैं, इस्तेमाल कर सकते हैं, जो लोग समझते हैं, सीखे हुए हैं, इसलिए और भी ज़रूरी हो जाता है कि इन सब कामों को आप समझें।

अब हर गाँव में पंचायत होनी चाहिए और बहुतां में है। और हर गाँव में एक और चीज़ होनी चाहिए और वो कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटी। सहकारी संघ हर गाँव में होना चाहिए। और तीसरे, हर गाँव में स्कूल या विद्यालय होना चाहिए। तीन चीज़ें हर गाँव में होनी चाहिए, वो एक जड़ है जिसके ऊपर भारत का भविष्य बनेगा, क्योंकि अगर ये तीनों चीज़ें हों तो उसमें एक तो पढ़ाई का प्रबन्ध होता है, सब बच्चों का इन्तज़ाम होता है। दूसरे, ये कि जनतन्त्र होता है, लोगों के हाथ हाथ में अधिकार आता है, ख़ाली बड़े-बड़े अफ़सरों के हाथ में नहीं। इस तरह से हमें देश में चलना है। और इसके अलावा फिर अलग पढ़ाई का प्रबन्ध हों, इन्तज़ाम हो, जिसमें हमारे होनहार लड़कों-लड़कियों को मौक़ा मिले, चाहे कॉलेज में जा कर, यूनिवर्सिटी में जा कर, पॉलिटेक्निक में जा कर और बढ़ने का, तब हमारे देश में ऐसे लोग हो जायेंगे, जो देश को आगे बढ़ा सकें, और उठा सकें। और जो लोग पढ़ते हैं, उनको हम ये नहीं चाहते कि वो जा कर बड़े-बड़े शहरों में बैठ जायें जा कर। उनको तो अपने ग्राम में रह कर ग्राम को उठाना है। ग्राम को शहर की तरह बना देना है, वहाँ कारोबार कर के, क्योंकि शहर में [और] गाँव में आजकल बहुत अन्तर है। शहर में तो बड़े-बड़े मकान बने हैं, गाँव में गरीब झोपड़ियाँ पड़ी हैं। ये बात ठीक नहीं है। हम गाँव को उठाना चाहते हैं। अच्छे मकान हों, अच्छा कारोबार हो; तो तभी होगा, जब सीखे हुए लोग वहाँ जा कर अपने गाँव को उठायें।

मैंने आपसे कहा कि हर गाँव में एक सहकारी संघ होना चाहिए, कोऑपरेटिव। इसलिए कि जो खेती करते हैं या जो कोई और काम करते हैं, उनका काम बहुत अच्छा हो, अगर मिल कर करें। अगर ऐसी सहकारी संघ हो गाँव में, सब किसानों की, तब उससे उनको बहुत लाभ हो। अलग-अलग किसान की शक्ति नहीं है आगे बढ़ने की और आजकल के नये-नये मशीन लेने की, नये बीज लेने की, वगैरह। लेकिन सहकारी संघ होता है तो मिल कर उनकी ताक़त बन जाती है और आगे बढ़ते हैं और अलावा इसके मिल कर काम करने से काम अच्छा होता है, इसलिए सहकारी संघ बहुत ज़रूरी है और हर गाँव में होना चाहिए। तो आप सोचें कि हमारे देश के सामने कितना बड़ा काम है, आपके सामने। हमें सारे देश को उठाना है। कैसे उठाना है? ख़ाली नारों से तो नहीं होता, परिश्रम करने से, मेहनत करने से, स्कूल में मेहनत करने से, कॉलेज में मेहनत करने से। जो देश आगे बढ़े हैं, वो परिश्रम और मेहनत से आगे बढ़े हैं और

इसमें सारी हमारी जनता को हिस्सा लेना है, पुरुष और स्त्री, खासकर जो हमारी महिलाएँ हैं, उनको याद रखना है कि इस देश को उठाने में उनका पूरा हिस्सा है। अगर वो नहीं उठेंगी तो आधा देश गिरा रहेगा।

आप लोगों को जब मौक़ा मिले तो आप भारत में कुछ फिरिये, भारत-दर्शन कीजिए, अक्सर लोग जाया करते हैं, और देखिए कि ये महान देश हमारा कैसा है? और इसके अलग-अलग रूप और शक्तें कैसी हैं। तब आप अपने देश को कुछ समझेंगे और आपको अपने देश का कुछ गुरुर होगा, और हमेशा अपने देश को सामने रखेंगे, खाली अपने गाँव को और ज़िले को नहीं। ये ज़रूरी बात है, क्योंकि आपकी तरक्क़ी, आपकी उन्नति ज़भी होगी, जब भारत की उन्नति होती है और आपकी उन्नति से भारत की उन्नति होगी। इसलिए हमें सब मिल कर ये काम करना है, अलग-अलग नहीं।

तो आज एक मुबारक दिन, इस शुभ काम को करने के लिए हम यहाँ जमा हुए हैं और इस पॉलिटैक्निक को ज़ाबिते से शुरू किया। ये तो आपको और सभी को मुबारक हो और खासकर जो यहाँ के पढ़ाने वाले हैं और पढ़ने वाले विद्यार्थी हैं, उनके लिए ये खास दिन है और उनको याद रखना है कि ये सब इतने लोग यहाँ हज़ारों जमा हुए हैं, उनके सामने ये बड़ा काम है, और इस पॉलिटैक्निक से इन सब लोगों को आशाएँ होंगी, उम्मीदें होंगी, और मुझे कोई शक नहीं कि जो लड़के...मैं नहीं देखता कोई लड़कियाँ, नहीं आयी हैं, आयेंगी कि नहीं, मुमकिन है आयें या न आयें, मगर कोई रुकावट नहीं है; ख़ैर अभी तक ख़ाली लड़के हैं यहाँ, शायद बाद में आयें लड़कियाँ भी...तो मैं देखता हूँ मेरे सामने बैठे हैं, और मैं उनके चेहरे को देख रहा था, तेज़ मालूम होते हैं, अच्छे काम करने वाले। तो मुझे तो पूरी उम्मीद है कि यहाँ से जो सीख के लोग निकलेंगे वो चतुर, तेज़ होंगे, और अच्छा काम करेंगे, अपने लिए और आन्ध्र प्रदेश के लिए, और हिन्दुस्तान के लिए।

जो विद्यार्थी बैठे हैं मेरे सामने पढ़ने और पढ़ाने वाले मेरी बात को मंज़ूर करते हैं तो ज़रा हाथ उठायेँ। ये आपका एक वादा हुआ, याद रखिए, इसको तोड़ना नहीं होगा। तो अब आप सब लोगों को, भाइयों और बहनों को बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद, शुक्रिया, जो दूर-दूर से आये यहाँ, आपसे मिल कर मुझे ख़ुशी हुई, और अब मैं थोड़ी देर में हैदराबाद वापस जाऊँगा और वहाँ से कल सवेरे कहीं और जाऊँगा। मेरी भी यात्रा जारी रहती है, लेकिन यहाँ आना वानपरथी में और ये पॉलिटैक्निक का क़ायम होना मुझे याद रहेगा।

जयहिन्द!

अब, जयहिन्द कहिए मेरे साथ तीन दफ़े...अरे, ठहरो भाई, मेरे साथ कहना। जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Mr Chief Minister, sisters and brothers,

The first question that I have to ask you is whether you can understand what I



am saying. Those who can understand Hindi, please raise your hands. My colleague Rameshwar ji<sup>145</sup> had been inviting me for the past few days to visit Wanaparthi, particularly when the question of establishing a polytechnic here came up. Rameshwar Rao ji is an old colleague of mine and we are together in the Lok Sabha even now. Therefore, I wanted to come here and I am happy to have been able to do so. Firstly, I have satisfied my friend and secondly, I have been given the opportunity of meeting the people of this province gathered together here. Thirdly, I have a special interest in polytechnics and other allied institutions. Yesterday, I laid the foundation stone of an engineering college and here I am today. I feel that these steps that we are taking today will help the country to progress. I have come here on a very auspicious day, the day of Vijaya Dashami.

Rameshwar Rao ji pointed out just now that this is a very backward district and we want it to progress. We want not only this district but the whole of Andhra Pradesh and India to progress. We want that no man or woman in India should be deprived of the opportunity for progress and betterment. We must take the whole country forward. It is a gigantic task because there are forty crore human beings. But that means also that we are rich in manpower and we want the largest number of human beings to participate in this task.

You may remember that there was a time when we faced yet another gigantic task of freeing India from her bondage and getting rid of British rule from here. It involved great effort and sacrifices but ultimately we won. The people of India won by following their great leader, Mahatma Gandhi. And we got freedom. Soon after that we were confronted with yet another problem of the princely states which included Hyderabad. The biggest of them all was their merger into the Indian Union. That was also done and India became one unified country with a single administration. A Parliament meets in Delhi comprising of elected representatives from all over the country. There are also state assemblies to which the people elect their representatives.

It was a great revolution to have got rid of British imperialism, merged the princely states into the Indian Union and to have established people's rule through elected representatives. You may remember that two and a half years ago Telangana was merged into Andhra Pradesh and other parts of the old Hyderabad state were given to Bombay and Mysore. The greater Andhra thus came into being. There are other great provinces in the country but there is one uniform administration and Parliament for the entire country.

145. See fn 144 in this section.

We have people's rule in India now. But it is our wish to strengthen democracy even further so that administration is not left entirely in the hands of high officials. Therefore, we have laid stress on greater autonomy for the panchayats.

As I said earlier, our first and foremost task was to get freedom for India. Then, we had to consolidate that freedom by fostering unity and organisation in the country and ensuring cooperation among the people. Today, the most urgent task before us is to produce greater wealth in the country which can be distributed among the people so that poverty is eradicated and the people enjoy a better standard of living. We have taken up this great task. But even more urgent is the need, to foster unity. We became independent because we united ourselves and worked together as one people. We have to do so again irrespective of the province that we may belong to. There are various provinces in India from the Himachal Pradesh, Bombay, Orissa, Madras, Andhra, Pradesh, and Kerala. But India is one country and all the states are merely parts of it. We must always bear in mind the fact that we are citizens of one big country, whether you call it India, Bharat or Hindustan with different kinds of people in different provinces languages, religions and castes. All of them are part of this large family of India.

The most important task before us now is to lift this country of ours out of the mire of poverty and ensure a better standard of living for everyone. This has been our goal during the last ten to twelve years. You must have heard about the five year plans. That does not mean that everything comes to a standstill every five years. The work goes on. But we have adopted planning for purposes of targets and administrative arrangements. We have already completed one five year plan and are in the midst of the Second. Then, there will be the Third Plan. These plans are meant to ensure an all-round development in the country. We have no desire to go to war with any country. We want peace in our relations with others. The only war that we wish to wage is against India's poverty and unemployment.

This gigantic task cannot be done by a handful of officials. It requires the people's participation. All our ministers and officials are not strong enough to shoulder the country's burdens. India can progress only if the people are willing to shoulder them. They must understand this and prepare themselves to participate in the great national tasks.

You require training for any task that you undertake. Otherwise the works will not be done well. Many of you must be farmers and learned farming from your family, your parents. Those who are well-trained, become excellent farmers. Similarly, artisans or craftsmen, carpenters, ironsmiths and others require training in their fields. Without training and special skills a nation is bound to lag behind.



The advanced nations of the world have got so far ahead, because their people are extremely well trained and skilled and use modern techniques of production. The farmers use good seeds and fertilizers and therefore they are able to produce a great deal. This is the case with the factory workers too. We must also follow their example and make arrangements to train people in various fields if we want India to progress.

So, there are two major tasks in particular before us. One, we must train people in new skills and techniques. That means that arrangements must be made to educate boys and girls all over the country. No child in India must be deprived of the opportunity for education. Every single boy and girl must get basic education for five to seven years. Then, the bright ones must get the opportunity for higher education in colleges, institutes and polytechnics and so on. Once education spreads and people start getting trained in various professions, whether it is agriculture or industries, and imbibing new knowledge that the modern world has to offer, India will progress automatically.

In this connection, it is our duty to open schools in every village and also to make arrangements for special technical education. A polytechnic has been opened here and I laid the foundation stone for an engineering college in Warangal yesterday. Such colleges and institutions are coming up all over the country. It is vital for our youth to be given scientific training if India is to progress. The opening of this polytechnic is a step in the right direction and will benefit the youth in this area. They will be educated and trained and will be able to participate in the great national tasks.

Do you know what the world is like today? Many of you may not have had the opportunity of travelling abroad. Many of you may not have travelled very much even within the country. But you must try to understand the situation that exists in the world today. There is great stress on science and technology which have enabled the west to make rapid strides and become powerful and wealthy. Therefore, we too must imbibe the new knowledge and overtake the others in the matter of original research. Immediately after independence, one of the first things we did was to open huge national science laboratories all over the country to give our youth scientific education and training, we cannot get anywhere without that. Simultaneously, we have opened technical institutes, engineering colleges and polytechnics in different parts of the country. This has enabled a large number of young boys and girls to acquire knowledge of the new sciences and technology, engineering, etc. This polytechnic is a branch of that chair.

Secondly, the people must participate in the national tasks. How are they to do that? Today, there was a large public meeting in Shadnagar on my way here where a big achievement was highlighted; the Andhra Pradesh government

has given greater autonomy to the panchayats, panchayat samitis and zila parishads. This is a very welcome step. Now, the right to do what the village or district needs vests with the people themselves, instead of with the government officials. We want to delegate authority among the people. If all of you cooperate, your village, district and province will progress very rapidly. But it is only the people who are educated and trained who can discharge their responsibilities well. Therefore, it is crucial that all of you should try to understand where your duty lies.

There should be a panchayat and a cooperative society in every village. There should be a school in every village. These are the three institutions on which the future edifice of a democratic India will be built. They will ensure that the children get the opportunity for education and secondly vest the people with authority instead of its remaining in the hands of a few officials. This is how we envisage running our country. Our bright young children must get the opportunity for higher education, in colleges and universities, in polytechnics and scientific institutions so that they can grow up to shoulder the burdens of this country of ours and lead her towards progress. We do not want the educated youth to swell the numbers in cities. They must go back to their villages and help in lifting them up by generating new work in the villages. There is a huge gap between the towns and villages at the moment. There are large buildings and houses in the cities, whereas the villages have mud hovels. This is not right. We want to change the conditions in the rural areas.

As I said, there must be a cooperative society in every village to help the farmer have a better deal in the matter of buying and selling. Individually, the small farmer does not have the capacity for progress or using new techniques, good seeds, etc. But a cooperative society helps him to get all these things and this in turn boosts production. Therefore, a cooperative society is very essential for every village.

As you can imagine, the task of uplifting the nation is a gigantic one. It cannot be done by shouting slogans, but only by hard work in every field, whether our job lies on the field or factories, in schools and colleges. Other countries have progressed through their hard work and effort. It requires the participation of the people, men as well as women. The women in particular must remember that they have a major role to play in uplifting India. Unless they progress, half of India will remain backward.

If you get the opportunity, you must tour the different parts of India to see this great country of ours in its myriad forms and faces. You will then understand India better and feel a sense of pride. It will help you to keep a larger national perspective instead of thinking only of your village or district. This is crucial because your progress depends on India's progress and vice versa. Therefore



we have to work together as one nation instead of pulling in different directions.

Today is a very auspicious day and we are gathered together for an auspicious task, the formal inauguration of this polytechnic. I congratulate all of you particularly the teachers and students of this institution. They must bear in mind that the thousands of people gathered here today cherish great hopes and expectations from this institution. I have no doubt about it that the boys (there seem to be no girls. I am sure they will join, for there is no ban to that) sitting here before me are bright and hard working. I have firm faith that those who pass out from here will be intelligent, well trained and serve Andhra Pradesh and India well.

I want these students and teachers sitting here who accept what I have said to raise their hands signifying a pledge. Please remember that you must not break your pledge. I thank all the men and women who are gathered here today. I am happy to have met you. I shall leave for Hyderabad in a short while and will go on from there tomorrow morning. My travels are never ending. But I shall always remember my visit to Wanaparthy and meeting all of you. Jai Hind! Please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]

## 15. Public Meeting, Vijayawada: The Industrial Revolution in India<sup>146</sup>

Friends and Comrades,

I am always happy to come to Vijayawada because this is one of the principal political and intellectual centres of Andhra Pradesh. I have been three days in this state.<sup>147</sup> I went first to Warangal and laid the foundation stone of an engineering college, then to Hyderabad, a great city, then to Shahabad where we performed a very important ceremony, that is, we gave a start to the panchayat samitis. And that is a great and revolutionary change that is coming over India where power is being transferred to the panchayats, to the people of the villages. I hope that this example of Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan will be adopted in the rest of India because that represents one of the ideals we have had, that is, to decentralise, to give power to our people, to have real janatantra, a people's democracy. So I was happy to participate in this important ceremony, and I

146. Speech at Vijayawada, 12 October 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

147. From 10 to 14 October 1959.

wish it well. Then we went on to Wanapathy and there we started a polytechnic, another symbol of the new India, like the engineering college at Warangal. Today we went to Nagarjunakonda, and there first I went to the ruins of that ancient city, Vijayapuri, which flourished there seventeen hundred years ago and was a great centre of learning and people came there from different parts of Asia to study. And later I went to a new India, also near Nagarjunakonda, where a great dam is being built and mighty canals are going to give life-giving water all round to the rural areas. That has been my programme today, and now I come to you, to this city, famous in our political history, and I am happy to meet you all.

When I was at Nagarjunakonda today, admiring the great works there and looking at the large number, thousands of workers who are building it, one old Andhra worker came up to me and said something to me which moved me greatly and which made me think. I shall try to tell you what he told me, and I shall try, I hope correctly, to repeat the words in the Telugu language which he used. He said *Idimiru techina deepam* (translation: This is the lamp lit by you). I hope I have correctly said it. That moved me because it was the greatest compliment that anyone could pay, and I felt both proud and humble when I heard that and I felt that if it has been given to me in the course of my life to light some lamps here and there then my life has been worthwhile. And I felt also that to all of us, you and me and every one of us, after all, what does life mean? If we could remember that, and if we could light some lamps, we have done something worthwhile. Many of us, instead of lighting lamps, spend our energy in snuffing and putting out lamps and candles. And I felt, thinking about this phrase of this old worker, how it really summarised what our attitude should be both in international affairs and in national affairs.

I shall deal with international affairs first, because it has been our policy to light lamps, lamps of peace, lamps which will put an end to conflict, lamps which remove discord from the world. That has been our policy. We have called it by many names. Sometimes it is called the policy of non-alignment, non-commitment, of not joining a military alliance but trying to be friendly with all the people and countries of the world. Some people have said that is not a right policy. Some people have asked me today, told me today that your policy is shattered. Why? 'Oh, because China did this or that and now you must change your policy.' Those people do not understand this basic principle, this basic approach of our international policy. If that principle is correct, it is correct whatever other people might do. It is correct even if we make a mistake. And I do submit to you that that basic principle that we have followed in international policy is to light lamps of peace and to encourage peace in the world and not to say or do anything which adds to thoughts or activities of war.



Therefore I firmly believe that that policy was a right policy, that that policy is today the right policy and that tomorrow it will also be the right policy, and, in so far as I can, I shall adhere to it, and I trust that you will approve of it. Those people who think in other terms, of military alliances, of opposition to this country and that country, do not light lamps, they create the feeling of discord, they snuff to some extent, peace in the world, I am not criticising any country or any individual or party. But I do wish to tell you that in the world today I firmly believe that the right policy is the policy of not joining war alliances, not joining military alliances, of being friendly with all countries, whether you agree with them or do not agree with them. Of course, in doing so you have to maintain your independence, your integrity, your self-respect and your dignity. But there is no reason why we should not maintain our integrity and independence and yet be friendly to others. And I would like you also to look round Asia, and indeed the world, and try to see how the policy of warlike alliances has led the world to where it has led. And has it brought peace or progress in any country in Asia? I do not wish to mention any country. It has brought weakness, it has brought hatred, it has brought conflict; it has brought hatred because once you think in terms of against any country you begin to hate that country; and it has brought weakness because if you rely on military alliances and other people's help, you grow weak, you do not grow self-reliant. Therefore I do submit to you that the foreign policy that we have pursued has been the right policy and that it should be pursued in the future also.

By following this policy we have served the cause of peace in the world and we have served India's cause also. And you will see that today other countries are also to some extent following that policy. To some extent, I said. You will see that today the great countries are approaching each other in terms of peace, not in terms of warlike alliances, and because of that today in the world there is less of tension, less of conflict and more hope of peace than at any time in the last ten or twelve years. We should welcome this change in the world when the two great leaders of two great countries, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, meet together and discuss world problems, problems of disarmament and peace.<sup>148</sup> We should welcome it and send them our good wishes for success.

Now, in our own country people have become excited because of border troubles with China. Those troubles are a matter of concern to us and they have made us unhappy, and obviously, as we have stated, we cannot submit to any force or any aggression. That is true, and we shall hold by that and preserve the integrity of our country, but at the same time it is not right for us in our excitement

148. See item 2, fn 26.

to give up our own policy, not to aim at peace but to think in terms of war or to take steps which makes the situation harder and worse and leads to bitter conflict. We must therefore face this situation with courage, with firmness, but also at the same time keeping peace in view, keeping friendly dealings with other countries in view, and thus we shall, I hope, succeed in solving these difficult problems also in a peaceful way.

During a fairly long life engaged in public activities, I have, no doubt, made many mistakes, but I hope I have never done anything which should bring in the slightest degree dishonour to the name of India, anything that will come in the way of the freedom and independence of the Indian people, and I can assure you that so far as I am concerned I shall never agree to anything which is dishonourable to India. But that does not mean that we should behave like an immature, excitable nation and go about throwing challenges and hurling abuse at other nations. That is not the way that grown up, mature nations function, and I hope we in India are a grown up and mature people who can face any contingency without cold feet, without excitement, firmly and yet calmly and dispassionately.

We have two kinds of parties in India, many kinds, but I am referring to two only for the present. Some people and parties get greatly excited and want us to swing about a sword all the time, or a gun. They want us always to be on the verge of war. That is not the path of wisdom. It is right to be prepared for all contingencies, but it is also right always to work for peaceful settlements. That is what we have said always to other countries, in other world problems, and for us to rush into situations which lead to conflict and war is not right. Of course we must be firm, we must preserve our country and we shall certainly do so, but we must do it always in a friendly way, hoping for friendly settlements. That is one set of parties.

The other is another party, only one, so far as I know, the Communist Party in India, which takes an opposite view, which becomes an apologist for other countries who may be criticising or condemning or attacking India, and thereby cuts itself aloof from the national sentiment of all right-minded Indians.<sup>149</sup> That, I need hardly tell you, I consider completely wrong. As I have referred to the Communist Party I might further say that my difficulty with that party is not some theory, economic theory, you may or may not accept any theory, but I believe that the fundamental attitude of the Communist Party in India is against that basic principle that I said, to light lamps for other people. They try to snuff out the lights, they try to promote discord between group and group and they are not unfavourable to violence. Therefore I think that approach is a wrong

149. See item 1, fn 12&13.



approach. It does harm to the community, comes in the way of our progress, and basically and ethically is wrong. I am not referring for the moment to any economic doctrine they may have, but to their technique of action. That is one thing, and the second, which leads them, cuts them adrift from national sentiment because they look for advice and guidance outside India.

You know that we are on very friendly terms with some of the great communist countries, like the Soviet Union. They have their way in their country. They have made great progress, which we admire. We have our way in our country. They have not in the slightest degree tried to interfere with us in our way, and we wish them well in their country. So that we work our respective destinies; sometimes, I hope, learning from each other; but without interfering with each other and remaining friends. I have no objection to the world, to various countries in the world following different policies, trying different experiments. I do not wish to go and interfere with them, and I do not want any such country to interfere with me.

Now I shall come to the domestic sphere. Here again you will see, you will test everything, I hope, whether it is international or domestic, by this measure! "Does it light more lamps in the world or snuff them out?" It is a good measure. There can be no doubt that any approach, international or national, which is based on hatred and violence, does not light lamps. It puts them out. Therefore, whether this cold war approach in the world is not an approach of lighting lamps but it is one of putting them out, whether that approach is made in the name of communism or in the name of anti-communism or in any other name, it is based on hatred, on fear and on violence, and it can bring no ultimate good to the world, it can only bring conflict. I am glad, however, that more and more people in the world and in the great countries are realising that that is not a safe or a good approach because if war comes it will destroy humanity, and if you go on playing with the cold war then war may well come. Therefore if you want to avoid war, real war, avoid cold war also.

Who was it in our land, in our present generation who lighted many lamps, thousands and millions of lamps, who was it? Surely, you know the name. It was Mahatma Gandhi. He lighted the lamps in millions of hearts and minds, brought peace and solace and hope to them, made the burden of life a little lighter for them. And some of us who have positions of responsibility today, whatever we have learnt, whatever light was, through his light under which we lived. So you have an example in India of how lamps can be lighted even by one great individual. We are not great, we are humble people. We cannot be like Mahatma Gandhi, but at any rate we can try to understand his message and try to follow it.

Ever since we attained independence the one great problem before India

has been the problem of India's poverty, India's backwardness, economic backwardness. And poverty is the greatest bringer of darkness to the life of people, and therefore, if you wish to brighten those lives, if you wish to light lamps which will cast their light in that darkness, then you have to deal with the problem of poverty of the Indian people. That is why ever since independence the basic problem that we had to face was how to fight this poverty, this backwardness, how to make India a prosperous country, a welfare state in which every single individual would be a sharer in that welfare, that was the problem before us. And thinking over that problem we said that we want a socialist pattern of society. Because what does socialism mean? Socialism means, it means the welfare state, of course, it means every individual having equality of opportunity to progress, it means something more than that. It means an ethical approach, a moral approach to human relationships. It means having a society in which one group does not try to crush another, in which one group does not try to exploit another, in which people do not mount up on other people's dead or alive bodies in order to progress. It means, in other words, a society which is a cooperative society and not purely an acquisitive society and a profit-making society. Profit is good, I do not object to profit. I do not at all object to incentives, people must have incentives to go ahead. But if profit is at the expense of another's downfall, another's exploitation, then that profit is not good, and a society that is based on that principle is not soundly based.

If you have a family, what would you think of that family if each brother and sister were constantly fighting the other, knocking the other down, trying to stand up on the shoulders of the other? You would not think well of that family. But if those brothers and sisters and father and mother cooperate together for the family's good and share in the good fortune of the family, that is a good family. Now if that is good for a family why should not that be a good principle for a larger community? It is true that it is easier for a family to cooperate than for large numbers of people. I recognise the difficulty. I do not say it is easy. But the principle holds, the principle what is good for a family is good for a larger community, for a village, for the whole country. That is, we should aim at that principle and try to live up to it. We may not succeed wholly, but the principle is good and if we accept a good principle it will help us in gradually moving in that direction. Therefore, the Congress, about twenty five years or more ago, defined in its Article I that its creed, as it is called, that the object of the Indian National Congress is to achieve a cooperative commonwealth in India.<sup>150</sup> That was done twenty five years ago, nothing new. Recently, three or

150. See SWJN/SS/18/p. 15.



four years ago we added a word, a cooperative 'socialist' commonwealth, although that was included, but to make it clear.<sup>151</sup> Now I use the word "socialism" because I think it is a good word. I could have used the word, if you like, "sarvodaya" which is a better word. Only I do not wish to monopolise a word like sarvodaya which is being used by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. But it is an excellent word, I like it, I like the sense behind it. When I use the word "socialism" I am not referring to any cut-and-dried scheme given in the textbooks of socialism. I do not believe in doctrinaire and cut-and-dried schemes. All these old schemes in these books are schemes which have arisen in a hundred years in the context of Europe, in the context of the industrialisation of Europe. Remember, that all these words, socialism and communism and the like are the children of the industrial revolution in Europe. They are quite new, about a hundred and fifty years or less. They are therefore derived from conditions in Europe because of the industrial revolution. There is much in them which we can learn. But there is absolutely no reason why we should blindfoldedly accept that rigid system and try to apply it to India. Conditions are different in our country and the period is different. We are not living in the Europe of a hundred years ago. So that whatever policy we may adopt, we may have certain principles, certain basic ideals but they must be derived from our thinking and applied to the conditions in India.

What do I mean by socialism? I do not wish to define something precisely because we live in a developing society, we live in a changing society in India, in the world. The idea of socialism of the middle nineteenth century is no longer applicable today anywhere. The idea of communism as enunciated previously is not today accepted by the communist countries wholly, although they may not say so. As society changes we have to adapt new ways, find new ways of dealing with it. But broadly speaking, I mean by socialism equal opportunity for all, I mean no great differences. In the matter of equality you cannot make everybody equal, of course not, people differ in ability, in strength, in capacity; but equal opportunity, and a society and an economic structure so framed as to provide that equality in that society. Further, remember that socialism is not something cut off from prosperity. What I mean is this: Would you have socialism which confirms the poverty of a poverty-stricken country? Surely not. That is not my idea of socialism, of everybody being poor although they might be equal, the whole conception of socialism came when the world began producing

151. At the sixtieth session of the INC held at Avadi in Madras State from 21 to 23 January 1955, Nehru proposed replacing the goal of "Cooperative Commonwealth," with that of the "Socialistic Pattern of Society." See SWJN/SS/27/pp. 255 and 279-283.

wealth through industrial techniques; then it came. That is, associated with the idea of socialism is greater wealth production and thereafter, better equitable wealth distribution.

Therefore the first thing to do about fighting poverty is to increase the wealth producing capacity of a country. Some people, in the name of socialism, ask us to take steps which in some theory in their minds might be correct or not, but which will result in impeding production of wealth. Some people will say, "Oh, cut off everybody, let everybody be equal in possessions and wealth today." It may be a good ideal to aim at. I aim at that. But if I did anything like that I would stop most of the wealth producing features of our economy today, and therefore the first result will be greater poverty in India, and that will not be socialism. Therefore we must remember that it is not by some doctrinaire method that we are going to solve this problem, but step by step, by producing more and more wealth from land, from industry and in other ways and at the same time seeing to it that the social structure is such that the differences between rich and poor become lesser and lesser.

What do you see in the world today? You see a number of countries, chiefly in Europe, Western Europe, America, Canada, Australia, Japan if you like, the Soviet Union of course; countries which have attained a high standard of living, countries which produce wealth at a rapid pace. And you see other countries, mostly underdeveloped, in Asia and Africa, some even in South America, which are backward economically, which are poor. What is this difference due to? The difference is due to the fact that the industrial revolution came to those countries which are rich today, that they took advantage of science and technology and the powers that nature gave them through science and technology. Therefore they drew wealth from their land, they drew wealth from their industry and continually they are growing richer and richer, while the underdeveloped countries are struggling hard, very hard to better their lot, and moving slowly. Therefore it follows, does it not, that if we are to rid ourselves of our poverty we must take advantage of science and technology and the machine; we must have the industrial revolution here and we must learn to use the forces of nature which Western people have used. We fell back as a country in spite of our high philosophy and high ideals because we were complacent, we did not keep pace with the modern world, with science and technology and we became poor, and we became a subject people. Now that we are free, our first step must be to catch up to these countries through science, technology and the like. England and America and other countries took one hundred and fifty years to develop after the industrial revolution. Are we going to take a hundred and fifty years? Surely not. We cannot afford to do so. For one reason, our population is so great and increases so fast that we will be overwhelmed by



this population unless our wealth producing capacity grows much more rapidly. So, we have to find ways and means of encompassing of fulfilling this industrial revolution in a short time, whatever it may be, ten years, fifteen years. You cannot do it by magic, but we certainly cannot wait for a hundred years. That is the problem before us and any person trying to solve that problem must answer that question, as to how we are going to bring about that measure of wealth production and proper equitable wealth distribution so that our people as a whole may have the necessities and the normal comforts of life.

It is this question which every individual has to think about. It is this question which every party in India has to answer. I do not say that there is only one answer to that. My answer may be wrong. But anyhow every party must answer that question as to how within a measurable period of time, ten, fifteen, twenty years if you like, whatever the period may be, that India can pass through that industrial and like revolutions and raise its wealth so that it may raise our standards of living greatly, so that there may be no unemployment in this country. That is the question which every party has to answer. That is the question which the Swatantra Party has to answer. It is no good talking vaguely about various matters with which nobody can disagree. Many of the things that the Swatantra Party says are good, pious statements with which all of us agree. Some of the things it says, I think, are completely out of date. And anyhow, whatever it says has no relation whatsoever to present-day problems in India.

It is this question which has been tackled by us through our Planning Commission, through our Government, through our Five Year Plans. It is not a question to answer in a sentence. We have got those five year plan reports which indicate how we should tackle it. I do not say that the five year plan report is a perfect report. It may have many mistakes. We are trying to solve a mighty and very difficult problem of four hundred million people in India, and we make many mistakes. But anyhow we are trying to solve it and I think that we have gone some good way to solve it. I think, not only I but many people think that India is perhaps the only country of the underdeveloped countries, excluding China. I am excluding China because China is working in a different way and no doubt making progress—excluding China, I say that India is, I imagine, the only country in Asia, in Africa and even perhaps in South America to some extent, which has moved fairly rapidly towards the industrial revolution, which is what people call approaching in the next few years, the taking-off stage into industrialism. We have made progress; we have laid the foundations of that progress.

How do you measure industrial progress? There are many ways of doing so. But one way which is always applied is, how much steel production there is, how steel production is growing, how power production is growing and



how your trained personnel, trained individuals are growing. These are three principal tests. There are other tests also. It is because we have laid stress on the basic things that I say we have laid strong foundations. We have laid stress on science. Look at our great scientific laboratories producing very fine scientists, men and women. Look at our new steel plants, great steel plants that are growing up. Look at our power, how power is coming, because without power and steel there can be no industrial production. Look again at our trained personnel. The whole country is being dotted today with engineering colleges, polytechnics and the like. We have today over one hundred thousand engineers in India and I have no doubt that we shall have another hundred thousand or so by the end of the Third Five year Plan, may be much more, all over they are increasing. And while there may be much unemployment in India, you will seldom find an engineer or a technician who is unemployed, except functionally, here and there, for a short time.

A little before coming to this public meeting I went to what was called a Congress workers' meeting, and a lady put me a question, or made a suggestion that.... because economic progress is so important today why not concentrate on that and not spend so much money on education? That question showed a certain lack of understanding of this problem. There can be no economic progress without education and without widespread education, not education of some engineers here and there. You will find that in every economically advanced country there is widespread education, compulsory education at the base and higher education, of course, widespread. You will find that when Japan decided sixty, seventy years ago, I forget when, to industrialise the country what was the first step it took? Compulsory primary education, because they knew that was basic to the progress of the country, and also, of course training of engineers and all that. You cannot, because industrialisation means bringing scientific techniques to the land, to the factory, using technology. You cannot ask a farmer in the field to use it unless he is educated. It becomes necessary, therefore, for every farmer, every mechanic, every worker to be educated to a certain degree if you want real industrialisation to come. It is the very base. An essential base of economic progress is, therefore, education; education of two types; widespread education, elementary education for everyone and selected education, higher education for large numbers, not everyone but still for large numbers.

Where do we stand in education in India today? What have we done in the last dozen years? We hear a great deal of criticism about our educational system—primary education, secondary education, university, all criticised. And sometimes the criticism is right criticism. You will find this criticism in every country today. But I am not discussing education now, I merely want to give



you some figures of education which are rather remarkable. We have today in India thirty lakhs of children going to elementary schools. It is a large number. No doubt India has a big population. We have about eight lakhs of people in secondary schools in India, and we have, I forget, a lakh or two or more, I forget, in the universities, might be more perhaps. Therefore you have at the present moment over forty lakhs of people being taught in primary, secondary and university education. I am sorry, I have given you wrong figures, not forty lakhs, four crores. The first figure thirty lakhs was three crores. Of course I am getting mixed up. Three crores in elementary schools, eight lakhs in secondary schools and some lakhs in universities, altogether four crores are in our schools and colleges at present. This figure has gone up rapidly in the last six or seven years, more rapidly I think than in any other country during a like period of its development. It is a remarkable feat, and the figure grows and grows. It may be, of course, that because it has grown too fast, education has suffered, the quality of education. I am sorry for that, but the fact is we are growing pretty fast, and as for technical institutes and scientific institutes we have done very well in regard to their growth too. One very important, and I think, happy feature of this educational growth is the number of girls and young women that are taking part in it. I think that is very important because no community can grow really unless its women-folk are educated. Indeed it is more important for women to be educated than for the men because it is an educated woman as a mother that brings up children and lays the foundations of the children's character. Therefore I am particularly happy at this. Last year I think there were about twenty thousand women graduates from Indian universities. It is a very satisfactory number. As a matter of fact there are not enough universities or places in the universities for all those who want to study in them.

I can tell you many things that have been done in the last ten or twelve years by us to break this barrier which separates the underdeveloped country from a developed country. It is a very difficult thing, specially for us, because our population is increasing so fast. That comes in the way. And that is also a reason why we should make an attempt to the best of our ability to reduce the rate of population growth by family planning. It is important, because if it increases too fast it pulls us back, it pulls our level back, and our per capita income becomes less and we cannot cross that barrier to a welfare state soon. Therefore that is important. Nevertheless, in spite of that we have been progressing. I am not going into that. You can read about that. But my object in telling you this was how in a planned way we are trying to approach these questions and find answers to them and trying to build up the foundations of an industrial economy.

Because you cannot build at the top. You do not get industrialisation by

putting up a few textile mills. There are, I believe, three or four hundred textile mills in India. All the textile mills in India did not make India industrialised except in a very small way. Industrialisation comes when heavy industry comes to a country, heavy, basic industry and power. Therefore what is this heavy industry? Many things—iron and steel, chemical industry, power-producing industry and big machine-producing industry. These are the basic things. Once you have got them, out of them flow other industries, come out of them. You get thousand and hundreds of thousands of small industries. That has not been the way of our industrialists. That cannot be the way of the industrialists because they cannot plan for a country. They can plan only for their individual profits. They are thinking of individual profits. They cannot. They can do good work, the industrialists, and we want them to do good work and we give them opportunity. But one thing is certain, that looking at the problem from the industrial, capitalist point of view there would be no adequate planning for India, or if there was some planning it would be of a completely different type which would result in a greater difference, in a bigger gap between the rich and poor than it is today. Even today the gap between the rich and the poor in India is a very big gap. Criticisms are made, some [...]

Therefore, the strategy of planning is: one, agriculture, greater agricultural production; two, heavy industries, power, steel, big-machine building, chemical industries. Of course, I do not mean that other industries should not grow. Of course we want them by the hundred thousands. But unless you have those basic industries, the others will not grow because they will always depend on foreign countries for their machinery, for other things, and you will proceed very, very slowly. Therefore we have followed that strategy.

When following the strategy of heavy industries the result is that a great burden falls on the people because the heavy industries consume money and the return from them comes later, five, six, seven eight years later. If we build steel plants, well, for five years we spend hundreds of crores of rupees not getting anything back from them. Ah, after that we get plenty back from them. If we build a big river valley project we get nothing for several years. You spend money. Ultimately you get power, you get water for irrigation, and you get it for generations. That is to say, if you are long-sighted, if you are preparing for the future, you have to suffer for it today by laying strong foundations. That is the strategy we have followed and the result of that has been certainly some pressures on our people, some difficulties to face; that was inevitable; there was no help for it.

I repeat to you that when I lay stress on heavy industries I want the lighter industries, the smaller industries the village industries, gramodyog and the rest also to go ahead fast. That is essential. But what I mean is that the lighter



industries will not go ahead unless heavy industries come in. Today the time has come for the light industries to push ahead. In Punjab in the last ten years about forty thousand new light, small industries have been started by the refugees from Pakistan because the Punjabis are industrially inclined, active, hard working. We want hundreds of thousands of small industries in every State and I hope they will come, and I want particularly village industries to grow. And there is no conflict in my mind between heavy industry and village industry. They both have their place in India.

I talk about socialism and people criticise us for socialism. But as a matter of fact we are very far from socialism. It is an ideal. It may take us, I do not know, fifteen years, twenty years to approach it, to realise it in some degree. But I think that ideal is a good ideal and we must work up to it. But today in India what does that ideal mean? It means, firstly, that basic industries should be controlled by the State in a public sector, not all industries, basic industries, strategic industries. It means that the economic policy of the country should be controlled by the State and not left to the vagaries of the market or to people who speculate in your stock exchanges and the like. I say that it would be impossible for a country placed in the position of India today to progress in a planned manner unless the State controls the economy strategically, basically. Do you think that our economy will progress if left to the people who function in the stock exchange?

There is a great deal of talk about the public sector and the private sector. The public sector is growing and it will grow and we shall make it grow as fast as it can. But remember this, that is not an attack on the private sector. There is the whole vast land of India for the private sector to grow. We want to encourage it. And the private sector in a planned economy is much safer because it has easy markets. Otherwise the private sector runs risks. So there is no question of coming in the way of the private sector. But there is every question of coming in the way of the private sector interfering with the economy of the country as planned, because either we plan or we do not plan, we cannot have it both ways. And in order to plan effectively and for other purposes also, the major basic industries, strategic industries must be in the public sector and the public sector must grow. And the private sector has enormous fields to grow. And we want to help it to grow within the framework of the Plan.

Some people say, "oh, the Congress wants socialism and socialism means all kinds of controls and they will interfere with your private life and your public life and there will be no freedom left and you will end up by some authoritarian form of government." I am sorry if people say these things because I would expect them, when discussing public questions of importance, to study their subject. If they refer to the Congress doing this or that I would suggest

that they should find out what the Congress has said or intends doing, or what our Government has said or intends doing. It is no good talking about a subject, and a serious subject, without knowing it. There is a great deal of talk about socialism and individual freedom. Everyone should know that our Constitution—which we have made, no outsider has made it, it is the Congress Party essentially which has made this Constitution. It lays down all kinds of protections for individual freedom, because we believe in individual freedom and we are going to hold to that individual freedom and we do not think that the socialism of the kind we want interferes with that individual freedom. It is true that in every organised society there is a certain discipline imposed upon it. Today there are probably more State controls in many ways in the United States of America, which is a highly capitalist country than in India. It is a little difficult to deal with criticisms which have no relation to fact. We stand, our Government and the Congress organisation stand, have always stood for individual freedom and we also stand, broadly, for the socialist structure of society. And we believe further that not only is that socialist structure ethically a right thing, morally a right thing, but it is only in that socialist structure that real individual freedom can be preserved. What freedom is there in poverty? In the law a person may be free but if people are poor there is no freedom for them. So we believe in that and we believe also in socialism because we think that that will be the most rapid way of raising the level of our people, maintaining their individual freedom.

Remember this, that whatever I am saying I am saying in relation to India today. I am not discussing other countries' problems, I am not advising any other country. I do not know what I would do if I was in other countries facing a different situation. What the situation is in America, very high standards, they have grown in a hundred and fifty years, in a vast country with a relatively small population, they have done well. Who am I to criticise them or the British people; who am I to criticise? Or the people in Scandinavia, Sweden and Norway and Denmark, very high standards of living and with largely a socialistic economy, largely I say, not wholly. Well, they have done well. Or the Soviet Union, they have done well and they have justified by their great sacrifice and hard work, they have made themselves into one of the two great powers of the world. It is not for me to advise or criticise them. But I have to consider the problem of India as it is today, with its population as it is growing and with its industrial and agricultural background, because no problem can be isolated from the objective conditions of the country to which it applies. And I say, therefore, that in these conditions in India as we are, we have to adopt certain ideals which are socialistic, certain methods of action which mean a planned economy, a certain growing public sector. Otherwise a planned economy cannot



function. Therefore, [it is] in this context of India that I put these ideas forward before you.

But you will find also in other countries; I am not criticising them, I am merely mentioning it, that by whatever name they call themselves or their social structures, they are changing. In the United States of America the capitalism of the 19th century no longer exists, it is gone, dead. Something quite different has come up. They are all approaching, every country today talks about a welfare state. In the United States of America, you will be surprised to learn—people say, this is the biggest capitalist country—that they are building up a classless society. That was supposed to be a socialist and a communist phrase and yet in America they say, and say it honestly, that they are building up a classless society, through different ways. Therefore all these old terms and phrases are losing their original meaning because the world is changing. Today, in spite of the big differences between America and the Soviet Union, the major fact is that both those countries are children of the industrial civilisation and of the machine. They both worship the machine and science and technology and therefore they are far nearer to each other than either of them to an underdeveloped country. We get tied up with these terms, capitalism, socialism, and communism. The communists of course are tied up with old phrases which have no meaning today. They recite, they mumble them like old mantras without realising what the world is today.

Therefore beware of losing yourselves in slogans and phrases. Look behind them and look at the world as it is today and, what is even more important, as it is becoming and changing and will become tomorrow. Because this is a world based on science and technology, this is a world in which possibly in a few years human beings may go to the moon or to the planets. What has that got to do with our old traditional ways of thinking? We have all been shaken up and undoubtedly our social and economic structures in every country, including India, will have to fit in with these new changes, will have to be based on science and technology. That is the essential fact to remember; and both socialism and capitalism and communism and every ism will have to adapt itself to this basic fact which is more important than all the phrases of those isms.

I have talked about science, technology and industry and all that because it is important. Do not imagine, however, that I am in the slightest degree ignoring certain basic characteristics, certain basic principles which should govern the life of an individual or a nation, the basic principles, character building principles. Because if you have not character, a nation, if it has not a certain philosophy of life to carry it forward, certain ethical standards, then that nation will not make much good. It may become rich but will fail ultimately. Therefore it is important that in all these changes that are coming and will come we should

hold to our basic principles. But remember that basic principles do not mean some kind of economic or social structures. They change. They do not embody basic principles. You may have the caste system; that is not a basic principle; may be two thousand years ago it had some virtue in it but today it has only a baneful influence, it is bad, it should be put an end to, liquidated, completely abolished. I realise it may take some time but the processes are going on. Therefore do not mix up real religion, real philosophy with temporary economic or social structures which must change. We have been backward in this country because we stuck to traditional social and economic structures in the name of religion. Hold to your real religion by all means, philosophy, but do not tie up these other things which are no part of religion. And therefore you must also remember that a society changes, a social organisation changes. There was a time when slavery existed in the world, and great people praised slavery, great philosophers praised slavery. Nobody praises slavery today because conditions have changed. You cannot make a human being your slave today, although I believe in some parts of Africa it still exists, however. So take other things which are not so ancient. Take autocratic monarchy; hardly anybody believes in that today. Take the feudal system in land; people do not accept it today, it has become a thing of the past, although in its own day it was a good thing. Take all your land systems, jagirdari, zamindari, talukdari, so on. All these land systems may have been good in their days. They represented a state of affairs which was suitable to that stage of growth of society. But they became out of date and we had to do away with them.

Therefore you must realise that if an old, out-of-date social structure continues in a country it comes in the way of that country's progress. If today it is essential for us to have advanced agriculture, to have scientific agriculture, we could not have had it under the feudal system or under the jagirdari system or under the big zamindari system. The two conflict. They cannot. The social structure prevents the growth of a society in a particular direction. Therefore you have to change that social structure to fit in with the new claims of the day. Now, apply that to agriculture. We got rid of the zamindari and the jagirdari system not only because we thought it was very harmful to the people but because we could not make agriculture progress so long as we have that system. It had to go.

Our agriculture is of the highest importance. There can be no doubt about it. Our industrial production is of the most basic importance. Firstly because of food; we must have enough food for our growing population, and even more if possible, to export. Secondly, for our industries we want raw materials from agriculture. So both directly for food and for the growth of industry we want the growth of the agricultural production. It is vital. Now that agricultural



production in India is backward. We must remember that. If we compare it with almost any country it is far less. Our food production per unit acre is half, one-third sometimes of some other countries. Therefore we are backward because our techniques of food production are backward, old fashioned.

After putting an end to the big zamindari system in India what do we get? We get, broadly speaking, because there are pockets here which have not been dealt with, but broadly speaking we get peasant proprietors in India. And that is right, and that is what we aim at. And what we ultimately aim at is that there should be no intermediaries between the cultivator and the State. There are at present intermediaries but they are gradually going out. We have got that but as a result of this we also get a vast number of our peasantry having very, very small holdings—one acre, two acres, maybe three acres. I think that would cover a vast number of our peasants. How can a peasant with one or two acres make scientific advance? He has no strength, he has no resources, he has no background, and therefore he is usually in the clutches of the moneylender and all that. That is the problem before us, to make our agriculture scientific and much more productive than it is. How can we get our peasant proprietors to do that? The answer, and the inevitable answer and the unchallengeable answer, I say, is understanding, is cooperation. I am not for the present—I shall come to it, I shall come to cooperative farming for the present I am merely saying that the answer and the only answer for the progress of the Indian peasant and Indian agriculture is through cooperation, and I should like to know any person in the wide world to challenge that statement of mine. I am, for the moment as I said, talking about, not particularly about joint farming, I shall come to that, but about the cooperative principle in agriculture which may broadly be said to be service cooperatives. Not merely credit, because credit is too limited. Credit is of course necessary but it is too limited. I say that farmers all over the world, whether in a capitalist country or socialist or communist; of course, in communist country they go further, they all have to go in for cooperation. If that is so in the case of big farmers even in Canada where there are huge farms, it is infinitely more important in a country like India where our farmers are small farmers, very small farmers, sometimes with lands which are not even on subsistence level. It becomes essential for them to cooperate with the others in the village in a cooperative society or, to begin with, service cooperatives, to knock out the middleman's profit, the moneylender's or the middleman buyer's profit and to be able to buy and sell, to get things they want, many things they want, whether it is seeds or fertilizers or good ploughs and all that, and to sell their growth through their cooperatives. That is the obvious modern way of doing things even for a peasant proprietor. I am thinking in terms of peasant proprietors and service cooperatives and I come to the conclusion that it is quite inevitable

and urgently necessary that service cooperatives should be established in every village. Why a village, why not a larger area? I do not mind if it is two villages, if they are small villages. But what is the whole basis of cooperation? What does cooperation mean? Cooperation, first of all, the very word means voluntariness. You cannot have compulsory cooperation. It is absurd, it is a contradiction in terms. But you can only cooperate easily in a small group, people you know. If you have about fifty thousand persons in a cooperative, nobody knows the others, it becomes an impersonal, unknown thing and the poor peasant will be lost. But if there is a cooperative of a village they know each other, they trust each other or distrust each other and therefore there is a sense of communality, a sense of cohesion, and it is essential, I think, for a cooperative to have that sense of cohesion. Therefore I say I would prefer a small cooperative of the village. But then you can group together a number of village cooperatives for some higher society, also a cooperative society in a higher plane.

I mentioned at the beginning of my address my visit to Shadnagar two days ago—or yesterday was it—and this panchayat samiti, this decentralisation of power.<sup>152</sup> I want you to think of the decentralisation not only of the administrative power but of the economic apparatus too. I look upon the panchayat and the panchayat samiti as the decentralised repositories of power in the local areas, and I look upon the village cooperative and the other cooperatives, bigger ones, as representing the economic authority in that area. Because if you leave the poor peasant to himself, he is no economic authority, he will be exploited by bigger people, he will be exploited by all kinds of people, he will even be exploited by the State. Therefore, I want the three things I have stated, the three pillars in a village must be the village panchayat, the village cooperative and the village school. On the basis of this we build our free society.

I want you to consider now the question of joint or cooperative farming. What is that? That is one addition to the other service cooperatives, the addition being that for the purpose of farming they pool their lands and farm it together and then share according to the quantity of land put in, the proceeds of that land. Remember two or three things, first, of course it has been said all along that this is a voluntary thing. If people want to do it they will do it, if they do not they will not. Secondly, it does not mean depriving the man of his land. The land belongs to the farmer as before. It is true that the boundaries are removed.

152. He inaugurated a Panchayat Samiti at Shadnagar, Mahbubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh, on 10 October 1959, the first to be organised in Andhra Pradesh under the new Panchayati Samitis and Zila Parishads Act. See item 91.



But the fact is that the land belongs to him still. Thirdly, that if ultimately even from a cooperative farm he wants to get out. Later, well, it is for the cooperative farm to make rules for that purpose. We do not wish to come in the way. Obviously we cannot allow a person to play about, come in and out all the time. But there can be rules, after a period if he wants to go out he can go out. Fourthly, that a cooperative farm of our thinking has nothing to do with the collective farm. It is quite different. It is no good going on saying, as some people do, that 'Oh, this is collectivism or this is the first step to a collective farm.' I object to a collective farm on principle, I dislike it and I do not think it is at all suited to India. So it is no good saying that. Therefore cooperative joint farming is an extension by consent, by voluntary adherence to doing this as long as they like. Cooperative or joint farming is just a method of peasant proprietors functioning together by consent for as long as they like. There is no question of compulsion or collectivism.

But having said that, I also want to tell you that the Congress resolution was that for three years we must concentrate on service cooperatives in every village. Of course if people want joint cultivation meanwhile, they can have it, and we should like to have it in some places, to learn from it, to experiment how it gets on. But anyhow, our principal stress today is on service cooperatives. Having said that, I want to tell you quite frankly my own opinion. It is strongly in favour of joint cultivation. I am not a farmer, therefore I am not entitled perhaps to give that opinion. But I am intelligent human being, knowing something about what I am talking about. Whether I can convince you or anybody else I do not know but I do know that by joint cultivation that farmer will do good to himself and make greater profit and will do good to his group in the village. There is no doubt in my mind. And by joint cultivation, if it took place, we would bring hundreds of thousands of acres of land into cultivation which are wasted today by boundaries and others.

Just before coming to this meeting I was reading out to Mr Sanjiva Reddi what Mahatma Gandhi wrote about joint farming many years ago. He wrote—I do not remember his words strongly that the only way and the only proper way for peasants in a village to function is through joint cultivation. He wrote strongly about it. He said, it may be that you may find it a little difficult to convince those peasants quickly every bit, but however difficult that might be, that is the right course and it should be followed and we should try to convince them. You see, this is not a new thing, as some people seem to think that the Congress has suddenly jumped into it. Gandhiji said that repeatedly, I said that repeatedly in the thirties and forties, Vinobaji, who is going about like a pilgrim all over India, he is constantly talking about it. So I am a little surprised that people refer to this as something evil, as some prelude to a Communist State or

authoritarianism, I just do not understand it. So please remember that this business of joint cultivation or joint farming is entirely for you to decide this way or that way, for farmers to decide. For our part we are laying stress today on service cooperatives. Those service cooperatives may later, if they so choose, become joint cultivation or not. And there is no question of any compulsion, there is no question of any collectivisation, there is no question of our depriving the man of the ownership of his land.

Coming to cooperation generally, I should tell you that thirty years ago the British Government in India appointed a Royal Commission on Agriculture, and that Royal Commission wrote a big report.<sup>153</sup> But its basic point was that without cooperation there is no future for Indian agriculture. That is what that, there were no socialists or communists or others in that Commission. They were very staid and sober and moderate people.

A little before I came to this meeting I was asked to say something about the Swatantra Party. I have really not much to say. There are people of all kinds in that party, as in all parties. Some are old friends, able persons. Unfortunately, I think that in this matter they are mistaken or misled. But I welcome the formation of that party because this helps in the clear consideration of problems. What is that party? It is ultimately a party, as it was to be called, a conservative party; rather I would call it not conservative merely but a reactionary party, drawing into its fold various types of vested interests. They are good people, the vested interests, it is not a term of abuse that I use, I am merely analysing a situation that various vested interests in India who want India to continue as it is, without any marked change, will probably drift towards this party. But anyhow, it will be a good thing because that will clarify political issues. That is why I welcome the formation of this party. But so far as I am concerned, I am convinced that if India followed the path of the Swatantra Party, India would be doomed.

I must apologise to you. I have been speaking, plus the translation, for two hours and twenty two minutes. Before that Mr. Sanjiva Reddy spoke for some time. Before that you waited here for a long time. So I do not know how long you have been here. So I am very, very grateful to you for your kindness and your patience which is really remarkable. Some people got up occasionally. I sympathise with them completely. If I had not been speaking here I would have probably got up and gone. So, thank you.

Jai Hind!

153. See item 8, fn 57.



## 16. Public Meeting, Nellore: Village Development<sup>154</sup>

Dear Friends and Comrades,

I am happy to come back to Nellore after many long years and to see so many of you, men and women, gathered here to meet me. For four days I have been going about in various parts of Andhra Pradesh and finding out what progress has been made in this great State. Well, I have been happy to find that progress has been made in many directions, in agriculture, in industry, and in the training of people for both of these. In particular, I have been happy to inaugurate the scheme of panchayat samitis here, because that is a great thing for all the people who live in our villages. That will affect you and all other farmers, and people in rural areas and give them opportunities of progress.

You know that your district is a part of Andhra Pradesh, and Andhra Pradesh is a part of this great country India, Bharat, and all of us in this country are trying to make life better for the people who live here, to raise them, to get rid of their poverty and unemployment. We want every single man, and woman and child all over India to be prosperous. Now that takes time because it cannot be done by magic but by cooperative effort, by working together, by learning how to do things well, by education, by better farming, by industry, by village industry and all this taken together. And so all over India you will find many things happening, great big river valley works, dams being made so that water can come for agriculture, power can come for our industry, and you will find great big factories producing iron and steel, which is also wanted now in rural areas, and you will also find small factories and village industries. I have just come from Chirala where we opened a weavers' cooperative, spinning cooperative.<sup>155</sup> So you see we are working in many ways in India, and this ancient country of ours is marching ahead and I have no doubt it will become prosperous for all of us.

So you must remember that all of you are parts of a very big family, not only the family of your village, not only the family of Andhra Pradesh, but the big family of the whole of India, and all this family has to become prosperous, both men and women and especially children because children, when they grow up will become the citizens of tomorrow. Now for this we have to have good education, for all the children especially, because the more educated you are, the better work you will do in your fields, in your factories, where you may work. We have to catch up to other countries and go ahead of them.

154. Speech, Nellore, Andhra Pradesh, 13 October 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

Now are we to get work for every one? How are we to improve the standards of living? We have to do that in agriculture and we have to do that in industry, so that there may be many factories, big and small, and village industries, and many people may find work here. But above all we have to improve our agriculture and our village, and many of you who are farmers must be interested in this. Therefore, how are we to improve our agriculture? By producing more. Andhra Pradesh is one of our very good agricultural regions. It has to become better. In other countries in the world farmers produce more per acre than we do here. We must also produce more. That will be good for the farmers and it will be good for the country. How can we produce more? In other countries they produce more by using better seeds, by using better ploughs, by using better fertilisers and by working together, by cooperating. Therefore you must do all this, and the best way to do this is for you to have cooperatives in your villages, service cooperatives, in which the farmers, while keeping their lands separate, meet together for other purposes and jointly do this. In this way they will increase their income and help each other.

All such little attention as was paid was to our cities and towns. But India cannot progress till our villages come up. Therefore we want our villages and the people who live in our villages to progress, specially. More than seventy or eighty per cent of our population in India lives in villages. Therefore we must pay special attention to our rural people. We cannot raise the villages by merely officers working there. It is the people themselves who must do it. Therefore this new arrangement for panchayat and panchayat samitis is to give power to you, to people, to you, each one of your village, to work together for your betterment. Government will help you, officials will advise and help you, but the real power and authority will be of the people of the village, and you must exercise it wisely and then you will progress. You may build in your villages, schools and hospitals, and many other things which will benefit you, which you can only build together, not separately. So we want in every village panchayats, and that goes up to panchayat samitis, and village cooperatives, through which you will look after your work jointly, and a school for your children: three things.

Thirteen years ago we got swaraj for the country and foreign rule was forced out. Now a big step is being taken. That swaraj is coming to you in your villages, not only in the big country but in your villages, swaraj, janatantra coming to your villages, and you yourselves will be masters of your wealth and development in your villages through these sahakar samitis, and you will be masters, also, of your economic work and conditions through your sahakar samitis, through the sangh, cooperatives and the schools, and hospitals, and roads that you will build there will raise your level and prepare your children,



make them much better.

You have your own land. You are owners and masters of your land, before there were big landlords. We have done away with the landlords because we want in this country, small peasant proprietors. But the small peasant proprietors, if they work singly, then they have not much strength. But if they have this service cooperative in the village, then in helping each other they get strength and they can also get help from Government and you can progress more. Therefore, while owning your land you cooperate with the others in the village, and in doing that not only will your agriculture improve but your cooperatives, your panchayats and cooperatives can also start small industries in the village in which your people can work, and in this way, both through agriculture, and small industry, and home industry, you will progress.

That is the present programme. We suggest to you, also, to consider afterwards another aspect of cooperation. Where there are small holdings of the peasants, it will be better for you to plough them together, to have joint cultivation. But you will retain your proprietorship of the land, you will not give it up, and you will only do this when you want to do it, there is going to be no compulsion. In doing so I think that you will be able to introduce many new things, new ways of cultivation which cannot be introduced in small holdings, and thereby all of you will get a greater share in that. But remember that this can only be done where the cooperatives want to do it, that is, by your consent, and that you retain your present proprietorship even then. Whatever we may do we want that ownership of land should remain with the peasants, whether you have service cooperatives, or whether you have joint cultivation, and the first step is, as I have said, service cooperatives in every village. Make them a success, and when you like you can then go on to the next step, but that will depend upon your own consent.

I have come here from the north, from Delhi, not only to give you my good wishes but also to remind you that all of us are working together, north and south, from the Himalayas in the north to Kanyakumari in the south. We are all in a great pilgrimage, a great pilgrimage to a better and a newer India, to an India where all people are prosperous, men and women, where all children have great opportunities of education, of health, of growth and work. This is what we are working for. Remember that this is a great work in which you and I, and all of us, are partners, all together. And so we must work together. This is in essence a great cooperative of all India, and we must cooperate. And I am specially glad to see so many of our sisters here, because women must equally play a great part in this work. So good fortune to you and thank you. [Applause]

Now we shall say three times Jai Hind!

## 17. At the Engineering College, Tirupathi: Science and the Humanities<sup>155</sup>

Mr Chancellor,<sup>156</sup> Mr Vice-Chancellor, Teachers and Students of this University and Friends,

I have been asked to do so many things altogether that it is difficult to keep them in mind. First, there was the Engineering College, I have done that; then there is the Science Block; then there is a Dancing and Music Academy, College—I do not know what you call it. So, all these things, all very desirable things, but I have to keep them in mind. I thought that instead of going quickly to press the button, I had better speak to you a little and then go there. The first thing I want to tell you is something to which the Vice-Chancellor referred, but I am not speaking about it, because, he talked about it. The first thing is that you have chosen a magnificent site for this university. Ever since I have come to this place, I have been looking at this background of a hill or a mountain. A fine background. It is dark now but there is a belt of green around and on top of it the bare strong rock. To the left of it keen edges standing out against the blue sky, all this denoting strength, perseverance, persistence—on top of a belt of greenery, which is in abundance. What better could you have? What better symbols could you have, to see everyday to strengthen you in your work, in your resolves? So, the first thing is for me to congratulate you on this. I knew very well that you have not created the mountains. The mountain is there long before you and me but still here we are you and I, sitting at the feet of the mountain and it is good to be friends with the mountains. In a sense, I come from the mountains, or my family comes and I like their hardness and like their friendliness too. And when I see mountains which I like, I want to make friends with them, just as I want to make friends with so many other things, with trees, with flowers, with animals. It is very easy to make friends with all of them—the most difficult thing is to make friends with human beings. So, look at this mountain, whenever you can and make friends with it. Think of it as a little brother of the great mountains in the North, the Himalayas, which stand and have stood there as sentinels, as guardians of India for millions of years. And between those mountains and this hill and others, lies this the whole land of

155. Speech was made after the foundation-stone ceremony for the new Engineering College of Sri Venkateswara University was laid, the Physical and Natural Science block of the College was declared open and Sri Venkateswara College of Music and Dance was inaugurated at Tirupathi, Andhra Pradesh, 13 October 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

156. Bhim Sen Sachar, also Governor of Andhra Pradesh.



India which is yours. You sing a song, or listen to a song of Andhra Pradesh. It is good but it is better for you always to remember that not only Andhra Pradesh is yours, but the whole of India is your inheritance. It is yours, and that all of you and all of us are children of India with an equal share in this magnificent inheritance—that is India.

And then think of the great task before us of these exciting problems that face us in India, and how the time is coming soon when you, young men and women of the university will have to face those problems and try to solve them. That is an exciting prospect, for men of strength, and rhythm and enthusiasm. It may frighten people, weak people. It may perhaps be too great a burden if you are not strong in mind and body but for those who have any enthusiasm, this tremendous and exciting prospect must appeal to you. For you and I and all of us, exist in India today at a moment of revolutionary significance in history. Many of us have seen the independence of India come after a great struggle under a great leader, and now we labour for a greater revolution, a revolution that will put an end to the poverty and unemployment of India. That will raise the people of India—all of them—400 millions to far better standards of welfare, to contentment and when our poverty and wars and the like will be things of the past. Therefore, we live at a moment of great significance. Of course, the moment is not just one hour or a second, the moment in history is a long period and that period will outlast my life and may even outlast your lives. But you live, you are living through this period and you are preparing for this and it would be well with you if you realise this, the great significance and the great honour that you have to live at this time and to be allowed to prepare yourselves for these great tasks.

I speak to you about India and India's problems but look at other fields, look at the world and see the extraordinary advances that science is making, that technology is making, when human beings dare to stretch out their hands even to the moon, and may be to other stars later on. See all that this represents that triumph of the human mind and human perseverance. And unless we in India, can meet this challenge of the time, and compete in this Yuga Dharma, we are left behind. And therefore all your universities and colleges or all these, are no good at all unless you can meet this challenge. They are not here just to provide you with odd jobs, services and this and that. Of course, you will get the jobs but there is something more that they should teach you and that is this to meet the challenge of the times, to imbibe the spirit of the times, to strengthen yourself in body and mind and character to face any contingency and to overcome it. Therefore, the purpose of your education is manifold. Naturally, it teaches you to look after yourself. It teaches you, I hope something more than that. It teaches you to have trained minds, stout bodies and trained minds to



peer into the future, to understand the mysteries of nature. Because it is from an understanding of the mysteries of nature that science has become what it is. And those people whose minds are not alive and active and inquiring and inquisitive, they remain back in this world today. Therefore, you must have inquisitive minds, active minds, peering minds, minds which reject everything that cannot be proved to your satisfaction and minds which search for the truth in this way. So, all this, the university should help you to do.

But there is another duty for you to understand and that is the duty to, let us say India. But when I say India, I do not mean some kind of mythological entity or the mountains of India, or the rivers of India, I mean the people of India; the 400 million people of India. We must always keep in mind that the journey on which we are embarked is a journey of 400 million people—not you and me. We may be clever and go a little further ahead, but we have to march step in step with 400 million people in this country; that is the basic purpose; I hope, of your endeavours and the teaching you get. Therefore, you have to imbibe this sense and you have then to think how we can raise India's level that is the level of the 400 million people. Ever since we became independent thirteen years ago, this problem has faced us, and we have planned about it and we have produced five year plans and all that. What is this? These are attempts to face this problem; these are attempts to understand it and face it; these are attempts to keep ideas and targets before us, and try to reach them and then you ought to have some idea of the future. Where are you going to? Where is this enormous number of people in India going to? What kind of society are we going to have in the future? What picture do you have in your mind? When we say that the society we want in the future is one in which every Indian, man, woman and child will have opportunity, will have the necessities of life, would be able to have a high standard of life and will have opportunity. I can say to you that I would like to have as much quality as possible, among our people, I certainly would like to. But I know all people are not equal. My saying so does not make them equal. But all must have equality of opportunity and therefore the barriers that come in the way, whether they are supposed to be barriers laid by religion, or caste, or state or language; those barriers must not be allowed to come in the way. Because, we must think of this country of ours as a great big family, as a great big family which ought to cooperate with each other and we must keep an idea in which the whole family flourishes, not only a few persons in it. You have to think therefore what your individual part may be in this great campaign. Also you have to make yourself feel that you are a partner in this tremendous undertaking. Remember that if you are always thinking of small things, if you are having small quarrels and always getting excited about the little things of life, then you will always remain a small and a little man. But if you think of the



big things of life and if you face the challenge of life with vigour and courage, then you also grow big and it was our good fortune, the good fortune of the people of my generation, to ally ourselves, with the big things of life, with the struggle for India's freedom and independence under a great leader and because we allied ourselves with that great struggle, we also grew a little bigger than we were. After all, we were small folks, but coming into touch with the impact of this mighty thing, the struggle for India's independence and coming into touch with that might man, Gandhi, made us bigger and greater than we really were. You cannot have Gandhi. We cannot have Gandhis in every generation. We can have their memory and cherish it and learn from it. But nevertheless, you have India, and these millions of India, big enough for you to think, cherish and seek and to serve because you will grow only to the extent that India grows. If you are selfish enough to imagine that you can grow on the shoulders of others, not caring for the others, then your education has been a failure. Therefore, ally yourselves to this great task, this great adventure of India in your generation. Understand it and make yourself a suitable vehicle for carrying on this message and this work. You will become doctors, engineers, may be lawyers, may be many other professions, you will follow, after you leave the university. Whatever your profession may be, remember that it must be correlated to this great problem of India because the basic thing is the advance of India. Probably as engineers you can serve that cause better than in some other ways but the main thing is we have always to think of our individual work in relation to this great task of building a new India. And if you build a new India, remember that nearly eighty percent or eighty per cent of our people live in villages. Our farmers have to do their work in villages. India is village India much than town India and so long as the people in our villages do not rise up, so long India will be poor and India will not make much progress.

Now I have been here four days in Andhra Pradesh and I have laid the foundations of two engineering colleges and one polytechnic—that is good. But the thing which has excited me most has been the starting of the panchayat samitis for our rural areas. That is the handing over of power by your State Government to these elected people from the villages—the panchs, for development, elementary education and all that work. Now this is of the highest importance. Because this is a greater gesture, greater step towards a real self rule than some kind of a parliament ruling from above. There I have been particularly influenced, here during this trip with this great development in Andhra. Because I think that will lead, that will make it easy for rural India to progress. Thus, we are handing over, I hope gradually all over India, a great deal of the work in the villages, a great deal of the development work as well as other work, to the panchayats and their representatives. That is real self

government. They may make mistakes and they may quarrel. Nevertheless, I am glad this is being done because once we have this thing functioning satisfactorily, then we have laid strong foundations on which we can build. In every village, there has to be a panchayat, in every village, there has to be a village cooperative, in every village there has to be a school. Of course, there has to be much else. But these three things must exist in every village. They must be base from which other things grow. The panchayat samiti and the village cooperative will not only do their first task of increasing agricultural production, that is vital, but will also encourage small industries, village industries and all other activities that bring about progress in the village. Now if this kind of thing is imposed by the Government of India or the Government of Andhra Pradesh, it can do some good but it can never spread very rapidly. But if the panchayat samitis and the village cooperative function in this way, then you will see changes coming all over the state and all over India with much greater rapidity, provided always, that the panchayat samitis and the cooperatives function well; provided that they have trained men and therefore the question of training comes in, of trained men in each village. That is where universities should give thought to, because they should provide the people who can function in the panchayat samitis, who can function in the cooperatives, who have knowledge of cooperation and how cooperation works. I just say that it should be the function of universities to train people for this task. The training you get in your university, I hope it is a good one generally. But I am referring to special training for special purposes which India needs today. The training you get as engineers will be good; training you get as doctors in your medical colleges will be good. But your getting an ordinary arts degree will only be good if together with if you know how to work and serve in a village. It is no good for your running to cities and towns and waiting for service of Government or some other service. You have to function yourself. You have to stand on your own feet, and therefore every university and college should have classes for the type of training which is necessary for village leadership and you should become leaders in your villages or groups of villages, leaders in the panchayats, and leaders in the cooperative movement. Cooperation requires some special training and therefore, there should be courses on cooperation in every college in India and I would say even in every high school in India. I am talking about cooperation and the cooperative movement. But behind it all, in my mind is to develop that essential spirit of cooperation in our people which is so necessary in the world today. We want nations to cooperate with each other and we want cooperation and equality and fraternity within the nation. In India, we have been cut up, split up into all kinds of divisions by caste, by language, by this and that; it is not a bad thing to have different aspects of India. India has many



faces, India has many types of culture, many languages, all that is good. It makes India fascinating and I would not change that variety for anything. But if that variety leads us to disruption, to putting us in separate compartments, then it is bad. Therefore we must overcome that and we must get rid of every separating wall, more specially, these caste divisions and the like. And we must realise that in this new world there is no room for this. In tomorrow's world, perhaps there will be no room for even for a nation because the world becomes closer and closer. How then, will your petty divisions function? Therefore, we have to develop this wider mentality. This wider approach of cooperation and that should colour our lives and activities in our country.

I talk about cooperation for many reasons. Because without cooperation, without the cooperative movement going to our rural areas, I do not think our agriculture can progress. We have to bring science to our agriculture, we have to bring science to our industry, and we have to bring science to our lives. We cannot do so by always thinking in traditional ways, by living in a society which tries to cut each other's throats. We must have the cooperative outlook. We must activate our thinking and our forms of social organisation. Therefore, for practical purposes, cooperation is most necessary for the progress of our agriculture. Cooperation is of many kinds. The first thing we had put forward is what is called service cooperatives. That is the thing with which nobody can disagree. At least nobody publicly disagrees. Therefore we must have that. But there are other types of cooperation also about which there is much argument. There is what is called joint cultivation, joint cooperative farming and some people are terribly afraid of it. I have said that cooperation essentially is a voluntary thing. It cannot be thrust on people. Therefore, it is only when people agree that any form of cooperation will be successful. Having said that, I want to tell you that personally I believe that cooperative farming is the right type of cooperation and I should like to convert people to that. Not suddenly but gradually with experience, because I do believe that it is a right thing. And if I believe that it is a right thing, I fight for it as I have fought for many other things. Cooperative farming is not collective farming. Remember that cooperative farming, as we think it, must depend on the approval and consent of the farmer who joins it. And even so it is possible to make rules so that if he wants to leave it afterwards, he should be allowed to leave it. We do not wish to compel them. But I do believe that both for practical reasons and for the larger reasons of social policy and scientific advance, cooperative farming will be greatly beneficial to our farmers. But as I said, that is, in a sense, the next step. For the moment, we want service cooperatives in every village, and let the farmers themselves then experiment the cooperative farming in some places and if they are convinced, they may take to it.

Remember, in the world, today science is advancing so fast that it is changing the texture of men's lives and if we cannot bring ourselves to appreciate these changes, if we want to live in a groove of thought and action, if our social organisation is some traditional form which does not change with the changing times, then we are doomed as a nation and as a people. It was because we forget all this some 100 years ago, that we fell down in the scale of nations that we became a subject people and if we still want to carry on in the traditional grooves, then we shall fail again in spite of our independence. For you who are students, these are subjects for discussion, for preparation, because you must devote yourself now chiefly to preparation, although preparation itself is not merely behind your college walls. Preparation itself should take you to the village to see life there. Thus your studies will bear fruit. But a time will come when you have to enter into the field of life, and when you do that, I hope, you will have proper ideas, you will have enthusiasm and you have something of the spirit of a crusader. We are given a chance in our lives to function well or indifferently. Whether such chances come again, I do not know. Anyhow we have one chance and it would be a pity if you wasted that chance by making your life a trivial affair, by making your life without purpose, without objective, without something to work for and fight for, without the spirit of the crusader. But if you are wise and you choose that purpose and struggle for it, then you get content in your life, then you get function in your life, then you get purpose in your life, then your life becomes rich and therefore in this present age of India, I want you, young students, boys and girls in India to develop this purpose, this spirit of adventure, this fearlessness. If you have that, then it would be well with India. If you merely go about for petty jobs in offices, then I am not interested in you.

Presently, I am going to perform the function allotted to me—that is press a button and thereby open the Science Block and the Music College. I shall gladly do so and I congratulate the authorities here on starting these two—this college block and this Akademy of Music and Dancing—they are both important in their ways. And I am glad that this university is trying to have balanced picture in its studies, a balanced picture in science and the humanities. And now I want to tell you because this meeting is the last of my present four days tour of Andhra, I want to tell you how grateful I am, to the people of Andhra for the love and affection they have shown me. They have always shown that to me, but on this occasion, they have even been more generous than ever and I cannot find words to thank them for it. I am grateful to my colleague, Chief Minister Sanjiva Reddy and to his colleagues in Government and to the Governor but above all I am grateful and proud of the people of Andhra Pradesh.



(c) Press

**18. Press Conference<sup>157</sup>**

Prime Minister: Please indicate subjects.

Subjects suggested by Correspondents:

Inflation in the country.

Your views on the Indian Press.

Message of Mr. Chou En-lai to the Prime Minister of India.

President Eisenhower's letter to you.

Prime Minister: Which?

Correspondent: Mr. Khrushchev has said that he has got a copy of that letter.

Attempts to revive the Muslim League in different States.

Your birthday and allied matters.

Pending bills in Kerala.

President de Gaulle's new plan for the solution of the Algerian problem.

Recent discussions on the Bombay issue with Samiti leaders.

Continued Chinese occupation of India's outposts.

Eisenhower-Khrushchev meeting.

Laos situation.

Cambodian situation.

C.P.I.'s resolution on India-China border.

Proposals for the establishment of a food bank in the country.

Prime Minister: Now we shall now begin. May I request you, when you ask a question, to mention your name and your paper, for record that is desirable.

Inflation in India

To begin with inflation, well it is hardly a subject for me to answer in a sentence or two. There is, as you know, a tendency to inflation all over the world. Probably in India it has been less than in most other countries. To some extent inflation is inevitable in a growing developing economy. To a limited extent it is a healthy sign, but if it goes beyond that limited extent, of course, it is troublesome. For us, what we are concerned with most is food prices. We

157. New Delhi, 8 October 1959. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in File No. 43 (73)/59-PMS.

shall try our utmost to keep them within reasonable limits. That is all I have to say about inflation.

Question: Even prices of commodities like sugar and edible oils are going up?

A Correspondent: The Governor of the Reserve Bank recently said that the value of the rupee had gone down by twenty-nine per cent. Every year it is going down.

Prime Minister: Have you noticed the value of other things, including the American dollar, going down too?

Question: While the Governor of the Reserve Bank has uttered a note of warning, the Finance Minister at the last meeting of the Consultative Committee of Parliament for Finance stated that even though the limits of deficit financing that had been laid down in the Plan had been reached, there was bound to be deficit financing not only next year and even in the Third Plan. That means you are giving acceleration to inflation.

Prime Minister: There are all factors that have to be balanced, one with the other, I cannot give precise and definite answers. I think, you will find that the value of the rupee compared to most other currencies has kept up at a fairly high level. It is particularly right for the Governor of the Reserve Bank, whose special job is to look after these matters, to be vigilant about it.

Question: From *Assam Tribune*, Sir. Did your Government ever seriously consider the proposal for a gold loan as was done in France last year to stabilise the currency?

Prime Minister: Yes. The way the French did it—I do not at the moment remember details—was not I think, not at all applicable to us. It was difficult. But we have certainly considered more than once the question of building up gold reserves and we continue to consider them. In a small way we are trying to build them up but any major approach to that has advantages and some disadvantages. So we are very much alive to that issue.

Indo-China Relation and North-East Situation

Next subject: Premier Chou En-lai's message. I suppose you refer to the message



that appeared this morning in the Press. It is a friendly message.<sup>158</sup> We welcome it. More I cannot say about it.

Question: Does it show any improvement on Chou En-lai's letter of September 8, in the tone I mean?<sup>159</sup>

Prime Minister: The tone is friendly, as I said, and therefore, an improvement. But how far that represents any basic change in the situation, I cannot say. I hope it does.

Question: V.V. Prasad representing *Dhrud*. Did you have any other communication from Premier Chou En-lai?

Prime Minister: You mean recently? No, I have not. I had no communication in the last few weeks, I mean, as far as I can remember—certainly not from Premier Chou En-lai. There might have been some message from the Chinese Government, they come and go about minor matters and others.

Question: Has there been any communication between the Soviet Government and the Government of India on these border disputes with China? I am from P.T.I.

Prime Minister: No. We have had no direct communication on this subject from the Soviet Government.

Question: Sunderrajan from *Indian Express*. There is a report that a communication was handed over to you at Kabul by the Soviet Ambassador to Afghanistan.

Prime Minister: No. That is not correct. Of course no communication was handed to me or conveyed to me. But naturally I met the Soviet Ambassador in Afghanistan.<sup>160</sup> I discussed various matters. I did with others too. No special message.

158. Chou En-lai's message was in response to Nehru's message to the Government and the people of the People's Republic of China, on the national celebrations. See SWJN/SS/52/p. 234.

159. See SWJN/SS/52/pp. 309-316.

160. M.V. Degtyar.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Question: Was there any talk at Moscow between our Ambassador and the Soviet Foreign office after Mr. Khrushchev's return from Peking on this subject?

Prime Minister: Not that I know of. Mr. Khrushchev has just returned.<sup>161</sup>

Question: Mrs. Menon made a statement.

Prime Minister: That Mrs. Menon's statement did not refer to any recent incident. It referred to the past few months, sometime back. There was some difficulty in his (Indian Ambassador in Peking) getting an interview whatever the reason might have been but it does not refer to any recent thing. For instance it does not certainly refer to the recent letter I sent to Premier Chou En-lai.<sup>162</sup> That was delivered immediately.

Question: Did your Ambassador recently see Mr. Chou En-lai at any time? After the incident?

Prime Minister: Our Ambassador after that incident? I don't think our Ambassador has seen Premier Chou En-lai very recently.

Question: Verghese from *The Times of India*. Are we taking any steps, in the light of what has happened, to accelerate the development of our border areas and any coordinated programme being worked out for the entire length of our border from Ladakh to NEFA?

Prime Minister: I do not know what you mean by development. You mean normal development of roads, schools administration. That is what you mean?

Shri Verghese: That and also from the strategic point of view.

Prime Minister: Yes. Well, if you will take NEFA, I think that in the course of the last few years, our Government has done a very creditable job in developing NEFA. It had not been attempted previously. It is not merely a question of building roads. Of course we build roads, we put up schools, we put up dispensaries and hospitals here and there. It is a much deeper and a more intricate

161. Returned from Peking on 4 October 1959.

162. See SWJN/SS/52/pp. 216-231.



problem which has interested me personally very greatly. The problem is how to deal with rather primitive tribal people who live there; one has to strike a balance between developing them in this way and not imposing ourselves on them, on a primitive culture, which produces sometimes very harmful results. It breaks up something without giving something in its place. I have written about it—there are very interesting books, one or two specially written by Dr. Verrier Elwin.<sup>163</sup> Broadly speaking I agree with his approach to this problem. For instance, we have tried to avoid for administrative or like reasons pushing in too many outsiders there, outside the NEFA people. Our senior officers are very good there, the political officers and others. They have been specially trained; but when they go with large numbers of clerks and the like, the clerks have not been conditioned how to deal normally with the tribal people and problems arise. So it has been a fascinating but difficult problem and, on the whole, we have had remarkable success. Of course we want them to grow themselves and not a feeling of imposition, even in the name of progress. They must grow themselves and adopt these things. They are training their own young men and young women for the purpose too. That is the best way, so that, broadly speaking, our development schemes have gone on well. I might tell you, this is quite apart from recent developments, that a year ago or more than a year ago, I actually applied a slight brake to some of these development schemes in NEFA because I thought that they were just upsetting the balance, as I had said, too many people going there from outside to build things and rather creating some same difficulties with the local people. I do not want that; I want them to win them over and we have largely done so. So that is going on fairly well. The principal part of development in these areas is always communications which we want to push. Then come schools, better farming, even community development schemes, and all these have been applied there.

As for what you call strategic, we have taken various steps from that point of view in these border areas; they have been given effect to.

Question: Apart from this—I have seen the good work done in NEFA myself—but, Sir, the problem there is that this sort of work will take at least fifty years and, moreover, there is the problem of population. It is too thinly populated whereas it has large natural resources, particularly minerals. What are you going to do about both these, that is, the population as well as the mineral resources?

163. See SWJN/SS/21/pp. 584-585.

Prime Minister: So far as the mineral resources are concerned, we shall carry on, continue our surveys and exploit them wherever consider necessary and desirable. So far as the population is concerned, our own present view is not to push in population there because they will overwhelm those people who will come in contact with this different and perhaps more developed population. They will be injuriously affected. We are anxious not to do that but I cannot promise for the future what might happen.

Question: I am from *The Hindu*. Sir, would you tell us what exactly is the situation in the adjacent area of Nagaland?

Prime Minister: The situation in the Nagaland has been continuously an improving one from our point of view in various ways. Our administrative apparatus is functioning satisfactorily—a great part of it—and most of the people in Nagaland have themselves developed a fairly strong feeling of opposition to the hostile elements. They seize hold of them and deal with them themselves. That is so. At the same time in those various parts certain groups of hostile elements still remain and they create petty trouble from time to time.

Question: Is there a plan to delink the Naga area, which is now centrally administered by the External Affairs Ministry, for dealing from Assam and not make the Governor responsible for both? Because that will probably help to remove the impression that the plan is ultimately to link it back with Assam.

Prime Minister: I have not quite understood the question. The Naga Hills-Tuensang Division areas is, as you have said, directly under the Government of India, that is, the External Affairs Ministry, whose agent, the Governor of Assam is for this purpose, and we have been functioning in that way. There is no other plan in view at present. Naturally, we keep in close contact with the Assam Government about all these matters; apart from direct contact, the Governor himself is a big link between the two.

Question: Vishnarain from the *Indian Express*. There was to have been a convention of the Naga leaders to bring about a change in the administrative set up.

Has that...

Prime Minister: That convention was postponed for a variety of reasons, among



them, I believe, heavy rains, and a fresh date is going to be fixed. I forget what is the date suggested, may be towards the end of October.<sup>164</sup>

Question: From *Hindustan Times*. Sir, how do you view the Asian scene today in the context of the Chinese aggression which had quite a shattering experience for our people? How do the Asian nations view this aggression and its impact on the Bandung members?

Prime Minister: That is a subject not included in my list. But I shall answer that briefly. Obviously all this has affected many Asian countries, all these developments, but I do not see why any development should ever be considered shattering.

Question: From *Malayala Manorama* and a few other newspapers. Do you feel that recent visit of Mr. Khrushchev to Peking had any toning effect on the Chinese Government in this respect?

Prime Minister: You can ask me for my opinions and not my feelings. How can I feel about it? Mr. Khrushchev is a very great personality and whenever he gives advice to anybody, I am sure his advice is considered worth considering. I don't know what personal talks Mr. Khrushchev might have had in Peking. How can I say?

Question: Bir Sharma from *Asian Tribune*. Are there any reports that some rebel Naga elements are trying to contact the Chinese?

Prime Minister: I don't think we have had any such report, may be some rumours; but I don't think there is any real report to that effect.

Question: If I may revert to an earlier question on border policy, there is a feeling that unlike in NEFA, where we have a special cadre and an integrated policy for the development of the border areas, there is no similar policy for our Western border, that is to say, from U.P., Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and along the Himalayas up to Ladakh, and there seems to be a feeling that the administration there is weak and....

164. The Third Naga People's Convention (NPC), held at Mokukchung, Nagaland from 22 to 26 October 1959, adopted a 16-point formula for maximum autonomy to Nagas within the Indian Union.

Prime Minister: Yes, yes, I understand. That is only partly true, because we have a policy; but that policy is so much based on communications being developed those roads. Those roads are being developed, quite well. Also, attempts have been made with some success, say in the Uttar Pradesh border areas and the Himachal Pradesh areas, for the cultivation of various kinds of orchards, fruit cultivation, which are meeting with great success. I have never come across the same kind of fruits which we got recently from near the border areas, from Chini, which is not far from the border in Himachal Pradesh. Most magnificent fruits we got from there. For the rest, those areas are, I won't say we have done everything, for I would like many things to happen there but on the whole they are being fairly well looked after.

Question: Chaturvedi from Aj, Banaras. Was there any representation to you from Members of Parliament from these areas that the Centre should take special care of those areas? What has been the result?

Prime Minister: Yes, I have seen such representations from time to time, sometimes suggesting that this area should be converted into a specially centrally administered area and the like. I do not think that any kind of a constitutional change is necessary or desirable but the centre is taking interest in this matter. I know that the Planning Commission has given a good deal of thought to these areas and we had been in contact with U.P. and other Governments concerned.

Let us go on to the next subject, the so-called letter from Mr. Eisenhower to me about which someone has stated that Mr. Khrushchev said something. I have received no particular letter from President Eisenhower. I have received one or two letters from him in the course of the last two months, if I may say so, rather formal, friendly letters.<sup>165</sup> There is nothing secret in them. But on the face of it, this statement which has appeared in the Press about what Mr. Khrushchev said, it seems to me exceedingly improbable. I cannot think that Mr. Khrushchev could have made that remark.<sup>166</sup> Somebody, I forget who it is, but it is not some responsible Government official who has said it. It is somebody,

165. Eisenhower wrote to Nehru on 2 September 1959 that he was "distressed" to learn of India's problems with China over the border and Tibet.

166. *The Tribune* of 9 October quoted Nehru as saying on 8 October that he had doubted whether Khrushchev had made the statement attributed to him in a press report to the effect that the Soviet Union had broken the US secret code and had got a copy of a confidential message sent by Eisenhower to him.



I do not know his name, I think it is highly improbable that he would have made this statement.

Then somebody asked me about my views on the Indian Press, presumably because I referred to this matter on two occasions recently in Bombay.<sup>167</sup>

A correspondent: In Chandigarh also.

Prime Minister: Yes, but that was before. I hope you would have noted that when I said what I said in Bombay, I was considering the question of the Press generally, not in India. My main point was that the modern tendency is, as in other industries, for the big newspapers to become bigger and the small ones not to be able to face this competition. This applies to all types of industrial undertakings. That is, the newspaper has become a big industry and only those who can afford to put in very large sums of money can really have big newspapers. It is obvious. And therefore, it is affected by all this. That was my main thesis there. As I said at Chandigarh, that a big industry thinks in terms of big industry.<sup>168</sup> I am not talking about the editor; the editor may have this view or that view but the tendency is naturally for an industry to think in terms of industry.

Question: Does it get disqualified to express views objectively?

Prime Minister: Far from disqualified; it is quite qualified. What I had suggested was, as I think the Press Commission also suggested, that it would be a good thing if we had a variety of such views, sometimes differing from each other. This is a problem, let us say, if you read what is happening in England—it has been discussed there how some of the big national newspapers are gradually absorbing the smaller ones. So that the views that are expressed may be excellent, but they are limited. If you have a number of them then you have different views and there is some controversy. You get therefore this limitation. That is the problem which arises.

Question: Chandra from *The Statesman*. Perhaps you have partly answered the question, but how was it that you suddenly started thinking about this matter in the recent weeks? Was there any special provocation or a special fact which came to your notice or new kind of criticism?

167. On 3 and 6 October 1959.

168. On 28 September 1959.

Prime Minister: I cannot psychoanalyse my mind. (Laughter) As I said at Chandigarh, for the Press inevitably, there is no other way for it is a part of the private sector.<sup>169</sup>

Obviously, as we think of the Press, it cannot be the public sector—one does not want it to be. But it should be remembered that it is the private sector and therefore, must tend, editorial views apart, must tend to express that type of views quietly, honestly; there is no question of dishonesty about it. That is what I said at Chandigarh. So that, while we welcome their views, the background helps us to understand them, perhaps a little more. Of course in Bombay I was addressing a newspaper function, the Silver Jubilee of the *Janmabhoomi*.<sup>170</sup> There I was naturally led to think of newspapers in general and in the world. I was not thinking so much of India there.

Question: Do you think the Press generally is now less reverential to the national leaders than it used to be in the past?

Prime Minister: May be so, I do not know. I do not know if the word reverential is a very happy word to use, I mean in the context. But they are more champions, if I may say so, of private interests now than they were publicly previously; it is very obvious. I am not going into the reasons; you can find out your reasons. The Press for instance in the days of our national struggle was, broadly speaking, very helpful, and many newspapers suffered penalties for that. That was a clear issue—there should be no doubt between two Indians, whatever they might be, public sector or private sector. But when other questions arise, economic and other issues, internal issues, then the tendency would be for a big industry—I am not talking about all the Press, but the Press which is in the nature of a big industry rather to think in terms of the interests of the private sector. This may be checked by an editor, sometimes is, often is, an able editor checks it. But the tendency is there.

Question: These difficulties and these tendencies have existed all these ten years after freedom. What is it that had happened suddenly for which complaints should arise?

169. *The Hindu* of 28 September quoted Nehru as saying that the press in India was a major private sector and “erudite and pompous” articles were written in newspapers criticising Government’s policies.

170. On 3 October 1959.



Prime Minister: I suppose the impression that things were moving towards the public sector faster than they liked—I do not know. A good deal of this controversy arose after the Nagpur Congress. I have always myself been, rather, mystified why that should have been so, because what the Nagpur Congress said was in direct continuation of what the Congress had said for years past in fact for a generation past, if I may say so—and what I have said and written, right from the late twenties with variations of course. I was rather surprised, I am still a bit surprised why that particular thing should have been thought a dangerous step taken by the Congress. The Nagpur Congress had two resolutions. One was about the Third Five Year Plan, the broad approach, which has been developed and which is now taking further shape. The second was about agrarian economy, about ceilings on land, about service cooperatives, about panchayats, greater powers, decentralisation, and about service cooperatives ultimately aiming at, wherever possible and agreed to, joint cultivation. That, in brief, was what the Nagpur Congress said.

Question: I am Ramaswamy from *The Hindu*. You said, Sir, that ten years ago the Press in India suffered and made sacrifice, national struggle for freedom. But at that time the leaders of the Congress were also in jail. And today the Congress leaders are in power. Why should not the newspapers also prosper now? Let us compare the Indian Press with that of other countries. The circulation here is even now very poor, only one lakh circulation, which is very much less than what it is elsewhere. If they cannot prosper now, when they are going to prosper?

Prime Minister: I think you better refer this question to the All India Editors' Conference. How am I to answer it?

Question: How is it while, you are expressing views in favour of decentralisation of the Press, in administrative actions, in whatever field it is, various Departments of the Government continue to favour the growth of centralisation whether it be in the field of registration, licensing, or any other sector?

Prime Minister: Registration of what?

Correspondent: Registration of newspapers, application of the laws particularly the penal provisions....

Prime Minister: That I am sorry, I cannot answer. I do not know enough about

it. But, you know there in this tremendous problem and a growing problem, in life itself. Modern life tends towards centralisation, everything tends towards centralisation, whether in politics, whether in the national sphere, international politics, economics, everything. You check that process by various ways. If you allow it free play, this would go very far. The rich become richer, the poor poorer. These are the normal tendencies of a market economy and with the development of scientific processes, inevitably, more centralisation comes in. Automation, this everything goes towards that. While there is that inevitable tendency, there is the other—not tendency but desire of many people for individual freedom, which is rather opposed to too much centralisation. One of the major problems of the age is how to balance this tendency to centralisation with the desire to maintain individual freedom. No answer to that law you know that recently I went to Nagaur where Rajasthan has taken a very brave step in handing over all development activities and about eighty percent of the normal work in the district to the panchayats etc., in these various forms.<sup>171</sup> It is a brave move towards decentralisation and taking risks, that may not be done well, there may be quarrels, there may be conflicts but still I think it is worth taking. I have no doubt that this will spread in India. I am going in about three days' time to Andhra.<sup>172</sup> Andhra is next on the list for decentralisation. In fact, I am going to start there too, not the whole of Andhra but many sections of Andhra. I have no doubt, as I said, other States will follow this.

### Muslim League

Then somebody asked me something about Muslim League.

We are as much, if not more, opposed to communal organisation as we have ever been. We dislike attempts to revive the old Muslim League. And so far as we are concerned, we should like to discourage them. As a matter of fact, there are even more communal, narrow minded and bigoted organisations than the Muslim League. Among the Muslims—there are of course among others too, among the Hindus and others but I am talking about Muslims—there is, I think I am saying the name correctly, Jamiat-ul-Islami. It does not pretend to be a political organisation and, therefore, it does not come in the ken of newspapers so much; but it is a very narrow minded, communal and bigoted organisation which we disapprove of very much, its whole attitude. In fact, it is fighting the relatively more progressive sections among the Muslims.

171. See items 90-91 in this volume.

172. See items 12-17, 21 & 91 in this volume.



Question: From *The Times of India*. In view of your views just now expressed, in spite of the bigger opposition of the Nationalist Muslims, you have entered into an electoral understanding with the Kerala Muslim League?

Prime Minister: Well, that is really a question you should address. I have not been intimately connected with that matter. I have heard about it of course. There has been no party alliance there with the Muslim League. There has been, I believe, some kind of understanding about the seats to be opposed or not opposed. That has been done. I think there is a difference between that and any kind of understanding. There are certain areas in Kerala where this Kerala Muslim League has normally had representation and—I do not wish to make much of this—the Kerala Muslim League is somewhat different. I mean, it has been cut off from the All-India Muslim League politics and all that, and in normal activities it has not come in the way so far as I know.

Question: You mean to say in case the Congress wins the election, you will not appoint any Muslim Leaguer as a Minister?

Prime Minister: I cannot say what will happen when the Congress wins the election; but there seems to me there is no particular reason why this should happen, why a member of the Muslim League should be appointed a Minister. I don't see this should happen but it is rather difficult for me to answer these questions. I do not know what the Congress organisation there or here is doing in such matters, but I do know that there have been no, absolutely no discussions, much less assurances, as to who will be in a possible Cabinet.

Question: If political party affiliated to some communal organisations now coming forward accepting the Congress policy, can't it be given a chance in associating in the elections? A political party accepting the Congress programme, the Muslim League of Kerala, will you discourage or encourage such tendencies?

Prime Minister: I suppose each case has to be considered on the merits. Presumably you mean that the Muslim League of Kerala has accepted the Congress programme.

Well, that is obvious. Suppose they were opposed to that programme, then no question would arise of talking to them about seats. It is only because they accepted the programme that this question arose.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Question: Contrary to what you have said, in Chandigarh, some of the leading Congressmen, at a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, an informal meeting made it very clear that international communism was much more dangerous than communalism and, therefore, we have entered into this alliance with the Muslim League.

Prime Minister: I do not know. This is the first time I have heard of this. I do not know who they were. I do not know what they said. It is not for me to criticise this but so far as I am concerned, I wish to have no truck with communalism. I think it is basically a bad thing, disruptive and weakening the whole fabric of India's structure and society.

Question: I am K.R. Malkani from *Organiser*. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri said the other day that the Union Government was contemplating a legal ban on some communal organisations. What is the truth in that?

Prime Minister: I cannot say that.

### Nehru's Birth Day and Allied Matters

Now, the next item on the list is my birthday and allied matters... Would you put your question on that?

Question: I am B.V. Krishnan. I put this question because your birthday is fast approaching. I have got a very simple question which may be personal. I want to know making an assessment of the past seventy years, do you feel a sense of fulfilment in your life or a sense of frustration? (Laughter)

Prime Minister: That is a question which you should be better judges of than I am. I have absolutely no sense of frustration in my life. I hope my face shows that. (Laughter) And if you ask me a question have I achieved all I wanted to, my answer is "No", of course not. Who achieves everything that he wants to? But partial achievement comes from time to time. I suppose all this was an allied matter. (Laughter)

Question: There is one more matter. Now, I referred to the physical part of it. I referred to the emotional part first. Now, what is the secret of your physical smartness and mental alertness and can you share it with us? (Laughter)

Prime Minister: Well, negatively, because I am not frustrated, (Laughter) and I



find a great deal of interest in the work I do. Although it may be irritating and all that, in the final analysis, it is fascinating to face big problems, sometimes even to be knocked down by them and to get up again and face them again. It is an exciting prospect.

Question: What is the compensation for your not taking quite a few holidays as most of the world statesmen do?

Prime Minister: At any rate, one compensation is the monthly Press Conference. (Laughter)

We go to the next item. Somebody asked me about pending bills in Kerala. It might interest you to know that this idea suddenly struck me yesterday afternoon. I sent a note enquiring about it, as to at what stage they were, only yesterday. I hope to get a reply in a day or two.<sup>173</sup>

Then your next question is about Algeria. While on the one hand I think that President de Gaulle's latest offer was certainly a marked advance on previous suggestions coming from the French Government, and acknowledged the right of self-determination, which was the basic thing. There were some aspects of it which have created some doubts in the minds of the Algerian nationalist leaders—the time element and various things. And, as you know, they have sent a reply. I should hope that these two approaches to each other, although they have not certainly solved the problem, they have brought the parties nearer to each other, I would earnestly hope that some way should be found to bring them even closer, so that this terrible civil war there should cease. War, I do not know if I should call it a civil war, the war there should cease and some friendly arrangement arrived at for this self-determination by the Algerian people to be exercised.

Bombay and its Bifurcation

Then you wanted to ask about Bombay. What about Bombay?

173. Nehru is probably referring to four bills, including the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill, the Jenmikaram Payment (Abolition) Bill, and Debt Relief Bill, passed by the Kerala State Legislature, and pending with the Union Government. To Nehru's inquiry of 16 October, G.B. Pant replied on the 18th that "the reservation of Bills passed by a State Legislature for the President's assent under certain circumstances is a constitutional requirement which is not to be treated as a mere formality. All the relevant aspects of the matter have to be examined with due care before the President is advised when the State is under the President's rule." See *Selected Works of Govind Ballabh Pant*, Vol. 18, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 72-73.

Question: In Bombay you have said that there is no final decision taken. Have you said it in a very technical sense or in the sense of a very basic point of view? Because the impression somehow created is that the State is to be bifurcated and what is now under discussion is the arrangement for Bombay (city) and the formula to satisfy the apprehensions of the Vidarbha people. But your statement in Bombay seems to have created some doubts in this respect.

Prime Minister: Obviously no final decision has been taken, and it would be wrong for decisions to be taken in bits. That is not good enough. The Government has taken no final decision; but it is correct to say that all the circumstances lead to the conclusion that the present state of affairs in Bombay will have to be changed; that is, the present State of Bombay will not remain as it is. That certainly is a justifiable conclusion. As you know, apart from the basic issue, there are a number of complicated matters connected with that issue, and our desire is to have those settled in a friendly way before final decisions are taken. Otherwise it would be a step-by-step decision which would not be good.

Question: Shri S.M. Joshi has said after meeting you that he had raised with you, apart from the question of Bombay, certain other issues including that of the role of the Communist Party and the campaign against General Thimayya. Could you say anything about this?

Prime Minister: I may mention that Shri S.M. Joshi hardly discussed with me the question of Bombay. It was referred to, but most of his time was taken up with certain labour matters. He is connected with the Defence Employees Association, and he discussed affairs in that connection with me.<sup>174</sup> He referred briefly to the Bombay State question, and he certainly referred to and expressed himself strongly in regard to the criticisms being made of General Thimayya in some newspapers, periodicals or by individuals. I entirely agreed with him, and in fact, as you might have noticed, I referred to these matters both in my Bombay and in my Poona speeches. That is, I referred to both types of criticism, criticism of the Defence Minister and of the Army Chief of Staff, General Thimayya. Different people, of course, do that. I said it was very unfortunate and undesirable. I cannot come in the way of such criticism, but my strong

174. S.M. Joshi, General Secretary of the All India Defence Employees' Federation and Chairman of the PSP.



advice would be that this type of criticism would not be indulged in. It is bad for the Army, it is bad for everybody.

Question: From *Frankfurt*, Sir. What is the legal status of Dadra and Nagar Haveli after they had freed themselves? Are they being merged or have been merged with India or not?

Prime Minister: Certainly they have not been merged, although this is a matter which is being considered by The Hague Court at the present moment and I should not like to barge in; but they have certainly not been merged in India although the people there have repeatedly requested us to do that, and it was a natural thing to do.<sup>175</sup> Nevertheless we thought it better not to take that step till the larger question of these Portuguese enclaves was settled. So in theory and in practice in fact they are just functioning as an independent community.

A correspondent: It exists as it is.

Prime Minister: I cannot answer your juristic questions. They cannot exist, obviously, if they do not have our goodwill. We do not interfere. There they are; we do not interfere. They carry on. I believe they have made some fairly good progress inside there. There are local resources and others. Otherwise we have not.

Question: A paper circulated by External Affairs Ministry recently to pressmen made it clear that the future of Dadra and Nagar Haveli was not justifiable. That is my impression.

Prime Minister: I do not know strictly what paper you refer to, but that is perfectly true. Anyhow, what the world court has before it is Portugal's proposal to be allowed to reach it. Now quite apart from the decision of the world court, I do not wish to go into that matter, but I do not quite see how anybody is going to force the Government of India to allow foreign people whom it disapproves of

175. On 22 December 1955, Portugal appealed to the International Court of Justice at The Hague "accusing" India of having sent armed groups into Dadra and Nagar Haveli and demanded the right of passage from Daman to these pockets through Indian territory. On 12 April 1960 the Court upheld India's refusal of right of passage as "perfectly legal", stating that "Portugal had never and has not any right of passage over Indian territory to these regions and between each of them." See also SWJN/SS/31/pp. 423-434.

to march up and down our territories, foreign armed personnel more so since it is out of the question.

Question: What are you waiting for then? When you have made up your mind that it is not a justifiable issue, why not give them the same rights as the rest of India?

Prime Minister: It is not a justifiable issue. But it is also open to us to do that, but it is also open to us to think as to when the proper time is for it. We do not barge in like a mad bull. We have to think of the consequences of each action. And even a Foreign Minister, however headstrong he might be, has to consider many aspects of any action that he might take.

Question: The major issue of Goa itself seems to have completely receded in the background.

Prime Minister: In the sense your test of an issue being in the background is not referred to in the Press. I suppose that is one test certainly.

A correspondent: Are we anywhere near liberating that area?

Prime Minister: You see the question of liberation of Goa is not a thing which is going to be taken in numerous steps to that end; it will be a step, not many steps. When a step comes, it comes. But you are perfectly right in saying that the matter has not been in the public eye. I might say it has been very much in the Goans' eyes. There was a convention in Bombay last week—a big convention of Goans' club and others.<sup>176</sup>

Question: May I go back to the question of Bombay. Is the question of a separate Vidarbha a live issue at all now? Because even when you devised the three-State formula, it was more or less decided that it was already a part of Maharashtra.

Prime Minister: I do not like to discuss this matter when we have referred it, for the present, to a representative committee which contains the representatives of Vidarbha as well as other parts of the present Bombay State.<sup>177</sup> One wants a

176. The Goan Political Convention was held from 2 to 4 October 1959, at the Sunderabai Hall, Bombay.

177. See item 6, fn 31-32 in this volume.



decision, as nearly unanimous as possible, not an imposed decision in any way. One thing I should like to state about this Bombay State matter. Some people were rather annoyed at the thought that decisions were taken without consulting them. As a matter of fact our whole approach to this question has been, in the last few months, to come to a decision after the fullest consultation. We do not want to rush things, and at the same time we realise that dragging it out is not good either because it leaves a feeling of uncertainty.

So far as Vidarbha is concerned, there are various urges there. One is the city of Nagpur which feels it is not being properly attended to. It wants to be a capital city; not it is a provincial city. And there are other matters there. All these matters, I think, ought to be capable of adjustment.

A correspondent: Do you think that a decision on Bombay is imminent now?

Prime Minister: You must have seen from today's newspapers that this nine-man committee is meeting tomorrow.<sup>178</sup> I should imagine that it will meet on two or three occasions before it makes any recommendations. When it makes any recommendations, the question then has to be considered well naturally by the Congress which appointed it and by the Government. So a kind of announcement of decision cannot be imminent in that sense. It has to take some time. But as I have said, we do not want to delay these matters.

Question: Have you taken any decision in the Cabinet otherwise some Minister like Shri C.D. Deshmukh may come forward with....

Prime Minister: No, we have not taken any decision in the Cabinet, although it is improper for me to say anything about the Cabinet; we have kept the Cabinet informed of developments.

Question: Do you think that Bombay State will be split up at least by the next financial year?

Prime Minister: What is the good of your asking me such questions because you are trying to drive me to say something positive and I do not wish to. As I have said, there are two principles before us. One is that we should confer with

178. This nine-member committee headed by G.B. Pant met at his residence in New Delhi on 9 October. It agreed that committees of officials should work out the details of the division of the state.

as many interests involved as possible and others so as to get the largest measure of agreement. The second is that we should do this and come to decisions as early as possible without undue delays. Now you can balance the two.

Question: Did Shri S.M. Joshi make any offer of cooperation on behalf of the Samiti, to the extent of joining the Congress Government?

Prime Minister: I do not think it will be proper for me to discuss a private conversation with Mr. Joshi.

Question: It was in the Press.

Prime Minister: Well, I do not know, why ask me?

A correspondent: Can you clarify that particular point about the 9-men committee? That each recommendation will have to be considered by the Congress which appointed the committee. By Congress do you mean the Working Committee or the A.I.C.C. or the plenary session of the Congress?

Prime Minister: Certainly not. Well, the full session of the Congress is in January.<sup>179</sup> Of course, if by that time something is before it, it may very well deal with it. Normally we would not have held a special session of the Congress for this.

Now I have just five more minutes—now about Chinese occupation of some Indian outposts, you must have seen the rather long letter I addressed to Premier Chou En-lai a few days ago.<sup>180</sup> I have discussed all these matters fully there and I have nothing to add to that at the present moment.

Question: The A.I.C.C. at its Chandigarh session resolved that aggression must be firmly resisted. What steps are being taken to push out the intruders?

Prime Minister: Are you discussing political steps, military steps or what? The first step was the letter I sent to Premier Chou En-lai. We do not function as a Government, I hope, in an excited way, with a club in hand. That is not the way responsible Governments function. Or certainly they should function with determination but not with anger which clouds vision.

179. See item 6, fn 13.

180. See item 8, fn 55.



Question: The Chandigarh Resolution referred to political resistance or military?

Prime Minister: I suppose both. Frankly, there is no question of parrying with words. We are dealing with a difficult situation. At the present moment, according to us there are one or two areas, like the Longju area, like some areas in Eastern Ladakh which the Chinese have occupied. These areas are relatively small areas, in Ladakh it is a little more, Longju is a couple of miles. Then there is in Northern Ladakh, the Aksai Chin area, which is a bigger area, way across the Himalayas and bare, uninhabited land. In the main, these are the three possessions. Now, we do not intend to start military operations against any of these places at this stage when we are dealing with this matter on the political level—I hope it may not be necessary at any stage. But if any kind of advance is made on the border from existing positions, that will be certainly fully resisted.

Question: This morning the Shillong correspondent of a paper says that Longju outpost has been strengthened, reinforcements have been brought to Longju and Khinzemane. Is it your information?

Prime Minister: May be.

Question: Now the Chinese have overpowered us in Longju. How long it will continue that we will be resisting and they will go on succeeding?

Prime Minister: That is a matter for the future. You can see what happens.

Question: Your latest letter seems to indicate that since the publication of the *White Paper*, the Chinese seems to have fanned out in Eastern Ladakh and opened new outposts at three more places. What would be the extent of area that they have now occupied there? There is a reference to troops in the Aksai Chin area in your letter. Does that mean that they have established military camps there too?

Prime Minister: I have no information on the subject. No good my guessing.

Question: If Chinese have built a road in Ladakh, will it be under the control of India or of the Chinese. According to rules, one must have a passport. How will you enforce it?

Prime Minister: That area, Aksai Chin area is first of all, is an area where

normally speaking no human being or any other animal lives.

Question: Then what is the use of building a road there?

Prime Minister: For passage. They do not live on the road, they pass across the road. There is not a tree or a blade of grass in that area. It is 17,000 feet high which is higher than Mont Blanc in Switzerland. But it is a connecting link between Western Tibet and Chinese Turkestan. They may pass up and down. No doubt it is convenient for them to do it. I cannot say if they have established any post there or not I don't know.

Question: I am John Konar from London. A few days ago, Sir, I noticed General Cariappa in your office. Does that suggest that you are having any further correspondence through him with Gen. Ayub on the future of Kashmir?

Prime Minister: He has asked me that since I saw General Cariappa a few days ago, does that suggest that I am utilising him for some kind of correspondence with General Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan. Well, my brief answer is it does not suggest at all and it would be an odd way of my dealing with the situation if I deal with it through General Cariappa or any other person. We have fairly competent people as our Ambassador and others.

Now, somebody talked about Cambodia, what about Cambodia? I do not know.

A correspondent: The British Prime Minister's proposal to wind up the Cambodian Commission.

Prime Minister: I find, I think in today's paper, some kind of a reference to this in Mr. Krishna Menon's speech in the United Nations.<sup>181</sup> He has pointed out that these Commissions, appointed by the Geneva Conference, cannot be or should not be wound up till they perform their functions fully. That has been India's attitude throughout whether it is Laos or Cambodia or whether it is Viet Nam. They may go on reducing their functions or their personnel. That is a

181. On 8 October *The Hindustan Times* reported Krishna Menon's speech of 6 October in the UN declaring that winding up the International Control Commission in Laos without the consent of all parties (India, Canada and Poland) to the Geneva Agreement would amount to a unilateral denunciation of the agreement.



different matter. In Laos we went further and what you call it suspended them, not suspended, adjourned it *sine die*, adjourned it to be called when necessary, but in theory it exists. The question really is, apart from any legal interpretation, a practical one: do we still go on adhering to the Geneva Pacts or do we just think that they are over and we can go ahead as we like. We are not just an odd country. We are a country charged by the Geneva agreement. We have a certain responsibility. We have been made Chairman of these Commissions. Our terms of reference are the Geneva Agreements and no other, and so long as it is possible for us to carry out the duties entrusted to us by those Agreements, we carry them out. If it becomes impossible, we don't, we withdraw and explain our inability to do so, but we don't understand how these agreements can be made to fade out in this way. Let there be a formal decision this way or that way, and the Commissions are the result of the Agreement. You cannot separate them from the Agreement.

Now, the next subject is the Communist Party of India's resolution on this border matter.<sup>182</sup> Well, you don't expect me to say much about it except that I disapprove of that resolution thoroughly, and indeed it is quite an extraordinary resolution for any organisation, even the Communist Party, to pass in India.

A Correspondent: MacMahon Line.

Prime Minister: Yes, by the way may I say that I dislike ourselves also using the word MacMahon Line. It is our border, it is our frontier. MacMahon Line that is something outside, a thing imposed there, but we use the word simply for facility. Instead of using a phrase every time we use a word but I should like this use given up. Just it is our border. There the matter ends.

Lastly, the next is about a food bank in the country, the Food Minister's proposal to build up a food bank.<sup>183</sup> In a sense that proposal has been there for a long time, for a food bank means large reserves. Call it a food bank or reserves or whatever you like. Such a thing has been attempted and now he is going ahead with it vigorously. In addition to what we can procure in India, he wants to get considerable quantities from abroad to be kept here. The idea is not that we should purchase so much from abroad but that we should keep it or rather it should be kept in India, the ownership remaining where it was so that the very

182. See item 9 and fn 60.

183. The editorial of *The Hindustan Times* of 8 October 1959 stated: "S.K. Patil seems confident of being able to persuade the Americans to create a food bank in this country from which the Government of India could make purchases as and when necessary."

# You Said It

By LAXMAN



*I must say this Minister is a genius.  
He says this scarcity is artificial—and he has made it look so natural!*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 15 OCTOBER 1959)



presence of it would have a very healthy influence on the situation here. As he has been pointing out, the actual deficits even when they have occurred, have been marginal and sometimes even when there is no deficit, there some maldistribution and trouble occurs. All this could be avoided if there was a big reserve at hand to whomsoever it may belong.

Question: In Nagaur, Rajasthan, the Chief Minister said that in the Third Plan, if sufficient water facilities are provided, Rajasthan would be able to meet the food deficit. So, instead of looking to other countries for help, would it not be better to concentrate on some such project here?

Prime Minister: Undoubtedly it is better.

Question: At Chandigarh the Food Minister gave the impression in Chandigarh that the food situation was not very bad. It was only marginal and that by keeping some food reserves we may be able to meet the situation.

Prime Minister: The Food Minister was completely right in pointing out that these deficits are only marginal. In fact, as a people if we had a little sense of discipline and a little sense of restraint, there will be no difficulty whatever. I think that in spite of all this, the amount of food that is wasted is still very considerable.

Question: Will it not have any depressing effect on food production, some sort of deterrent for the farmer to grow more?

Prime Minister: That depends on how far you go.

Question: Would there be some kind of relaxation of the present policy of state trading in this background?

Prime Minister: That has no connection with this. It is quite an independent one. Food bank is a new word but if you talk about food reserves then you come back to the old thing. It is the same thing.

Question: There has been opposition to this policy of state trading on the ground that if we have enough resources you push them wherever there is scarcity and high prices....

Prime Minister: My dear Sir, if there is enough food in the country and more

than enough, then no particular policy is necessary. If we have less or not quite enough or some marginal difficulties but have enough resources then also there is no difficulty. We can push them in where there is lack. The other thing, the possibility of some kind of control, etc., only arises when these ways are not open. About state trading we have been aiming at state trading being done more and more by cooperatives. In some parts of India, in the districts, the cooperatives have been in charge of this not the slightest difficulty in the last six months had been there about food in spite of difficulties arising all-round because the cooperatives were in charge.

Question: I am from TASS. Sir according to the latest information, our Soviet rocket is just near the moon and the cosmic station is making circles round the moon. What is your opinion about this...

Prime Minister: That is a fascinating piece of information. Of course we are expecting it ever since this rocket went. My view about this is, of course, it will presumably lead to new types of information about the moon and space travel; but in the final analysis, all this is part of the tremendous developments that are taking place, in the realm of science and technology which undoubtedly will have powerful effects on human lives, not immediately but may be, in the course of the next generation. All our present problems may seem rather silly in the context of these new scientific developments. This moon rocket is a tremendous achievement and the scientists concerned in the Soviet Union are to be warmly congratulated on this great achievement.

Thank you.

#### **(d) Interviews with Ram Narayan Chaudhary**

#### **19. Interview —I<sup>184</sup>**

रामनारायण चौधरी : आप अहिंसा को कहाँ तक मानते हैं? आप पर कोई हमला करेगा तो अपना बचाव आप हिंसा से करेंगे या नहीं? आपकी मौजूदगी में दूसरे पर, खासकर बूढ़े, बच्चे या स्त्री पर हमला हो तो आप क्या करेंगे?

184. New Delhi, 23 October 1959. AIR tapes, NMML. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 144.



जवाहरलाल नेहरूजी : जहाँ तक मुझ में ताकत है, मैं उसको बचाने की कोशिश करूँगा। जब ज़रूरत हुई तो हाथ-पैर चला के, पूरी तौर से।

चौधरी : आप पर हमला हो तो?

नेहरूजी : तब भी करूँगा मैं, बेधड़क और बगैर किसी शक के अपने दिमाग में।

चौधरी : सिर्फ़ यही है कि अपनी तरफ़ से चला के नहीं करेंगे।

नेहरूजी : करना नहीं चाहिए। मैं नहीं जानता क्या करूँगा (हँसी)।

चौधरी : अगर पूँजीवाद और साम्यवाद में से एक आपको चुनना पड़े तो किसे चुनेंगे?

नेहरूजी : माफ़ कीजिएगा, ये बेमानी सवाल है बिलकुल। वो कोई हर ज़माने में, हर युग का एक स्ट्रक्चर होता है, हर मुल्क का जितना बढ़ाव होता है, उतना होता है। जो पिछले ज़माने का पूँजीवाद था उन्नीसवीं सदी का, वो आजकल नहीं रहा, वो बदल गया। बहुत कुछ बातें जो समाजवाद की तरफ़ से कही जाती थीं वो आम बातें हो गयी। तो इन दोनों में कोई एक चुनना ज़ाबिते का मामला नहीं होता। जहाँ तक लोग पहुँचे हैं, वहीं तक वो काम हो सकता है। उनके माथे पर आप समाजवाद लिख दीजिए, एक नारा लगा दीजिए समाजवाद का, क़ानून बना दीजिए, वो तो नहीं होता। जहाँ तक एक मुल्क या लोग मुल्क के पहुँचे हैं, वो ही मौज़ू है उनके लिए। और बढ़ने की कोशिश करें। और आजकल ज़माना पेचीदा हो गया है, इसलिए कि कुछ दुनिया के अलग-अलग हिस्सों में अलग-अलग सतह है पहुँचने की लोगों की, और उसी के साथ एक-दूसरे को जानते हैं वो। अगर अलग बिलकुल रहते तो कुछ हर्ज नहीं था। तो ये कशमकश होती रहती है। पूँजीवाद बुनियादी तौर से एक दर्जा था, जिसने बहुत काफ़ी दुनिया को बढ़ाया उस ज़माने में। मेरी राय में तो वो ज़माना गुज़र गया। और उसको बदलना है। और जो ज़माना नया आ रहा है, वो समाजवाद की तरफ़ जाता है और पूँजीवाद ने खुद ही उसकी पोशाक अक्सर जगहों में पहन ली है, और पहनता जायेगा। यहाँ वो अपने को बड़ा समाजवादी कहते हैं, बाज़ बातों में, अक्सर बातों में, जो सबसे बड़ा पूँजीवादी देश है यानी अमरीका, वो हमसे ज़्यादा समाजवादी है अपनी कार्रवाई में, हालाँकि वो सिद्धान्त को न माने, क्योंकि आजकल की दुनिया उधर ही ले जाती है। यहाँ तक कि अमरीका में कहा जाता है, और सही कहा जाता है, कि उनका लक्ष्य है, कोई वर्ग न रहे, लोग क्लासलेस सोसाइटी बनें, जो कि समाजवाद का है। वो वहाँ कहते हैं, सही कहते हैं। ये नहीं ढंग दूसरा हो, क्योंकि उसमें दीवारें इतनी नहीं हैं। हम समाजवाद, साम्यवाद की बातें करें, वो निकम्मा है हमारा करना जब हमारे यहाँ कास्ट है और वर्ग है, हज़ार बातें हैं, जो हमको टुकड़े-टुकड़े करती हैं। मज़ाक़ है ये

लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें करना और अपनी छोटी बातों को भी न सँभालना। लेकिन हाँ दुनिया उधर जाती है, हम भी जाते हैं और लुढ़कते हुए, गिरते हुए कभी-न-कभी पहुँचेंगे।

चौधरी : तो इसके माने ये हैं कि साम्यवाद भी एडजस्ट कर रहा है। ऐसा है?

नेहरूजी : हाँ, सभी एडजस्टमेंट्स होते रहते हैं। साम्यवाद असल में नक्शा है सोसाइटी का। बहुत ज़्यादा उसमें और समाजवाद में फ़र्क नहीं है, कुछ है। यों तो समाजवाद के भी बहुत ढंग हैं। ज़्यादातर साम्यवाद के माने रहे हैं तरीक़ा, किस तरह से उस नक्शे पर पहुँचे और लड़ाई-झगड़ा, फ़साद वगैरा।

चौधरी : क्लास वॉर वगैरा?

नेहरूजी : तो वो बात कहीं कम है, कहीं ज़्यादा है। मेरा मतलब ये कि जैसे रूस में, जो कि सबसे बड़ा साम्यवादी देश गिना जाता है, बहुत तेज़ी से तरक्की उसने की और करेगा, कर रहा है। इतना बढ़ गया है, लेकिन वो एक इनक़लाबी ढंग उलट-पलट के बहुत कम हो गये हैं। वो एक नॉर्मल सोसाइटी हो गयी है। और उनके बड़े लक्ष्य तो वो ही है, लेकिन वो सवाल नहीं रहा, वो बातें करने का। अब चीन में दूसरी बात है। चीन में बहुत सारी बातें हो रही हैं, जो कि कम-से-कम बहुत सारे साम्यवादी लोगों को भी पसन्द नहीं हैं। तो ये लफ़्ज़ हैं जो कि वक़्त पर एक माने रखते हैं और फिर बदल जाते हैं। धर्म हैं। बाज़ धर्म ऐसे हैं जो एक माने में सिखाते हैं कि जा के ज़बरदस्ती दूसरों को तुम अपनी तरफ़ खींचो, धर्म-परिवर्तन करो। लेकिन वो धर्म भी हल्के-हल्के ज़्यादा ठण्डे हो जाते हैं। मंज़ूर कर लेते हैं। हर रंग की दुनिया है।

चौधरी : आप भारत के साम्यवादियों की हमेशा ये आलोचना करते हैं कि उनमें भारतीयता नहीं है, उनमें भारत की वफ़ादारी नहीं है, या भारतीय संस्कृति नहीं है? कृपा करके साफ़-साफ़ बताइए, आपका क्या मतलब है?

नेहरूजी : भारत की संस्कृति किसमें है, किसमें नहीं है, और भारत की संस्कृति के भी कितने रूप हैं, ये अलग सवाल है। लेकिन जैसे मैं कभी-कभी कहता हूँ, एक व्यक्ति की जड़ होती है कहीं, और कुछ भी रंग बदले, कुछ हो, आम तौर से एक शख्स की जड़ अपने देश में होती है, और उस जड़ में कुछ संस्कृति भी आ जाती है। तरह-तरह की संस्कृति न भी मानें, तब भी है वहाँ जड़, दिमागी जड़। अब ये साम्यवादी लोग, एक जड़ दूसरी जगह उन्होंने ढूँढ़ ली। लेकिन ये एक अजीब बात है कि वो अपनी रोशनी के लिए कहीं और देखें। रोशनी के लिए हम सब दुनिया में हर जगह देखें, ठीक है, जहाँ कहीं से रोशनी आये। लेकिन सब में ज़्यादा वहाँ से, एक जगह से आती है, तो वो क़रीब-क़रीब वही बात हो जाती है कि जो पुराने ज़माने



में, आजकल नहीं, ईसाई लोग जरूसलम को देखें, या मुस्लिम लोग मक्का शरीफ को देखें। तो सवाल वो हो ही जाता है, हालाँकि वो भी उस ढंग से अब नहीं होता वहाँ। अजीब बात है। हमारी बहस हो आजकल, हमारे मुल्क में और चीन में एक कशमकश है, बहस है। अब साम्यवादी दल के नेता दौड़े-दौड़े जा रहे हैं सलाह करने मॉस्को और पीकिंग में। ये दिमागी जड़ दूसरी तरफ़ है। यूँ तो कोई ऐसा आदमी होता नहीं कि बिलकुल एक ढंग का हो। उनमें राष्ट्रीयता कुछ-न-कुछ तो है ही, लेकिन दब जाती है। किसी में कुछ ज्यादा, किसी में कम। साम्यवादी दल में बहस हो रही है आजकल। उसके दो टुकड़े-से हो रहे हैं इसी बात पर। लेकिन मतलब उसका ये है कि ज्यादातर उन्होंने अपने को दिमागी तौर से उखाड़ लिया और दूसरी ज़मीन में गाड़ने की कोशिश की, या दूसरी ज़मीन को यहाँ लाने की कोशिश की। ये माने हैं।

चौधरी : लेकिन क्या ये नहीं समझा जा सकता कि वो उनसे प्रेरणा लेने जाते हैं, इसके बजाय उनको समझाने भी गये हों कि ये ठीक नहीं है, बुरा है? ये भी तो हो सकता है?

नेहरूजी : हाँ, हो सकता है, किसी क्रूर बातचीत में होता ही है, बातचीत में समझाते हैं। लेकिन सारा उनका ढंग, उनका तर्ज, उनके अखबार देखिए, उससे मालूम यही होता है कि वो वहाँ जाते हैं।

चौधरी : आप जब कभी पद छोड़ने की बात करते हैं, तो उसका कारण हालत से निराशा है या बाहर रह कर बेहतर काम करने की आशा है? अगर कभी आपने पद छोड़ा या आपको पद छोड़ना पड़ा, तो क्या कांग्रेस का कार्य करेंगे या राजनीतिक के सिवा रचनात्मक कार्य करेंगे? सचमुच आपका क्या कार्यक्रम होगा?

नेहरूजी : पद छोड़ने का जब-जब मैंने कहा, ज़ब्बा उठा, तो उसके आखिर में माने ये हैं कि मुख्तलिफ़ बातों को एक तराजू में रख के, बैलेंस करके, एक पलड़ा झुका। कोई एक बात पर ही नहीं कोई आदमी फ़ैसला करता है। और उसका अन्दाज़ा करना ये कि किस ढंग से मैं, जो कुछ मेरे मन में हैं बातें, होनी चाहिएँ, उनको मैं कैसे ज्यादा बढ़ा सकूँगा। और मेरे मन में सौ में से सौ फ़ीसदी राजनीति की बातें हैं। मैं बैठ के अलग नहीं काम कर सकता। मैं निकम्मा हो जाऊँ बिलकुल। मैं और हजार काम कर सकता हूँ, मैं साहित्य का काम करूँ, ये करूँ, वो करूँ। लेकिन मैं राजनीति का आदमी हूँ। मैं उसको अच्छी चीज़ समझता हूँ। मैं दुनिया को बदलना चाहता हूँ, मैं हिन्दुस्तान को बदलना चाहता हूँ। मैं कोठरी में बैठ के जपना नहीं चाहता माला। ये मेरे क़ाबू के बाहर की बात है। (हँसी) तो अगर मैं पद छोड़ूँ तो मैं दूसरे ढंग से उसी काम को करूँगा। ये और बात है कि मैं दो-चार महीने के लिए बैठ जाऊँ, अपने दिमाग को साफ़ करने के लिए, किताब पढ़ूँ। वो तो एक तैयारी की बात है। पहले मौक़े मिल जाते थे जेल में बैठ के। अब नहीं मिलते। लेकिन ये दुनिया इस वक़्त बदलती हुई चीज़ है बड़े ज़ोरों से, और

मुझे उसमें दिलचस्पी है, उसके बदलने में, अपने देश को ये वो। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक मेरी ताक़त है मैं अपनी राय सही तरफ़ डालूँ उस बारे में। अब वो चले, न चले मैं क्या जानूँ। मैं उसको देख नहीं सकता तमाशबीन हो के।

चौधरी : लेकिन आप ये तो मानते ही हैं कि पद की वजह से आप ज़्यादा बेहतर या ज़्यादा काम कर सकते हैं?

नेहरूजी : ये बहुत पेचीदा बात है, मुश्किल बात है कहना। पद की वजह से ज़्यादा कर सकता हूँ और कभी-कभी रास्ते में भी आ जाता है वह। मेरा ज़ाती खयाल ये था, पार साल जब मैंने कहा था, ये कि मैं कुछ दिन के लिए छोड़ दूँ पद पाँच-सात महीने, आठ महीने, मेरे लिए भी और काम के लिए भी। लेकिन पेच उसमें थे और बहुत लोगों ने एतराज़ किया, तो मैंने छोड़ दिया उस विचार को। और ख़ासकर हिन्दुस्तान में जो कुछ हो, हो, उसके नतीजे जो बाहर हिन्दुस्तान के होने वाले थे, हमारे और कामों में, फ़ॉरेन पॉलिसी में, और मुल्कों पर क्या असर हो, पेचीदा थे वो। पेचीदा चीज़ का भी सामना होता है, लेकिन फिर वो ही बात चारों तरफ़ देख के और लोगों के दबाव से न सही उस वक़्त, लेकिन वो खयाल पूरी तौर से दिमाग़ के बाहर नहीं जाता, कहीं कोने में रहता है। एक आदमी वहाँ रह के कोई ओहदे पर काम कर सकता है, लेकिन वो बहुत ओहदे से बँध जाय...

चौधरी : आसक्ति हो जाय।

नेहरूजी : हाँ, तो कुछ काम करने की उसकी ताक़त कम-सी हो जाती है।

चौधरी : अवश्य ही आप व्यक्तिपूजा के खिलाफ़ होंगे। आपके लिए जो व्यक्तिपूजा पैदा हो रही है, उसे रोकने का आप क्या निश्चित उपाय सोचते या करते हैं?

नेहरूजी : व्यक्तिपूजा? हिन्दुस्तान में तो अक्सर चीज़ें पूजा हो जाती हैं। अब व्यक्ति का आदर करना...और मुल्कों में भी आदर करते हैं, यहाँ से बहुत ज़्यादा करें शायद, सेवा भी ज़्यादा करें। यहाँ का ढंग, जैसे पैर छूने का ढंग, और इसमें कोई बुरी बात नहीं है किसी बुजुर्ग के पैर छूना। लेकिन वो ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा हो जाता है। हमारे यहाँ तरह-तरह की बातों में कमर झुकाने की आदत बहुत है, और मैं समझता हूँ कि इसका असर दिमाग़ पर पड़ता है, क्रौम के दिमाग़ पर, व्यक्ति के दिमाग़ पर। मैं नहीं पसन्द करता कमर झुकाना, चाहे पैर छूना हो। पैर छूने में कोई एतराज़ मुझे नहीं है ख़ास, लेकिन वो आदत ऐसी हो जाती है कमर झुकाने की, मैं देखता हूँ जैसे हमारे लड़के-लड़कियाँ जन-गण-मन गाती हैं, वन्दे मातरम, कमर झुका कर गुन-गुन-गुन मन में ही गुनगुनाते हैं। मुझे बिलकुल बरदाश्त नहीं होता। मैं चाहता हूँ सिर ऊँचा हो। जो कुछ



हमें कहना है, दिल में कहते हैं, वो सिर नीचे झुका के और ज़मीन की तरफ़ देख के तो नहीं होता। तो ख़ैर, ये आपने कहा व्यक्तिपूजा। बड़ा मुश्किल होता है इन बातों में कोई साफ़ बात कहना, क्योंकि हमेशा से किसी-न-किसी ढंग से ये बातें हुई हैं। ज़्यादा उसका होना नुक़सानदेह होता है। उस वक़्त चाहे लाभ भी उठे, बाद के लिए होता है। लेकिन आप हर एक आदमी को, हर एक शख्स को बराबर के क्रद का बना दें, वो तो वाक़या नहीं है दुनिया में। (हँसी) और उसमें फिर वो बात होती है जो कि आजकल किसी क्रदर है कि जब कोई माक़ूल बात भी कहे तो दूसरा मानता नहीं है उसको। तुम्हारी बात क्यों मानें हम? हम सब सोच सकते हैं, तय कर सकते हैं। तो इनडिसिपलिन और ये सब आता है। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान में जो व्यक्तिपूजा होती है, वो तो मुनासिब नहीं है कि हर एक आदमी महात्मा बन जाय, हर एक आदमी गेरुआ वस्त्र पहन कर हो जाये, या पालिटिकल महात्मा बन जाये, जो कुछ है।

चौधरी : लेकिन पण्डितजी, कभी-कभी ऐसा लगता है कि सिर ऊँचा करके कोई बात करे तो उनको आप कहें कि तुम झगड़ालू आदमी हो। ऐसा भी कह देते हैं आप।

नेहरूजी : हाँ, हाँ। तो क्या बग़ैर झगड़ा किये सिर ऊँचा नहीं होता है?

चौधरी : आप सत्य का पालन हर हालत में करने का उसूल मानते हैं? किसी को बचाने के लिए और किसी अच्छे उद्देश्य के लिए झूठ का आश्रय लेना आप जायज़ समझते हैं? झूठ बोलने के बजाय जोखिम उठा कर भी चुप रह जाना आप कैसा समझते हैं?

नेहरूजी : इसका जवाब कोई आदमी दे नहीं सकता है, कम-से-कम मैं नहीं दे सकता। ऊँचे उसूली जवाब मैं दे दूँ, कि भई, सच हमेशा बोलना चाहिए। और ज़रूरत होती है बोलने की और आम तौर पर बोला भी जाता है। झूठ कुछ गले में अटकता भी है, सब बातें होती हैं। लेकिन किस मौक़े पर क्या किया जाय, बड़ी मुश्किल बात है। एक बीमार है। अब बीमार से मैं सोलह आना सच कहूँ, उससे उसको धक्का लगे और वो मर जाय। तो मुझे कोई एतराज़ नहीं है ऐसे मौक़े पर ज़रा कुछ झूठ-सा कहना। अच्छा ही है ज़रा दूसरे पहलू पर ज़ोर दे के, बढ़ाना वग़ैरा जैसे हो सकते हैं। और उसी वक़्त आदमी तय कर सकता है, कोई पहले से नहीं। एक आदमी, व्यक्ति, अपने क्रद से ज़्यादा ऊँचा चल नहीं सकता है। नारा उठा देने से क्रद नहीं लम्बा हो जाता उसका, या एक बात कह देने से। और ये अच्छा है। जैसे गाँधीजी से ज़्यादा अहिंसा का आदमी कौन है? फिर भी वो कहते थे कि अगर तुम्हारे दिल में तलवार है तो अच्छा है निकाल के चलाओ उसे बजाय इसके कि दिल में छिपा के रखो उसे। हिंसा से ज़्यादा बदतर डरपोकपना है। अव्वल तो हमेशा तराजू आ जाते हैं।

चौधरी : आपने ईश्वर के बारे में एक बार ये ख़याल ज़ाहिर किया था कि आप ईश्वर को

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#### 47. To S. Dutt: Poor Opinion of Tamil Leaders<sup>59</sup>

I have gone through these papers. I am fairly well acquainted with these two organisations in Madras. The Dravida Kazhagam, the original Party formed by Shri E.V. Ramaswami Naicker, has, to some extent, faded out. Shri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker is, I believe, in the eighties and is quite irresponsible and even somewhat mentally unbalanced. The other organisation, namely the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, of which the leader is Shri C.N. Annadurai, is very much alive, and Shri Annadurai is a very able person and a forceful speaker in Tamil. He is, I think, the leader of his group in the Madras Assembly. He and his Party, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, are much more dangerous from the point of view of Indian unity than Shri E.V. Ramaswami Naicker. The influence of the D.M.K. has spread considerably in Madras State. Many of the Tamil films made in Madras are largely influenced by the D.M.K. and preach this kind of hatred and disunity. It has been a problem for us as to how to deal with such films.

2. So far as the invitation to the Mayor of the Madras Corporation is concerned, this is obviously given to the Mayor as such and not any Party leader.<sup>60</sup> It will be difficult for us to refuse it because he happens to be objectionable from some other points of view. I agree, therefore, that a passport might be issued to him and necessarily to the other members of his Corporation party who might be going to the Soviet Union. The passports may be limited for six months or even less.

3. I am inclined to think that Shri Ramaswami Naicker's passport should not be extended and should be allowed to expire.

4. However, before we take any action in either of these two cases, I think the matter might be referred to the Madras Government and a request be made for the Chief Minister's<sup>61</sup> advice on it. In making this request, our views as contained above might be indicated.

59. Note to S. Dutt, FS, 6 October 1959.

60. A.P. Arasu.

61. K. Kamaraj.



Jawaharlal Nehru: I shall try to defend him to the best of my ability; if necessary, with all my might.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: If you are attacked?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Even then I will, fearlessly and without any doubt in my mind.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: It is only that you should not use violence of your own accord.

Jawaharlal Nehru: One should not. I do not know what I will do (laughter).

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: If you had to make a choice between capitalism and communism, which would you choose?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Please forgive me but these are meaningless questions. Every age and era has a structure of its own and a great deal depends upon the growth in each country. The capitalism of the nineteenth century no longer exists today. It has changed. It has now many features which were regarded as purely socialistic earlier. So, it is not a question of choosing between the two. These things can be achieved only so far as people are willing to go. You cannot bring about socialism by branding it on their foreheads or shouting socialist slogans or by passing laws. Everything depends on the stage of development of a nation. They must strive to progress further. Today everything has become much more complicated, because there are different levels of development in different parts of the world and, at the same time, everyone is aware of what is going on elsewhere. If they were completely isolated, there would have been no problem. So, there are tensions. Capitalism was a fundamental stage which contributed largely to the progress of the world in an earlier era. In my opinion, that time has now passed and things must be changed. A new age is now coming when the world is moving towards socialism. Capitalism itself has donned the garb of socialism in many places and will continue to do so. Here we claim to be socialists and yet, in many ways, the greatest capitalist country in the world, the United States of America, is more socialistic than us in practice though they may not accept its principles. This is because the world is moving in that direction. In fact, in the United States, it is said, and rightly so, that their goal is to have a classless society which is a socialistic principle. They may say it in different words, but the idea is to break down the barriers between the classes. It is absurd for us to talk about socialism and communism so long as we have a



*“And mum is the word about the Mysore-Bombay border trouble!”*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 13 SEPTEMBER 1959)



a particular place, almost like the Christians to Jerusalem or the Muslims to Mecca Sharif in the olden days. It is indeed strange. There is a dispute between China and India these days and you find the communist leaders running to Moscow and Peking for consultations. Their mental roots are elsewhere. No individual can be completely uprooted. There are some vestiges of nationalism in everyone but they get suppressed, to a more or less degree. The debate which is splitting the Communist Party into two, these days, is over this. But it shows that they have by and large uprooted themselves mentally and have tried to put down roots elsewhere. This is what it means.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: But could it not be that instead of seeking advice, they could be going to explain the facts to them? That is also possible, after all.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, it is possible and, to some extent, they are able to explain the facts during the course of conversation. But their entire manner shows that they go there.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: When you talk about leaving your post, is it because you are disillusioned with the state of affairs or is it in the hope that you can work better from outside? If you ever leave your post or if you are obliged to do so, will you continue to do the Congress work or do something constructive outside politics? What will be your work?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Whenever I have talked about leaving my post, it ultimately means that keeping various things in the balance the tilt was to one side. No man takes a decision like this only on one single consideration. Everything depends on what is most important to me or is uppermost in my mind. I am hundred percent engrossed in political affairs. I cannot isolate myself from politics and do something else. I will become completely useless. I may be able to do a thousand other things; write or something else. But I am a political person and understand it very well. I want to transform the world. I want to transform India. I do not wish to sit in a room counting beads. That is beyond me (laughter). So if I leave my post, I will do the same work in a different way. It is another matter that I may retire for a few months to clear my thoughts and read. That is a matter of preparation. But the world is in the midst of tremendous changes and I am interested in changing my country. I want to exert my influence in the right direction as far as I can. How do I know whether it will work or not? I cannot stand aside looking on as a spectator.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: But you do agree that you can do much better or more from your post?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This is a very complex thing and it is difficult to say. I can do more because of my position and sometimes it comes in the way too. It was my own personal view when I said last year that I would like to give up my position for a few months. But there were complications and many people objected. So I gave up that idea. And specially, whatever the reactions in India, it was bound to have repercussions on our foreign policy and our work abroad. These were the complications. This could still have been overcome. But again, looking around everywhere, one could not quite rid the mind of the feeling that an individual can do a great deal in a position of authority. But, if he gets too tied down....

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Becomes entranced.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, it does weaken his ability to achieve results.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: You must definitely be against a personality cult. Have you ever thought of a concrete way of putting a stop to the personality cult that is springing up around you?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Personality cult? In India most things become a cult. Now, respect to an individual, touching his feet and what not—it is not a bad thing to touch the feet of an elder—goes beyond what is permissible in India. In other countries too, individuals are given great respect and perhaps more so than here and they are served better too. I do not like the idea of bending one's back and touching others feet for all kinds of reasons. I think it has an effect on the mind on the individual as well as the nation. I have no particular objection to touching the feet, but it gets people into the habit of bending oneself double. I see that when our girls and boys sing the national anthem, they bend forward and sing it under their breath. I just can't bear it. I want that they should stand erect. We cannot achieve what we want by getting into the habit of bowing one's head. Well, you talked about personality cult. It is very difficult to say anything clearly about such matters because such things have always happened. If it grows out of proportion, it can be harmful, if not then, later certainly. But you cannot have everyone in the world of the same stature (laughs). Then there is another thing these days. Nobody is prepared to listen even if someone says something good. Everyone thinks he can think and decide for himself. So, there is indiscipline. But talking of personality cults, it is not possible for every man



to become a Mahatma by putting on yellow robes.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: But Panditji, sometimes it seems that when someone stands erect and says something, you say that he is quarrelsome. You have said this sometime.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, yes, so can't you hold your head up without quarrelling?

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Do you believe in the principle of speaking the truth under all circumstances? Do you think it is proper to resort to untruth with a good intention or to save someone? What do you think of keeping one's silence even in the face of danger instead of telling lies?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Nobody can answer this question. At least I cannot. I can take a high moral tone and say that one should always speak the truth. It is necessary to do so and generally it is because lies stick in the gullet. But it is difficult to say when a lie is permissible. Now suppose someone is ill and my telling the absolute truth could give a shock to him and lead to his death, I will have no objection to telling an untruth in such circumstances. It could be done by presenting facts selectively or exaggerating something. Only the individual himself can decide about this. A man cannot rise above his own stature. Now, for instance, who can be a more non-violent person than Gandhi ji? Yet, he used to say that if there is a sword in your heart, it is better to take it out and wield it rather than keep it hidden there. What is worse than violence is cowardice. So there is always a question of balance.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: You had said that you think of God as Truth and Beauty. There can be two meanings. One is that all that is true and beautiful should be regarded as God. The second is that the truth which is beneficent and beautiful is God. Gandhi ji used to regard Truth as the formless God and Daridra Narayan as the revealed God. What is your objection to this?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You have asked an extremely complicated question to which I have neither the answer, nor do I look for the answer. I do not see any special reason to look for answers to such questions. I only seek the answer to one thing; as to where my duty lies. That is enough for me. I cannot say whether God is truth or something else because I do not know; not at all. I accept entirely what Gautama Buddha said in this regard. When his disciples asked him about God, he said, "You have not understood what this world was all about, what will you understand about the next? You do not know how to do your duty and

you ask me long questions. I have no interest in such matters.” It is a different matter that the mind may sometimes unwittingly think about such things and try to fathom the powers that are behind this known familiar world of ours. It is difficult to understand. Secondly, when an individual progresses, his vision reaches a long way. The history of philosophical thought in the world has been dominated by the idea of God. A savage’s concept of God differs from that of a well-educated person’s. As an individual becomes more enlightened, this vision of God gains new dimensions, because, after all, God is our mental conception.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: You are right.

Jawaharlal Nehru: But whatever it is, a man can think only what his mind can comprehend. He cannot conjure up something which is beyond his comprehension.

Translation ends.]

## 20. Interview — II<sup>185</sup>

रामनारायण चौधरी : क्या आप मौत की सज़ा उठा देने के पक्ष में हैं? हैं तो ऐसा क़ानून बनाने में क्या रुकावट है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरूजी : हाँ, उसूलन मैं हूँ उसके हटाने के पक्ष में, और मेरा खयाल है कि अच्छा हो अगर हटा दी जाये। लेकिन उसके खिलाफ़ कहीं-कहीं बहस मज़बूत है, यानी हालात पर मुनहसिर है, ख़ाली इन्सान बिलकुल सोलह आने उसूल पर नहीं चल सकता। कैसे लोग हैं, क्या है, क्या नहीं? और इसलिए मैं उस पर ज़ोर नहीं दे सकता इतना, जब और लोग एतराज़ करते हैं, हालाँकि मैं तो समझता हूँ अच्छा हो वो हट जाय। काफ़ी यहाँ हिन्दुस्तान में क़त्ल होते हैं। ख़राब बात है। और जगह झगड़े-फ़साद होते हैं, क़त्ल नहीं होते। अगर इंग्लैण्ड में एक हो जाता है क़त्ल, तहलका मच जाता है इंग्लैण्ड भर में — मर्डर केस हुआ।

चौधरी : तो इसमें ऐसा नहीं हो सकता कि आप क़ानून में एक्ज़ेम्पशन कर लें?

नेहरूजी : आजकल क़ानून में मौत की सज़ा बहुत कम बातों के लिए दी जाती है, बहुत ही कम कर दी गयी है। यानी पहले तो बहुत ज़्यादा थी, अब कम हो गयी है और और कम करने की



तरफ झुकाव है। लेकिन जब आदमी एक-दूसरे को बिलकुल एक खंजर से भोंक दे जा के, तो फिर ऐक्चुअल मर्डर ही कहेंगे।

चौधरी : तो फिर क्लेमेन्सी कहीं ज्यादा बढ़ा दें।

नेहरूजी : यानी क्लेमेन्सी से मतलब क्या?

चौधरी : यानी दया।

नेहरूजी : समझा दया। मामूली तौर से जानते हैं। बाज़ में दी जाती है, बाज़ में नहीं। उसके भी क्रायदे-क्रानून हैं, ये महज़ मर्ज़ी पे उता नहीं है।

चौधरी : आपके पिताजी ने सामाजिक सुधार के तौर पर क्या रीति-रिवाज तोड़े? वो किस बात पर जाति से बाहर किये गये थे?

नेहरूजी : जाति के बाहर वो किये गये थे इसलिए कि वो यूरोप गये थे और यूरोप से आ के प्रायश्चित्त करने से इनकार किया था। पहले यूरोप गये थे सन 1899 में। उसके पहले भी कुछ लोग गये थे, यानी हमारे कश्मीरी पण्डितों की बिरादरी से। तो पहले तो उसमें एक फूट हुई थी और लोगों की, जैसे एक थे कांग्रेस के प्रेसीडेंट पण्डित बिशन नारायण दर,<sup>186</sup> वो गये। उनके आने पर झगड़ा हुआ, निकाल दिये गये बिरादरी से। तब उन्होंने प्रायश्चित्त किया। तब भी नहीं लिये गये तो दो हिस्से हो गये बिरादरी के।

चौधरी : अच्छा?

नेहरूजी : जब मेरे पिताजी गये तीन महीने बाद उनके, तो उन्होंने वापस आ के प्रायश्चित्त करने से इनकार किया। तो फिर तीन हिस्से हो गये, जाबिते के तीन नहीं, लेकिन बहरसूरत तीन हिस्से हो गये। उन्होंने इनकार किया, मैं तो प्रायश्चित्त नहीं करूँगा। और खाने-पीने में कभी किसी क्रिस्म का परहेज़ नहीं किया, मुझे याद है बचपन से। कभी था ही नहीं हमारे यहाँ परहेज़ इत्ता। और कुछ उनका झुकाव था लड़कियों, औरतों की पढ़ाई की तरफ़ शुरू से ही। पर्दा-वर्दा नहीं। इस क्रिस्म की बातें थी शुरू से। यों तो कश्मीरियों में हमेशा पर्दा ज़रा महदूद-सा होता था, यानी आपस में कभी कश्मीरियों में पर्दा नहीं होता, और लोगों में हो।

चौधरी : लेकिन ख़ास वजह तो यही थी, विलायत जा कर प्रायश्चित न करने की?

नेहरूजी : ख़ास वजह से मतलब उन्होंने कोई वहाँ जा कर अपनी राय नहीं तब्दील की। राय तो उनकी पहले भी वही थी, वैसे ही रहते थे। लेकिन वहाँ से आने पर एक खुल्लम-खुल्ला बात हुई न, तो उनके विरादरीवालों ने झगड़ा किया। तो उन्होंने कहा, तुम झगड़ा करो, मैं नहीं करता।

चौधरी : सब देशों में आज़ादी के बाद उसके सबसे बड़े नेता का कार्यक्रम चला है। यहाँ गाँधीजी का ही कार्यक्रम आप लोगों ने क्यों नहीं चलाया? क्या सरकारमेंसेज़, वजूहात थीं?

नेहरूजी : ये तो ऐसी एक बात कही कि वो सवाल के पीछे इतने प्रिज़म्पशन्स हैं। इस सवाल का जवाब दिया जाय यानी सब प्रिज़म्पशन्स स्वीकार कर लिये जायें। किस देश में क्या हुआ, सब देशों के बारे में राय देते हैं, जो कि मेरे सामने वो बात नहीं है। दूसरे, गाँधीजी के बारे में आपने राय दी, वो ज़ाहिर है किसी क्रदर सही है, और किसी क्रदर सही नहीं है। क्योंकि मैं नहीं जानता कि गाँधीजी इस वक़्त होते तो किस मामले में क्या राय देते। स्वराज्य के बाद बहुत ही कम रहे वो। वो भी झगड़े के दिन थे। तो मुश्किल है।

चौधरी : आज़ादी के बाद लोगों में अंग्रेज़ियत घटने के बजाय बढ़ रही है। क्या ये ख़याल सही है? इस वृत्ति को आप कैसा समझते हैं? अगर ये ठीक नहीं है तो इसे रोकने का कोई उपाय आप सोच या कर रहे हैं?

नेहरूजी : किसी क्रदर ये सही है, शायद पूरी तौर से न हो, लेकिन कुछ ज़रूर सही है और कुछ मुझे पसन्द भी है। अगर अंग्रेज़ियत इस माने में हो कि अंग्रेज़ों के ख़यालों को जानना, उनके साहित्य को जानना, जिन-जिन बातों ने उनको बड़ा किया उनको समझना, तो वो अच्छी बात है। लेकिन महज़ अंग्रेज़ियत दिखावे की, पोशाक वगैरा की...मुझे कोई अंग्रेज़ी पोशाक में एतराज़ नहीं है, लेकिन पोशाक कुछ एक नक़ल करना समझ के कि ऊँची चीज़ है, ये ख़राब बात है।

चौधरी : और जैसे घरों में आपस में बातचीत भी, बोली?

नेहरूजी : ये भी बहुत ग़लत बात है, ज़ाहिर है बहुत ग़लत बात है। मैं समझता हूँ ये बात तो कुछ हमारे ऑफ़िसर क्लास में ज़्यादा है। और अब क्योंकि एक नयी बात, नयी बात तो नहीं, लेकिन ज़ाहिर है लड़कियों का पढ़ना-लिखना। तो उनके लिए एक नया मैदान खुल गया अंग्रेज़ी



बोलने का। लड़कों में तो पहले भी था बहुत कुछ। तो दूसरी ये कि जैसे दिल्ली शहर है, जहाँ कि हर जगह के लोग आते हैं, हिन्दुस्तान भर के मेरा मतलब है, कुछ दिक्कत होती है। बंगाली है, तमिल है, तेलुगू है। अंग्रेज़ी आ जाती है, लाचारी है।

चौधरी : लेकिन कुछ आपने देखा होगा पंजाब के लोगों में कुछ ज़्यादा है।

नेहरूजी : नहीं, पंजाब के लोगों में तो हमेशा पोशाक वगैरह, ये ऊपरी बातें हमेशा ज़्यादा थीं।

चौधरी : मुसलमानों के ज़माने में भी, अंग्रेज़ों के ज़माने में भी?

नेहरूजी : मुसलमान ज़माने का मैं नहीं जानता। मैं कह रहा हूँ कि हमारे स्वराज्य के आन्दोलन के ज़माने में सब में कम इस क्रिस्म का असर पंजाब की लाइफ़ पर हुआ था। पंजाब में बहादुर आदमी बहुत थे। लेकिन उनकी रोज़मर्रा की ज़िन्दगी फ़ैशनबल ही रही, ये मेरा मतलब है, जो और जगह सादा हो गये। कुछ तो ज़्यादा खुशहाल हैं वो, कुछ और वजूहात हों।

चौधरी : तो इस बारे में कैसे विचार तो आप कभी-कभी दिया करते हैं भाषणों में। कोई खास कोशिश की बात है?

नेहरूजी : कभी-कभी कहा जाता है। खास कोशिश क्या की जाय? ये चीज़ें कुछ अपना लेबल पा लेती हैं हल्के-हल्के।

चौधरी : आपके बारे में लोगों का ख़याल है कि जैन धर्म में जिसे 'स्यादवाद' कहते हैं, संस्कृत में जिसके लिए 'रामाय स्वस्ति, रावणाय स्वस्ति' की कहावत है और जॉन एडीसन<sup>187</sup> के सर रॉजर डि कावली जैसे हर बात में 'मच माइट बी सेड ऑन बोथ साइड्स' का फ़ैसला दिया करते थे, वैसे ही आपका हाल है। क्या ये सही है? और है तो इस रवैये को आप ठीक समझते हैं, या ये आपकी कमज़ोरी है?

नेहरूजी : ये तो बात पे मुनहसिर होता है कि क्या जवाब दिया जाय। एक फ़िलोसॉफ़िक तर्ज़ होता है किसी पे ग़ौर करने का। एक सिपाही का होता है। तर्ज़ पचासों होते हैं। ज़ाहिर है आम तौर से ये एक ज़्यादा डेवेलप्ड बात समझी जाती है कि मुख़लिफ़ पहलू चीज़ के समझें। वो ज़्यादा अगर बहुत बढ़ जाय, तो उसका नतीजा हो जाता है ऐसे फ़िलॉसोफ़र का, जो कि कभी

187. In fact, it was Joseph Addison who devised *Sir Roger de Coverley*, the Scottish Country Dance, named after the person who invented, into a fictional character.

तय ही न कर सके, कलूँगा में क्या? तो ये तो कोई जवाब थोड़े ही है, इन बातों का। सिवा इसके कि आप बैलेंस देखें, क्या होता है। एक आदमी का ऐक्शन बन्द हो जाता है, तो बिलकुल बेकार-सा हो जाता है। और जो आदमी हर वक्त आँखें बन्द करके दूसरी तरफ़ देखता है, उसकी भी अक्लमन्दों में गिनती नहीं होती है।

चौधरी : मतलब ये है कि नज़रिये की बात है, सब नज़रिये की बात है।

नेहरूजी : नज़रिये की बात नहीं, बैलेंस की बात है — कित्ता क्या, किसमें क्या। आजकल की दुनिया में यों तो आपस में भी नाइत्तफ़ाक़ी होती है, लेकिन सब में आसान नाइत्तफ़ाक़ी होती है मुल्कों में, क्योंकि एक मुल्क में ज़रा कोशिश भी नहीं होती, दूसरे मुल्क में क्या दिमाग़ में है, समझने की, वो अलग हैं, बिलकुल दो अलग ख़ाने हैं, बिलकुल तो नहीं या क़रीब-क़रीब या जैसे फ़र्ज़ कीजिए, पुराने ज़माने में हिन्दू-मुसलमान में लड़ाई हुई। अब उसमें एक हिन्दू, ऐवरेज हिन्दू यक़ीनन वो हर बात को मान लेगा जो मुसलमान के खिलाफ़ कही जाय, और मुसलमान मान लेगा हर बात हिन्दू के खिलाफ़। उसमें ये नहीं है कि समझने की कोशिश भी करे, दिमाग़ बन्द हो जाते हैं और दिमाग़ बन्द होने से एक किस्म की थोड़ी-सी ताक़त आ जाती है, यानी जो एक बिगट्री की ताक़त होती है, वो आ जाती है। तो आप कहें ताक़त अच्छी चीज़ है, सही है। लेकिन इस तरह से ताक़त आना अच्छा नहीं। और ग़लत तरफ़ ताक़त का इस्तेमाल होता है। तो आदमी में काम करने का माद्दा होना चाहिए और आदमी में सोचने का होना चाहिए माद्दा, सोच के नतीजे पर पहुँचने का, और अगर उसके सोचने में पेंच पड़ जाता है, वो काम नहीं कर सकता, तो न इधर का रहता है वो, न उधर का रहता है।

चौधरी : एटली साहब की आपके बारे में ये राय बतायी जाती है वो कि आप जल्दी फ़ैसला नहीं कर सकते हैं या करते हैं। ये कहाँ तक सच है? अगर सच है तो इससे क्या फ़ायदा आप समझते हैं?

नेहरूजी : इन बातों का जवाब क्या? यानी कोई मसला पेश हो, तो उस पर कहा जाय कि ये सही हुआ या ग़लत हुआ। हवा में कहना कि जल्दी फ़ैसला नहीं कर सकते। एटली साहब तो ख़ैर बहुत ज़्यादा तज़ुर्बा उन्हें है। (हँसी) मुझे नहीं।

चौधरी : ऐसा होता है कि जो आपके क्रिटिसिज़्म में कहा जाता है, उसके बारे में आपकी राय जान लेना चाहता हूँ, दोनों की दृष्टि से। आपने किसी के एक बार पूछने पर कि गाँधीजी की तरह आप भी अधिक से अधिक साथियों को हाथ से ख़त क्यों नहीं लिखते, ये जवाब दिया बताते हैं कि आपके नाम रोज़ लगभग दो हज़ार ख़त आते हैं। और कोई सौ-दो सौ आदमी आपसे हाथ मिलाते हैं, जिनमें कई प्रेम के मारे आपकी हथेली ज़ोर से



दबा देते हैं। इससे आपकी चिट्ठी उँगली दुखती रहती है। ये आखिरी बात मज़ाक़ की है या गम्भीर है?

नेहरूजी : हाँ, ये कभी-कभी हुआ है, लेकिन रोज़ तो नहीं। मुझे हाथ मिलाने होते हैं सैकड़ों से। कभी-कभी हुआ है, दस-पन्द्रह रोज़। कभी-कभी ज़ोर से दबा दिया। लेकिन आम तौर से नहीं होता। ये बात ज़ाहिर है, ख़त लिखने में बहुत ज़्यादा वक़्त लगता है, हाथ से लिखने में। बहुत ज़्यादा और क़रीब-क़रीब चौगुना-पाँचगुना वक़्त लग जाता है उसमें, डिक्टेट कराने में और लिखने में। अलावा इसके ख़त दूसरी तरफ़ आसानी से पढ़े भी जाते हैं, अगर टाइप वग़ैरा हो तो। (हँसी) नहीं तो वक़्त ज़्यादा लगता है।

चौधरी : हाँ, आपके पास तो कन्वीनियेन्स का बहुत बड़ा सवाल है।

नेहरूजी : हाँ, ख़ाली बहुत मेरी मुश्किल क्या है, मैं आपको बताऊँ। बाज़ लोगों को मैं नहीं भेजना चाहता। मेरा मतलब ये है कि ख़ास बिज़नेस के ख़तों को। जब मैं अपनी लड़की को ख़त लिखूँ, आम तौर से टाइप नहीं, या जब मैं अपनी बहन को लिखूँ। नतीजा ये होता है कि महीनों रह जाते हैं, लिखता ही नहीं, क्योंकि चाहता हूँ इत्मीनान से लिखूँ। मुझे डिक्टेट कराना है, मैं उसी वक़्त करा दूँ। नहीं तो वक़्त गुज़र जाता है, क्योंकि इत्मीनान से लिखेंगे।

चौधरी : इत्मीनान का तो मुझे भी तज़रूबा है। चार-पाँच महीने लग जाते हैं मिलने में। अगर इत्मीनान से बातें करनी हों, तो आपको वक़्त की तंगी तो रहती है। आपके आलोचकों, क्रिटिक्स का कहना है कि आप जो कहते हैं, वो करते नहीं हैं, या कहते बहुत और करते कम हैं। इसकी ये ख़ास मिसालें दी जाती हैं। (1) अहिंसा और शान्ति से आपको प्रेम है, मगर सेना पर इतना भारी ख़र्च होता है। (2) मकानों पर कम ख़र्च करने की बात कहते हैं, मगर इमारतों पर इतना भारी ख़र्च रोकते नहीं। (3) भ्रष्टाचार, पक्षपात और सिफ़ारिशबाज़ी को बुरा बताते हैं, परन्तु उन्हें बन्द करने के लिए कारगर क़दम नहीं उठाते। (4) समाजवाद को मानते हैं, मगर छोटे-बड़े कर्मचारियों के वेतन में और अमीर-ग़रीब की आमदनी में भेद है — शायद दुनिया के सभ्य देशों में यहाँ सबसे ज़्यादा हो — उसे नहीं मिटाते। इस आलोचना का आपके पास क्या समाधान है?

नेहरूजी : आपने बहुत सारी बातें कहीं। पहली बात तो ये है कि जो कुछ मुनासिब एक आदमी समझे उसे कहना चाहिए, चाहे कर सके या नहीं। करने में दिक्कतें होती हैं, ख़ासकर इन बड़े कामों को। अपने निस्वत ज़रा ग़लत बात है, दूसरों को एक आप बात कहें और खुद न करें, अगर वो व्यक्तिगत बात है। लेकिन समाज का सवाल है, वो क़ाबू की बात नहीं होती, उसमें हज़ारों बातें करनी होती हैं। तो एक आदमी एक कहने से कुछ-न-कुछ राय बदलने की कोशिश

करता है समाज की और लोगों की। प्रॉपेगैण्डा है, पब्लिसिटी है, टीचिंग है, जो कुछ कहिए। तो हमेशा कहना कुछ आगे रहता है, रहना चाहिए, मेरी राय में। ऐसी बातें हैं। दूसरी, जो आपने मिसालें दीं वे, मसलन आपने कुछ वेतन वगैरा का कहा। मैं बिलकुल मानता ही नहीं कि समाजवाद का इससे कोई सम्बन्ध है। मैं ग़लत कहता हूँ इसे। बुनियादी तौर से मैं कहता हूँ ये नुक़सानदेह बात है, इसका ख़याल करना हर वक़्त। वेतन एक होना चाहिए क़रीब-क़रीब, ये मैंने माना। लेकिन समाजवाद का उसका नतीजा ये निकालना, इसके माने हैं कि समाजवाद से बिलकुल अलिफ़, बे, ते, क, ख, ग भी कोई समझा है, क्या चीज़ है? मैं इरीटेड होता हूँ इस बात से। समाजवाद के माने यही समझें कि लोगों के सिर काटें, नाक काटें, कान काटें, जब काटें? ये समाजवाद हो गया। वो समाजवाद होगा, मुफ़लिसी का, ग़रीबी का। समाजवाद का नाम ही शुरू हुआ है जब दुनिया में कुछ दौलत पैदा करने के सामान इण्डस्ट्री से आये। नहीं तो नाम ही नहीं था सौ बरस, सवा सौ बरस पहले। तो ये ग़लत बात है। हाँ, उसका एक लक्ष्य ये है समाजवाद का, कि एक ये हो कि इक्वालिटी ऑफ़ ऑपरचूनिटी। उसमें भी नहीं है इक्वालिटी ऑफ़ इन्कम। इक्वालिटी ऑफ़ ऑपरचूनिटी है। वो आती है बहुत दूर जब दुनिया में इतना सामान हो कि जब तनख्वाह देने की ज़रूरत न हो, हर चीज़ पड़ी है, ले लो। हरेक ले ले। इतना पैदा हो तो हरेक ज़रूरत जितना ले जा सके। ज़रूरी बात है, वो तो और बात है। कोई मुल्क नहीं है जहाँ कि...रूस को ले लीजिए, जहाँ कि काफ़ी फ़र्क़ नहीं है। यानी काफ़ी इन्सेण्टिव देते हैं, ज़्यादा तनख्वाह देते हैं, ज़्यादा आसानियाँ देते हैं। लेकिन ये सही है कि एक तो इक्वालिटी ऑफ़ ऑपरचूनिटी हो, हरेक को मौक़ा मिले, जितनी क़ाबिलियत हो, जितनी शक्ति हो; दूसरे, आखिर में दुनिया में ऊँच-नीच न हो, या बहुत कम हो, कुछ फ़ितरतन हो और बात है, न हो, ये सही बात है। लेकिन समाजवाद तो सिर्फ़ इसका नतीजा है, इसके शुरू करने की कोशिश तो कभी होती ही नहीं। क्योंकि फ़ौरन आप बढ़ने को ताक़त रोक देते हैं मुल्क की। आप अक्ल को रोक देते हैं, हम सभी को बेवकूफ़ बना कर इसलिए कि लोग बराबर रहें, हो जाता है या तो आप एक बिलकुल पिंजरे में रहें, बिलकुल दुनिया से कट-ऑफ़ हो कर। वहाँ जो चाहे कर सकते हैं। लेकिन जहाँ दुनिया से ताल्लुक़ है, एक फ़्लो होता है। हमारे अच्छे-से-अच्छे साइण्टिस्ट बाहर चले जा रहे हैं, हमारे अच्छे-से-अच्छे इंजीनियर बाहर जाते हैं। अब भी वो है, क्योंकि हम नहीं उनको रोक सकते हैं। गला दबा कर कोई आदमी काम नहीं कर सकता उस टाइप का। तो ये और एक बात आजकल के कामों में एक एफ़िशियेन्सी के लिए कुछ बातें ज़रूरी होती हैं। नहीं कर सकता वो आदमी काम। फ़र्ज़ कीजिए, हमारा मामूली लेवल है, गाँव का लेवल, मामूली लेवल लीजिए, वो इतना लो है, कि उस पर काम नहीं कर सकता कोई उस दर्जे का, चाहे वो साइण्टिफ़िक काम हो, चाहे वो कोई काम हो। तो कोई-न-कोई लेवल तो आपको रखने होते हैं, जो ज़्यादा हाई हैं मामूली लेवल से। लेकिन जब सारा लेवल उठता जाय, तो ये सब बातें कम होती जाती है। और दूसरी तरफ़ ज़्यादा ऊँचा नहीं होना चाहिए। उसको नीचे करना चाहिए। ये एडजस्टमेंट करना चाहिए, करने पड़ते हैं।



चौधरी : इसमें पण्डितजी, सेंटीमेंट का उपयोग बहुत नहीं हो सकता क्या? पेट्रिऑटिक सेंटीमेंट का?

नेहरूजी : पेट्रिऑटिक सेंटीमेंट का उपयोग होना चाहिए, और हो सकता है। ज़माने पे मुनहसिर है कब ज़्यादा हो, कब कम हो। लेकिन इन द मेन हमारे सामने फ़र्ज़ कीजिये प्रॉब्लम है प्रोडक्शन का, कि हम दौलत पैदा करें। तब सवाल उठता है उसके डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन का। लोग हमेशा सोच लेते हैं, डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन है, एक बँटवारा है। वाक़या ये है कि बँटवारे के लिए कुछ है ही नहीं हमारे पास। प्रोडक्शन के बिना क्या बँटवारा? जब तक एक पचास गुना, सौ गुना ज़्यादा न करें। कोई हक़ नहीं मेरी राय में कि जो हमारे रूलिंग प्रिंसेज है, क्यों उनको मिले जो हम देते हैं। हमने समझौता किया अपना, उसको निभाते हैं। लेकिन उसमें दूसरा ये है कि जो हमारे प्रोडक्शन का इन्तज़ाम है, जो लोग हैं, जो बढ़ा सकते हैं मुल्क को, वो ख़त्म हो जाता है। इस वक़्त किसी मुल्क में भी, हिन्दुस्तान का ख़ास नहीं कहता, अगर आप वहाँ के चुने हुए हज़ार आदमी, हज़ार हों, दो हज़ार हों, करोड़ों में हज़ार आदमी चुने हुए। उनको आप निकाल दें — हिन्दुस्तान से या ख़त्म हो जायें। हज़ार आदमी का मैं कहता हूँ तो हर फ़न में यानी पार्लियामेंट का नहीं कह रहा हूँ, साइन्स में हों, इण्डस्ट्री में हों, अच्छे किसान हों, अच्छे-अच्छे जो लोग हों, आप हज़ार आदमी चुन लीजिए, उन्हें निकाल दीजिए, सारा हिन्दुस्तान का लेवल ख़त्म हो जाता है, गिर जाता है। क्वालिटी चाहिए, लोग जो डील करते हैं कम्प्यूनिटी से, चाहे वो अच्छा किसान हो, चाहे वो अच्छा साइण्टिस्ट हो, चाहे अच्छा प्रोफ़ेसर हो, अच्छा टीचर हो, चाहे पॉलिटिशियन हो, अच्छा ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटर हो, जो भी हो वो। वो पुल अप करते हैं एक मुल्क को और हर मुल्क को। यहाँ का मैं नहीं कहता। फ़र्क़ ये होता है जो ज़रा ऐडवान्स्ड मुल्क होते हैं, उनमें ज़्यादा लोग ऐसे होते हैं। अब हिन्दुस्तान के मुकाबले में आप और मुल्कों के नाम लें, वहाँ इससे भी बहुत कम हैं। हमारे यहाँ अख़िर में तो फिर भी हैं। लेकिन टॉप रैंकिंग आप हज़ार आदमी, दो हज़ार आदमी निकाल दें, तो फिर एक लेवल ख़त्म हो जाता है — थिंकिंग का और ऐक्शन का। मुल्क हल्के-हल्के, फिर वो बढ़ेंगे, लेकिन फ़ॉर द मोमेंट बड़ा शॉक होता है सारे सिस्टम को। तो ऐसी कोई कार्रवाई, जिसमें ऐसे लोगों को मौक़ा न मिले, वो दब जायें इसलिए कि समानता हो, तो समानता तो हो सकती हैं? लेकिन इतने लो लेवल पर कि फ़्राक्मस्ती की समानता है। ये दिक्क़त आती है।

चौधरी : आज सरकारी दफ़्तरों और बँगलों में ख़स की टट्टियाँ, कूलर और हीटर लगाये जाते हैं और जिन ग़रीबों के लिए स्वराज्य लेने के इतने बड़े-बड़े वादे हम लोगों ने किये, वे बाहर कड़ी धूप और कड़ाके की सर्दी भुगतते हैं, ये आपके ख़याल से कहाँ तक समाजवाद है?

नेहरूजी : समाजवाद का आपने सवाल उठाया। समाजवाद का उससे कोई मतलब नहीं, मैं

नहीं मानता। हमें देखना है कि अगर हमें एक काम करना है, तो कैसे एफ़िशियेन्ट काम हो सकता है और तेज़ी से हो। ये माना मैंने, मेरा खुद खयाल है कि कूलर वगैरा का ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा इस्तेमाल है। और हम मिल कर उसे रोक रहे हैं, काम कर रहे हैं, किया है। बल्कि खस की टट्टी तो बड़ी चीज़ नहीं है बमुकाबले कूलर के। वो तो महँगी चीज़ है। लेकिन टेस्ट यही है कि काम कैसे एफ़िशियेन्टली करें, इसमें। यानी हम एक ऐग्रिकल्चरल सिविलाइजेशन से निकल रहे हैं, एक कंसेन्ट्रेटेड मॉडर्न सिविलाइजेशन की तरफ़, जिसमें एक बहुत सारी बातें हैं — एफ़िशियेन्सी, पंच्युएलिटी, एक इन्टेन्सिव थिंकिंग, वगैरा, ये सब बातें हैं। अगर हम एक मकान को ज़रा ज़्यादा ऐसा बनायें या उसका टेम्पेचर ऐसा रखें, जिसमें काम ज़्यादा अच्छा हो सके, तो कैलकुलेट किया गया है कि कितना पैसा बचता है। पैसा ख़ाली इन बातों में नहीं खर्च होता है एक आदमी को हम हज़ार रुपये तनख़्वाह देते हैं, या दो हज़ार रुपये देते हैं। उससे हम कितना काम लेते हैं? उसका काम डबल हो गया एक बात करने से। तो हमें ऐसे कैलकुलेशन करने होते हैं। और बाज़ लोग ऐसे होते हैं जो ऊँचे दर्जे के लोग हों काम करने वाले, चाहे इंजीनियर हों, चाहे साइण्टिस्ट, कि उनका वक्त्र बहुत क़ीमती है, और ज़्यादा कर सकते हैं जब उसमें ये सहूलतें हों और बाज़ जगह तो हम मजबूर हैं। हमारी लैब है, सभों का हमें करना है। तो ये बैलेंस करना है। लेकिन ये मैं आपसे मानता हूँ कि बात बढ़ जाती है और बढ़ गयी है और काफ़ी फ़िज़ूलखर्ची उसमें है।

चौधरी : इसका पण्डितजी, साइकोलॉजिकल इफ़ेक्ट भी आम लोगों पर जो हम देखते हैं, बहुत काफ़ी तेज़ हो जाता है।

नेहरूजी : हो जाता है वह। एक और बात आप देखिए दूसरी तरफ़ से कि बड़े अफ़सर के यहाँ या कमिश्नर के यहाँ टट्टी लगी है। अब उससे नेक्स्ट ग्रेड वाले ने सोचा करें। अल्टीमेटली सारे दफ़्तर में हो गया। इस उसूल से यहाँ ये नहीं समझा जाय कि बाज़ को है, बाज़ को नहीं है। ये फैल गया सब में। खर्चा भी बढ़ गया।

चौधरी : वो तो हमारे मीन्स के बाहर हो गया, खर्चा भी बढ़ गया।

नेहरूजी : और हमारे मीन्स के बाहर होता जाता है। हो गया है। असल बात ये है कि हमारे पास अगर पैसा इतना होता तो सारे मकान एयरकन्डीशन्ड हों। कमरे में नहीं, कमरे में ज़्यादा दाम लगते हैं। अलग-अलग कमरों को करने में ज़्यादा दाम लगते हैं, बजाय इसके कि सारा मकान किया जाय। ये और बात है कि मकान आप एक ही कमरे का करें तो रास्ता हो। लेकिन सारे मकान को एयरकन्डीशन्ड करने में सस्ता पड़ता है, बजाय कि सब कमरे अलग-अलग किये जायँ। और उसकी कैपेसिटी ज़्यादा हो जाती है। आखिर मामूली-सी बात है, मोटी बात है कि बढ़ जाती है। लोग जाते हैं पहाड़ पर ताज़ा होने के लिए कि ज़्यादा काम होगा।



चौधरी : सरकारी अफसरों और अमीरों के लिए क्या ये काफ़ी नहीं है कि उन्हें आरामदेह कमरे और पंखे की हवा मिलती रहे? इस भारी भेद के मिटाने के लिए आपकी क्या योजना है?

नेहरूजी : क्या भारी भेद?

चौधरी : यानी यहाँ तक तो मैं भी ठीक मानता हूँ कि यदि हम कमरे में बैठे हैं, तो हवा हमको मिल जाती है, ठण्डा कमरा रहता है। पर बाहर एक-दूसरी तरह से आदमी रहता है। इतना भेद तो अभी हम अपना मान लेते हैं। इससे ज़्यादा वो जो चीज़ें कूलर वगैरा।

नेहरूजी : इनका जवाब तो मैं दे चुका। लेकिन कहें आप कि मोटर में क्यों चढ़ें, ये क्यों करें? वो एक स्टेजेज होते हैं। मोटर में चढ़ना इंग्लैण्ड में या अमेरिका में किसी एक क्रिस्म की भेद या अमीरी की निशानी नहीं है, है ही नहीं। क्योंकि वहाँ मोटर में चढ़ना नहीं, मोटर ओन करना, मोटर रखना जहाँ हर चार आदमी, दो आदमी के पास मोटर हो, आधे लोगों के पास हो, मैं नहीं कहता अब हरेक पे हो गयी हो, क़रीब-क़रीब हरेक ले सकता है। बाक़ी लोगों के ख़ानदान के किसी के पास है। तो ये बातें फैलती जाती हैं, बढ़ती हैं, एक मॉडर्न लाइफ़ की कुछ मजबूरियाँ हैं। अब यहाँ दिल्ली है, मोटर लेना मुश्किल हो गया लोगों को। दाम इतना ज़्यादा होते हैं। लेकिन नयी दिल्ली है, ये है, वो है, ये एक तो डिस्टेन्सेज़ होते हैं। कोई आदमी बस का इन्तज़ार करे, घण्टों निकल जाते हैं बस का इन्तज़ार करने में, या वो वाइसिकिल पे चढ़े, या कुछ ये भी दिमाग़ में होता है कि हमारी हैसियत कम न हो जाय। बहुत सारी बातें मिल कर वो आ जाती हैं। तो कोशिश करनी चाहिए इन सब बातों को कम करने की। लेकिन जैसे हमारी समाज है इस वक़्त उसमें मजबूरियाँ हैं। ज़रा मुश्किल हो जाता है। हाँ, कोशिश हो।

चौधरी : दफ़्तरों के टट्टी-पेशाबघर अफ़सरों के लिए अलग और बाबुओं व चपरासियों के लिए अलग होते हैं। क्या आपके विचार से ये भेदभाव अपमानजनक और समाजवाद के विरुद्ध नहीं है? इसके मिटाने में क्या बाधा है?

नेहरूजी : ये भेदभाव हो सकता है और नहीं भी है। अव्वल तो दो ढंग के होते हैं। बल्कि फ़रक़ है उनमें। दूसरे, ये हमारी बदक्रिस्मती है। हममें कुछ सफ़ाई की आदतें नहीं ऐसी जगह भी। रेल पर चढ़ना दुश्वार होता है। मामूली रेल पर कैसा गन्दा वहाँ का टॉयलेट कर देते हैं। तो मैं अमीरी-ग़रीबी का नहीं कह रहा हूँ, आदत का कहता हूँ। तो अमीर लोग हैं, उनको भी ये आदत है। कैसे उनको सिखया जाये? ये पहली बात उनको सिखानी चाहिए मेरी राय में हरेक को। जो हिन्दुस्तान से बाहर जाते हैं वो बदनाम कर देते हैं हिन्दुस्तान को अपनी आदतों से इस तरह की। तो आप जा कर वहाँ देखिए दूसरे क्रिस्म का इन्तज़ाम होता है, एक तरह का

इन्तज़ाम हो और बात है। दूसरी होती है एक को दूसरा मौजूँ नहीं। और यही कि ज़रा एक सफ़ाई वगैरा के स्टैण्डर्ड्स होते हैं, जो कि नहीं इस वक़्त रह सकते। मुझे इसमें कोई ग़लत बात नहीं मालूम होती है कि अलग-अलग रखे जायँ, भेदभाव का सवाल इसमें नहीं होता। वो मौजूँ नहीं है। अलावा उसके, सूट नहीं करता। इस ढंग के इस्तेमाल नहीं करते हैं बाज़ लोग। बाज़ लोग दूसरे ढंग से करते हैं। और कई करने होते हैं यानी बहुत सारे सैकड़ों आदमी। फ़र्ज़ कीजिए उन्होंने मेरे दफ़्तर में मेरे लिए ख़ास हाथ धोने का बना दिया, उसमें कोई नहीं आता सिवा मेरे, न अफ़सर, न कोई और, ख़ालिस मेरे लिए। एक माने में और लोग भी आ सकते हैं। मुझे कोई इसमें अहमियत नहीं मालूम होती। फ़रक़ इतना है कि दोनों ही पार्टी एम्बैरेस हो जाती हैं। अब आप देखिए न, एक जगह हाथ धोने का, सब बातें करने का इन्तज़ाम दूसरे ढंग का है। वो नहीं दूसरे लोगों को मौजूँ मालूम होता।

चौधरी : मुझे मालूम हुआ है और दिखता भी है कि आप राजदूतों की नियुक्तियाँ ज़्यादातर राज्य-कर्मचारियों में से करते हैं, सार्वजनिक व्यक्तियों में से लगभग नहीं करते। अगर ये सही है तो ये नीति किस आधार पर बनी?

नेहरूजी : दुनिया का दस्तूर है कि जो लोग ख़ास सिखाये जाते हैं, ट्रेन्ड किये जाते हैं बरसों में, वो ज़्यादा चतुर हो जाते हैं। उसमें ज़्यादा समझते हैं बात को। महज़ एक अक्लमन्द आदमी को चुन लेना तो नहीं है। बहुत कम अक्लमन्द आदमी होते हैं, जिनको ट्रेनिंग नहीं हो और वो बात को कर सकें। फ़ॉरेन सर्विस इसीलिए होती है। किसलिए है फ़ॉरेन सर्विस? ये कि लोग चुने जाते हैं एक सख़्त इम्तहान के बाद। उनको तीन बरस ट्रेन किया जाता है बगैर ज़िम्मेदारी दिये। उसके बाद वो शुरू करते हैं। ज़बानें सीखनी पड़ती हैं, फ़ॉरेन ज़बानें, चुन के हरेक को एक-दो ज़बानें, अलावा अपनी जो आती है और दफ़्तर में काम इधर-उधर फिर वो अप्रेण्टिस होता है और जगह जा कर। हल्के-हल्के एक आदमी को सिखायें हम काम, फिर वो हल्के-हल्के तजुर्बे से बढ़ता है। ज़ाहिर है वो बेहतर है कि हम किसी को बाहर से ले लें। बाहर का आदमी तेज़ दिमाग़ हो सकता है, अच्छे उसमें गुण हो सकते हैं, लेकिन वो सारी ट्रेनिंग तो लैकिंग है न, जो होती है इस ढंग की। अलावा इसके कि ज़बानों की ट्रेनिंग वगैरा बहुत सारी है, आम तौर से ये किसी मुल्क में भी ग़ैर-मामूली बात है कि फ़ॉरेन सर्विस में किसी बाहर के आदमी को लेना।

चौधरी : और मुल्कों में भी ऐसा है?

नेहरूजी : जी हाँ, बहुत ग़ैर-मामूली। अमेरिका में बहुत कोशिश करते थे करने की, सब में ज़्यादा। वहाँ भी मजबूर हो कर उन्हें कम करना पड़ा और करते हैं तो नाम के लिए करते हैं, यानी बड़े आदमियों को नाम के लिए। कर देंगे राजदूत, लेकिन असल में उसका नम्बर दो



होगा, वो पैसे खर्चने को, दावत देने को है। जो वहाँ वो सीखा हुआ है, काम करता है।

चौधरी : उसके व्यक्तित्व की भी बात होती है।

नेहरूजी : हाँ, व्यक्तित्व की बात भी हो सकती है, लेकिन आप समझते ही हैं।

चौधरी : एक्सपर्ट ही हों, हर बात में आजकल एक्सपर्ट हो जाते हैं। और बाज़ नहीं हैं, बाज़ अपने...

नेहरूजी : अब बाज़ जगह हैं, बाज़ अपने राजदूत-निवासों में हम नहीं भेजना चाहते हैं जहाँ तक मुमकिन हो। कोई अपना कैरियर अफ़सर, कोई पब्लिक मैन भेजते हैं, कोशिश करते हैं बड़ी जगह, लेकिन मामूली जगह और दिक्कतें होती हैं। कोई जो पब्लिक मैन टाइप होता है, वो बह जाता है। वो जो चाहे कर ले कहने-सुनने को। हम मुश्किल में फँस जाते हैं। अजीब कुछ कह दे, कुछ न कहे, वो डिसिप्लिन में उसके नहीं होता। ये भी बरसों में आता है।

चौधरी : मैं यही सोच रहा था कि डिसिप्लिन की बात मुख्य है उसमें, डिसिप्लिन कहने-सुनने में।

[Translation begins:

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Are you in favour of abolishing the death penalty? What is the difficulty in passing a law?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, on principle, I am in favour of abolishing it. It will be a good thing if it is done. But there is strong opposition to it in some quarters. It depends entirely on circumstances. A man cannot go strictly by a principle. Therefore I cannot force a decision when others are opposed to it, though I think it will be a good thing if it is removed. A large number of murders take place in India. In other places, the number is not so large. In England, even a single murder creates uproar.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Can you not take an exemption in law?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Nowadays the death penalty is very rarely used. It has become far less common than it used to be and the tilt is in that direction. But when a man stabs another, it is an actual murder.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Or you can increase clemency.

Jawaharlal Nehru: What does clemency mean?

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Pity.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I know that. Ordinarily it is given whenever it is feasible. There are certain laws and rules about it. It cannot be given in all cases.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: What were the traditions and customs that your father flouted as a measure of social reform? Why was he excommunicated, turned out of his caste?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That was because he had gone to Europe and on his return, refused to do penance. He had gone to Europe in 1899. Some others from the Kashmiri Brahmin community had gone earlier. There was a gentleman called Pandit Bishan Narain Das who was the Congress President.<sup>188</sup> When he returned from England, he was thrown out of the community and was not taken back even after he did penance. So there was a rift in the community which became divided into two.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Really?

Jawaharlal Nehru: When my father returned three months later, he refused to do penance. So the community, for all practical purposes, became divided into three groups. He refused to do penance, and no restrictions on eating and drinking were observed. I remember this was so right from the time I was a child. He was also greatly in favour of educating the girls in the family. There was no custom of purdah. These were there right from the beginning. Even otherwise, purdah was not strictly observed among the Kashmiris, especially among themselves.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: But what was his reason for refusing to do penance after he returned from England?

Jawaharlal Nehru: He had always been of the same view. He did not change his views because he went to England. It was only that on his return, it came out

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into the open and his community quarrelled with him. But he refused to be drawn in....

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: In all other countries, after freedom, the programme chalked out by their greatest leader has been implemented. Why did you not implement Gandhi ji's programme? What were the circumstances and reasons for that?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Now this is a question behind which there are so many presumptions. If I answer it, I would be accepting all those presumptions. You are talking about all other countries without giving definite instances. Secondly, what you have said about Gandhi ji is only partly right, because I do not know what Gandhi ji's advice would have been if he had been alive today. He lived for a very short while after Independence and it was an extremely troubled time. So it is difficult.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Is it true that after freedom, westernisation is increasing instead of decreasing among the people? What do you think of this mentality? If it is not right, then are you doing anything to put a stop to it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, it is true to some extent, perhaps not fully so, and I do not like it very much. If westernisation means knowledge of their western-liberal thought, literature and other things which have made them great, it is a good thing. But merely imitating them in dress, and so on—not that I have any objection to western dress—and thinking it is the height of sophistication, is wrong.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: And speaking in English at home?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is also very wrong, obviously. I think this is to be found more among our officer class. Now that girls are being educated in large numbers, a whole new field has opened up. Moreover in cities like Delhi, where there are people from all over the country speaking different languages, English has to be perforce resorted to.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: But you may have perhaps seen that it is more so among the Punjabis.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, the Punjabis have always been fonder of foreign dresses, and other such superficial things.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Were they like that during the Muslim period also?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know about the Muslim period. What I am saying is that the life of the Punjab was the least affected during the time of our freedom struggle. There were many brave people in the Punjab. But then their daily lives have been more fashionable, while in other places they were becoming simpler. Perhaps it was partly because they were better off than others.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: I know that you sometimes express your opinion about this in your speeches. Is there any special effort being made?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What special effort can be made? These things find their own level, gradually.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: The general impression among people about you is something like what is known in Jainism as *syadvad*, and in Sanskrit there is a proverb, *Ramaya Swasti*, *Ravanaya Swasti*, or like John Addison's<sup>189</sup> *Sir Roger de Coverley* who is supposed to have decided all arguments by saying, "much might be said on both sides." Is this true? Do you think it is right or is it your weakness?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That depends. There is a philosophic way of looking at things. Then there is a soldier's point of view. There can be many viewpoints. It is obvious that generally it is supposed to be a more developed way of looking at things if one understands various aspects of an issue. If that is stretched to the utmost, it becomes the way of a philosopher who finds himself unable to decide what to do. So, there is no solution to all this except to keep a balance. If an individual is unable to act, he becomes useless, and the one who is bent upon ignoring realities, is also not regarded as an intelligent man.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Meaning that it depends on the viewpoint?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, not so much that as it is a question of balance. There is already a great deal of misunderstanding in the world. But the easiest way in which a misunderstanding is created is by nations not making even the slightest

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effort to understand the viewpoint of another. They are in separate compartments. For instance, take the Hindu-Muslim quarrel in the old days. Now, what used to happen was that an average Hindu would believe anything that was said against a Muslim and vice-versa. There was no attempt at mutual understanding. Minds were completely closed and that gave a strength of its own, the strength of bigotry. You may say strength is a good thing; but not the strength which comes in this way. It is a wrong use of strength. An individual should possess the ability to work and to think and draw the proper conclusions. If there is confusion in his thinking, he cannot function, and then he is neither here nor there.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Earl Attlee is supposed to have formed the impression about you that you cannot take a quick decision. How far is that true? If it is, what do you think is the advantage in it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: How can anyone say anything to these things? You present a problem and ask whether it is wrong or right. To say vaguely that I cannot take a decision in a hurry.... Well, Attlee has had long experience (Laughs). I don't.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: The thing is that I want to know your opinion about what is said in criticism of you. I believe, when somebody asked you once why you do not write to your colleagues, as far as possible by hand, you replied that you get something like a couple of thousand letters daily and at least a couple of hundred people shake hands with you, of whom many, out of affection, press your hand, with the result that your fingers keep paining. Is this a joke or serious?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, it has happened like that sometimes. I do have to shake hands with hundreds of people and sometimes people do press very hard. But it does not happen generally. It is obvious that it takes a long time to write by hand, almost four or five times as much as it takes to dictate. Apart from that, it is easier to read typed letters if the typing is clear (Laughs). Otherwise it may take longer.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: It is a question of your convenience.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, I will tell you what my difficulty is. I do not wish to send typed letters to some special people, like my daughter or my sister. The result is that the letter remains unwritten for months, because I keep postponing

them. If I have to dictate, I do it there and then. Otherwise it gets delayed inordinately.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: I have had experience of that. It takes months to meet you. You are always short of time. Your critics say that you do not do what you promise, or promise a great deal more than what you do. The examples given for this are (1) you have a love of peace and non-violence, but a tremendous amount is spent on the armed force; (2) you talk of spending less on buildings, but do nothing to stop the enormous expenditure that goes on; (3) you talk of the evils of corruption, nepotism and favouritism, but do not take any concrete steps to stop them; (4) you believe in socialism, but do nothing to remove the disparity between the salaries of the officers and the lower echelon of government servants, and the disparity between the rich and the poor, which is, perhaps the most glaring in India of all the civilised nations of the world. What do you have to say about this?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You have said a great many things. Firstly, a man must say what he thinks is proper; whether he is able to do it or not. There are often difficulties, specially in doing big tasks. However, it is wrong if you criticise someone and commit the same mistake yourself personally. But when it is a question of society, it is not in one's control and a thousand things are involved. So, one tries to change the thinking of the people and society by talking about things. You may call it propaganda, publicity or teaching. Therefore, what one says is always a little ahead of what one does and rightly so, in my opinion.

Secondly, you have given some examples of salaries, etc. I am not prepared to accept that that has anything to do with socialism. I say it is wrong. Fundamentally, it is wrong and harmful to think on these lines all the time. I agree that there should be certain parity as far as possible in salaries. But if somebody thinks that is socialism, he has not understood the ABCD of socialism. I feel irritated by this. Does socialism mean cutting off people's heads, noses and ears and picking their pockets? That is the socialism of poverty. Socialism was born in the world when industrialisation began. It was unknown till a couple of centuries ago. So that is wrong. Yes, one of the goals of socialism is to bring about equality of opportunity. Even there it is not equality of income. That can come only when there is so much production in the world that there is no need to pay salaries to anyone. Everyone can have as much as they like. But this is different. There is no country, including the Soviet Union, where there is not a great disparity. Large incentives are given; facilities, better salaries, etc. But it is true that there should be equality of opportunity, so that each individual can



progress as far as he is able to. Ultimately the disparity between the haves and the have-nots must be abolished or reduced considerably. But socialism is the end of all this, not the beginning, because it means putting a brake on the growth potential of the country. If you want to muzzle intelligence by making everyone equally stupid so that there is equality, it can be done; or you can remain in a cage, completely cut-off from the world and do what you like. But there is a flow. Our best scientists and engineers are going away to other countries and we cannot stop them. You cannot force an individual to do something. You require certain efficiency in the modern way of working. The people of ordinary level, of the village level, are so low that they are incapable of doing highly sophisticated scientific work. So you have to maintain some level which is higher than the ordinary. But once this level rises all over, these disparities become less. On the other hand, there has to be some adjustments by not letting the level go too high.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Panditji, cannot patriotic sentiment be brought into play?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Patriotic sentiment should and can be used. It depends on the times, as to the degree to which it can be used. But in the main, I suppose our problem is of production. Then the question comes of its distribution. People always think of distribution first, when the fact is that there is nothing to distribute. How can there be distribution without the production increasing at least a hundredfold? We may be able to ensure some justice by distribution. In my opinion, there is no reason to give large privy purses to our ex-rulers and princes. We are only fulfilling the terms of the agreement that we made. But by distributing what we have, we will be putting an end to the capacity for production that the country has at the moment. In any country—I am not referring specially to India—if you take away the thousand or two thousand of the best out of the millions in every field, in science, in industry, agriculture, the entire level in the country will fall. We need people of quality who deal with the community; like good farmers, scientists, professors, good teachers, politicians or administrators and others. They are the ones who pull up nations anywhere. The difference is that in the advanced countries, their number is larger. There are other countries where the number is even less than in India. Here we still have a fairly large number. But if you take away the top-ranking thousand or two thousand, then the level of thinking and action falls. The country may pick up later on, but for the moment it is a great shock to the whole system. So, any such action which prevents people from getting opportunities, to suppress them merely to ensure equality, will bring down the level so much that it becomes an

equality of poverty. This is the problem.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Today there are khus tattis and coolers and heaters in offices and bungalows while the poor, to whom big promises were made when freedom came, are suffering in the blistering heat and biting cold. How far do you think this is socialism?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You talk of socialism again. I do not agree that it has anything to do with socialism. We want to see to it that when something is done, it should be done efficiently. I agree that coolers and heaters are used more than is necessary. We have tried to put a stop to it. In fact, khus tattis are cheaper in comparison. Coolers are very expensive. But the test is how efficiently we can work. We are emerging out of an agricultural civilisation into a concentrated modern civilisation which has several constraints like efficiency, punctuality, intensive thinking, etc. If we can build a structure and control its temperature in such a way that it improves efficiency, it has been calculated as to how much saving there would be. It is not merely a question of saving money. When an individual is paid a thousand or two thousand rupees, we have to ensure that we can get the best returns from it. Proper working conditions immediately double his output. So we have to make such calculations. Then there are some highly qualified people, engineers and scientists, whose time is very valuable and who can work better when the working conditions are good. Again, in some other cases, like in labs, etc., we are forced to maintain certain standards. So, all this has to be balanced. But I agree with you that wasteful expenditure is on the increase.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: We find that its psychological effect on the people is spreading very swiftly.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is inevitable. Now, when a big officer or a commissioner has a cooler or something, the others below him want it too, and ultimately the entire office has it. It must not be thought that we have and others do not. It is eventually spread out and the expenditure also goes up.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: It has become beyond our means and the expenditure has increased tremendously.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, it has increased beyond our means. The fact is that if we had the money we would have had entire buildings air-conditioned, which would be cheaper than having it in separate rooms. Its capacity also increases.



It is an ordinary thing and it has spread. People go to hill-stations to refresh themselves so that their efficiency may increase.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Is it not enough for officers and rich people to have comfortable rooms and fans? What is your plan to remove this great disparity?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What disparity?

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: I am prepared to agree that such facilities like cooling or heating might increase efficiency. But human beings outside are living a different kind of life. I am talking about that.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have already answered that question. But if you ask why we should use cars, etc., what can I say? These are various stages. In England and the United States, cars are not a luxury because the majority of the people own cars there. Nearly everyone can buy them. There is at least one in every family. So these are some of the compulsions of modern life and they are spreading. It is extremely difficult to buy a car in India, because they are so expensive. But in Delhi, for instance, the distances are so great that one has to waste hours going by bus or cycle. Then there is a feeling that it is beneath their status. All these things are linked together. An effort should be made to reduce these things. But there are certain compulsions in our society at the moment, which make it difficult. But an effort should be made.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: There are separate toilets for officers and clerks and peons. Don't you think such a differentiation is humiliating and against the principles of socialism? What is the difficulty in getting rid of them?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a differentiation in a way and in a way not. There are two types of toilets. Secondly, it is unfortunate that we do not have a sense of hygiene and cleanliness as a people. It is impossible to go to a toilet in a train because people make them filthy. I am not talking about the rich and the poor. I am referring to habits. Even the rich are like that. In my opinion, this is the first thing that should be taught to them. Indians who go abroad earn a bad name for India by their filthy habits. Therefore different kinds of arrangements are being made to ensure better standards of cleanliness. I do not think there is anything wrong in having separate toilets. The western style closets do not suit everyone. So there have to be both kinds. For instance, there is a special washbasin and toilet in my room in the office. Nobody else except me uses it,

though they could. I do not think it is very important. Different people prefer different types of toilets, etc.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: I have seen that you generally appoint government servants rather than people from public life to the post of ambassadors? If this is true, on what is this policy based?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is an international tradition to train people especially for years for this job. They become more adept at handling this work. It is not enough, merely, to choose an intelligent man. There are very few intelligent people who could handle this work without training. That is why we have a foreign service. Its members are selected after a rigorous examination and given three years of training before they are actually sent on a job. Foreign languages have to be taught, at least one or two to each. Then they gain experience gradually at their jobs. It is obvious that that is better than to choose someone from outside. An individual may have good brains, sharp intellect and other qualities. But he lacks training and knowledge of languages. In any case, it is quite uncommon to take people from outside the Foreign Service anywhere in the world.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Does this happen in other countries too?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh yes, it is very uncommon. I think they tried in the United States. But even there they have had to reduce the number. They select well-known people only because of their name as ambassador. But it is usually his number two who is the real man, trained for the job. The ambassador is there for entertainment purposes, etc.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: It depends on his personality too, I suppose.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh! Yes, it could depend on his personality. But, you can understand, I am sure.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Is it necessary to have experts? Nowadays, everyone is an expert.

Jawaharlal Nehru: We do not like to send anyone except career officers as ambassadors as far as possible. In some cases we send well-known public figures but that creates difficulties in ordinary postings. The public men tend to get carried away and say things which they should not. There is no discipline among



them. So it creates difficulties for us. Discipline is also a product of years of training.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: I was just thinking that discipline is the main thing in that, discipline about speech, and so on.

Translation ends.]

## II. POLITICS

### (a) Indian National Congress

#### 21. To Congress Workers: Casteism and Communalism<sup>1</sup>

##### “NEED TO ABOLISH CASTEISM”

Vijayawada

Oct. 13

Prime Minister Nehru addressed Congress workers, including Congress Members of Parliament and members of the legislatures of Andhra Pradesh here yesterday, Mr. Nehru invited questions from them and answered them.

It is learnt Mr. Nehru stressed the imperative need to put down casteism and communalism since they hampered the growth of democracy. They should give every encouragement to the backward classes in the States, but that should not be at the expense of merit and talent.

Mr. Nehru is reported to have turned down a suggestion to ban political parties which were anti-Indian in their outlook and which always depended on other countries for their political inspiration. He is reported to have said that he always had opposed banning political parties so long as they functioned within the four walls of the Indian Constitution.

He told a questioner that there was a slight improvement in the Indo-Pakistan relations. It is gathered that Mr. Nehru answering a questioner said that in Kerala, there was an electoral understanding between the PSP and the Congress and some seats were left uncontested to the Muslims wherever they were predominant.<sup>2</sup> This, however, did not mean that the Congress abandoned the policy of non-alignment with communal parties. It is stated Mr. Nehru said that the soaring food prices should be checked. Inflation in India had not at all reached any alarming level, he added.

After the public meeting, the Prime Minister was entertained at a dinner party in Siris Nagar by a reception committee. Mr. G. Brahmayya, Mr. G.S. Raju, Deputy Chairman, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council, K.L.N. Prasad and M. Chitti received Mr. Nehru and garlanded him. Miss N. Kanakadurga gave a Bharatanatyam recital.

1. Report of Speech, Vijayawada, 12 October 1959. From *The Hindu*, 14 October 1959.
2. The electoral understanding between the Congress, PSP and the Muslim League in Kerala was criticised at the AICC at Naveen Nagar, Chandigarh, on 27 September 1959. See *The Times of India*, 28 September 1959. See SWJN/SS/52/pp. 79-80.



Mr. Balaraj, Superintendent of Police, Krishna, was in charge of traffic arrangements during Mr. Nehru's visit to Vijayawada.

## 22. To Motilal Bhargava: Message to UP State Youth Congress<sup>3</sup>

October 18, 1959

Dear Motilalji,

I have your letter of the 16th October about the U.P. State Youth Congress holding a convention in Gorakhpur early in December.<sup>4</sup> I am afraid it is not possible for me to come to this convention. I have long wanted to visit Gorakhpur as I have not been there for a considerable time, but I cannot manage a visit in the near future.

I send my good wishes to this convention and hope that it will give a proper lead to the youth of our State. We are passing through difficult and critical times, but this is also a period of hope and inspiration for the future. All kinds of new opportunities are opening out to our young men and young women. I hope that the attention of the youth will be directed to these constructive endeavours.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Letter to Motilal Bhargava, President, Yuvak Congress Committee, Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh.
4. From 1 to 5 November 1959.

### 23. To P.N. Chopra: Biography of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai <sup>5</sup>

October 18, 1959

Dear Chopra,

Your letter of October 12.<sup>6</sup>

It is difficult for me to remember how Rafi Sahib first came into contact with my father. Indeed I do not remember when I first met him except that this was in the early days of the non-cooperation movement in the U.P. I suppose my father met him at that time. Later he came into much closer contact with my father in the Swarajya Party.<sup>7</sup> In a sense, he functioned as Secretary of my father in party affairs though I do not clearly remember whether he was formally Secretary or not. I know that my father had a high opinion of his work and had warm affection for him.

I cannot easily trace any letters of Rafi Sahib to me. But if I find any suitable one, I shall send them to you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 24. To Sadiq Ali: M.S. Aney on Vidarbha<sup>8</sup>

October 24, 1959

My dear Sadiq Ali,

Your letter of October 24. The situation that has arisen in Vidarbha is a complicated one and consequently the position of Shri Aney is also complicated.<sup>9</sup> The Congress has expressed no views about Vidarbha, and the matter might be said to be pending. Whatever the rights and wrongs may be of Dr. Aney's action,

5. Letter to P.N. Chopra, Editor, Central Gazetteers Unit, Ministry of Education, Government of India. File No. 9/8/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
6. Chopra wanted two things from Nehru for a biography of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai he had just composed: (i) information on how Rafi Ahmed Kidwai had met Motilal Nehru and the latter's impressions of him, and (ii) handwritten letters from him to Jawaharlal Nehru for facsimile reproduction in the volume.
7. He was the chief whip of the Swaraj Party in the Central Assembly after the elections. See SWJN/FS/1/p. 270.
8. Letter to Sadiq Ali, General Secretary, All India Congress Committee.
9. According to *The Times of India* of 6 October 1959 M.S. Aney, Lok Sabha MP from Nagpur, threatened to resign from the Lok Sabha if a Vidarbha state was not conceded.



I think it would be inadvisable for us to push this matter much further at this stage. I think that this might be put up before the next meeting of the Parliamentary Board so that they may consider the matter. There is no hurry to hold a meeting for this purpose only.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 25. To S. Nijalingappa: Bangalore Session of AICC<sup>10</sup>

October 26, 1959

My dear Nijalingappa,

I have your letter of the 22nd October. It is a firm rule that during the Congress Sessions no other engagements are accepted except some small ones in the city itself which may not interfere with Congress work. I cannot possibly accept engagements far from Bangalore on this occasion. People from all over India come for the Congress Session. One has to meet them and talk to them. This must not get mixed up with odd engagements like opening of hospitals and the like.

I am sorry, therefore, that I cannot accept the invitation to come to Devangere.<sup>11</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. Letter to S. Nijalingappa, MLA from Chitradurga, Mysore State. File No. 8/119/59/PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

11. The correct spelling is Davangere.

## 26. To B.C. Roy: Idea of "Anti-Communism" in India<sup>12</sup>

October 28, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

Thank you for your letter of the 24th October with which you have sent a number of articles.<sup>13</sup> I had already read some of these articles which appeared in the "Statesman".

The article on "Anti-Red Front" does not impress me at all.<sup>14</sup> The whole approach as contained in this article seems to me misconceived and particularly inapplicable today. I think that this idea of so-called Anti-Communism in India would weaken us in our fight against Communism in India. It would mean the fading out of the Congress as such because all kinds of odd groups would be tied up with it.

The whole experience in the past dozen years or so confirms this. The odd thing is that in Europe this is being realised more and more and, as you know, there is a powerful movement now for a settlement between the two great powers—USA and the Soviet Union. It is true that China has behaved and is behaving in a disgraceful way. To oppose what China is doing is one thing, to oppose it because it is Communist gives an entirely different thing to it and we become parties to the cold war which has singularly failed in Europe or in the Middle East. The approach of the article you have sent me is essentially the Dulles approach. One of the remarkable developments recently in America has been the broad change in attitude of America and especially of President Eisenhower ever since Dulles died. Dulles was a man of considerable attainments and very conscientious, but he was so bigoted in his approach that he brought the world very near war several times and messed up things in the Middle Eastern region, resulting in what we see today. The moment his powerful influence on Eisenhower ended the President blossomed out and took a positive line different from that of Dulles. Macmillan helped him to do so.

So you will see that the trend of events in Western Europe and America is away from the cold war for very obvious reasons and the Soviet Union is strongly

12. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal. Reproduced from Saroj Chakrabarty, *With Dr. B. C. Roy and Other Chief Ministers: A Record Upto 1962* (Calcutta: Benson's, 1974), pp. 432-34.

13. B.C. Roy wrote to Nehru on 23 October 1959 enclosing a series of articles by a special correspondent, who had been for more than two years in China as a student.

14. This article, published in the *Sunday Standard* of 18 October 1959 dealt with the "future approach" of the country towards the "communist problem."



in favour of this trend. In fact, as is well known, the Soviet Union has not approved of China's policy and is rather apprehensive of China in the future when a vast population will be industrialised.

For us to follow the line suggested in the article you have sent would be sheerest folly more especially at the present moment. It will wash out all the reputation that we have gained in the last ten years and put us practically in the ranks of those who aim at a war in the future. It is odd that just when our policy has been broadly appreciated in Western Europe and America, such proposals should be made.

China has to be opposed that is clear, but that is a different matter. Neither principle nor good tactics indicate that we should change our strategy of the past and adopt one which adds to our difficulties and dangers.

Also I do not quite understand how the other Parties and the Congress can combine on the single issue of anti-Communism. Are we to combine with the Jan Sangh and other communal parties? We might have done so with the PSP on various matters as, to some extent, we are doing in Kerala, but the PSP is a hotch-potch of people with no clear ideas about anything, only passions and prejudices. Besides, they have just declared that they will not cooperate with the Congress.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawahar

## **27. For Banarsidas: Congressmen Collecting Money for Nehru's Birthday<sup>15</sup>**

Please write to the President of the District Congress Committee, Bulandshahr, U.P., as follows:-

"Dear Sir,

We have received a complaint from some Congress workers in Bulandshahr District to the effect that some time back Shri Banarsidas had been collecting money on the alleged ground of presenting a purse to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on his 67th birthday. It is stated that Rs. 27,000/- were collected by him and that the old receipt books are still being used for collecting money. In fact, some of these receipt books have also been sent.

15. Note to C.R. Srinivasan, PS to Nehru, 30 October 1959, for Bulandshahr DPCC.

2 Will you please let us know if any collections have been made during the last three or four years for this purpose and, if so, what has happened to the money collected?

Yours faithfully,"

2. Please send a copy of this letter to the Secretary of the U.P. Pradesh Congress Committee, Lucknow.<sup>16</sup> In your covering letter say that you should like to know if they know anything about it.

3. You might write separately to the District Magistrate of Bulandshahr giving these alleged facts and asking him if he can enlighten us as to the correctness of these facts.

(b) States

(i) Bihar

## 28. To S.K. Sinha: Bureaucratic Excess<sup>17</sup>

October 16, 1959

My dear Sri Babu,

I happened to meet today Shah Umair<sup>18</sup> who had come to Delhi to attend a Committee meeting. I saw him only for a few minutes. He seemed to be in great distress because of certain developments in his village of Arwal in Gaya district. I suppose you know of what has happened there and no doubt are taking necessary steps. I advised Shah Umair to see you in this connection. He did not complain to me about you or your Government at all, but he was greatly worried about the attitude of the local officials there, more especially a Muslim Superintendent of Police.

Shah Umair gave me some papers which I enclose. I have no further knowledge of this matter. From his account, it did seem to me that the local officials there had been throwing their weight about. It is difficult to judge what the situation required. Officials sometimes are on the side of not taking precautions and sometimes overdoing it and taking so many precautions that this itself has an upsetting effect. The broad impression I gather from these papers and from what Shah Umair told me, is that the officials overdid their part. According to him, it was easy enough to control a few mischief-makers,

16. J.P. Rawat.

17. Letter to S.K. Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar.

18. Shah Mohammad Umair, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bihar.



especially among the Muslims, and there was no possibility of trouble. But there was a large display of force and Section 144, and ultimately the Hindus, apparently supported by many of the Muslims, decided not to have their Dasehra procession at all. This again appears to have irritated the local officials, and the Hindus are being harassed. The whole story appears to be very odd and deserves your attention. In such matters, it is necessary, of course, to prevent trouble. It is equally necessary not to leave trails of bitterness behind which might lead to trouble in the future.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## **29. To S.K. Sinha: Bihar Government ignoring the Supreme Court<sup>19</sup>**

October 28, 1959

My dear Sri Babu,

The AICC Office have passed on to me some papers which they have received from Shri Dwarka Nath Tiwari,<sup>20</sup> M.P. in regard to the affairs of the Parsa High School. They have written to me that from these papers it appears that injustice has been done to Shri D.N. Tiwari in regard to this school and have pointed out that even the decision of the Supreme Court has been ignored by the Government of Bihar. The question apparently has arisen as to whether Shri D.N. Tiwari should sue the Bihar Government for contempt of the Supreme Court.

2. I have a vague recollection of having written to you some considerable time ago about D.N. Tiwari and this school, though I do not quite remember what I write and have not tried to find out the old papers, but, looking through the papers sent by D.N. Tiwari I am disturbed. I do not myself see why a Head Master who had been dismissed should be imposed upon the school, more especially when he was dismissed apparently for misbehaviour etc. But, apart from this, it is not clear to me why the Bihar Government should try to impose somebody in this way on a school. What troubles me most is the fact that the Supreme Court came into the picture and their decision was against the Bihar Government and yet the Bihar Government apparently has not implemented that decision. This, *prima facie*, is a serious matter. It may be that by some subsequent legislation the lacuna might be cured. That itself does not seem to

19. Letter.

20. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Kesaria, Bihar.

be a proper procedure in such matters.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**(ii) Bombay**

**30. To K.M. Munshi: The Cosmopolitanism of Bombay<sup>21</sup>**

October 6, 1959

My dear Munshi,

Thank you for your letter of October 5 which I have read with interest.

As I said in Bombay, I think everything should be done to preserve the cosmopolitan character of Bombay City. There are always risks in anything we might do, but I imagine that the force of circumstances will help in preserving for Bombay this cosmopolitan character.

Your suggestion about the University of Bombay will, I fear, hardly be feasible. When we were unable to make the Osmania University a Central University because of opposition, much more will it be difficult to deal in this way with the Bombay University.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**31. To Sri Prakasa: Gujarat and Maharashtra<sup>22</sup>**

19th October 1959

My dear Prakasa,

I have just received two of your letters both dated October 15th. Of course, I shall find time to have a talk with you when you come here for the Governors' Conference.<sup>23</sup>

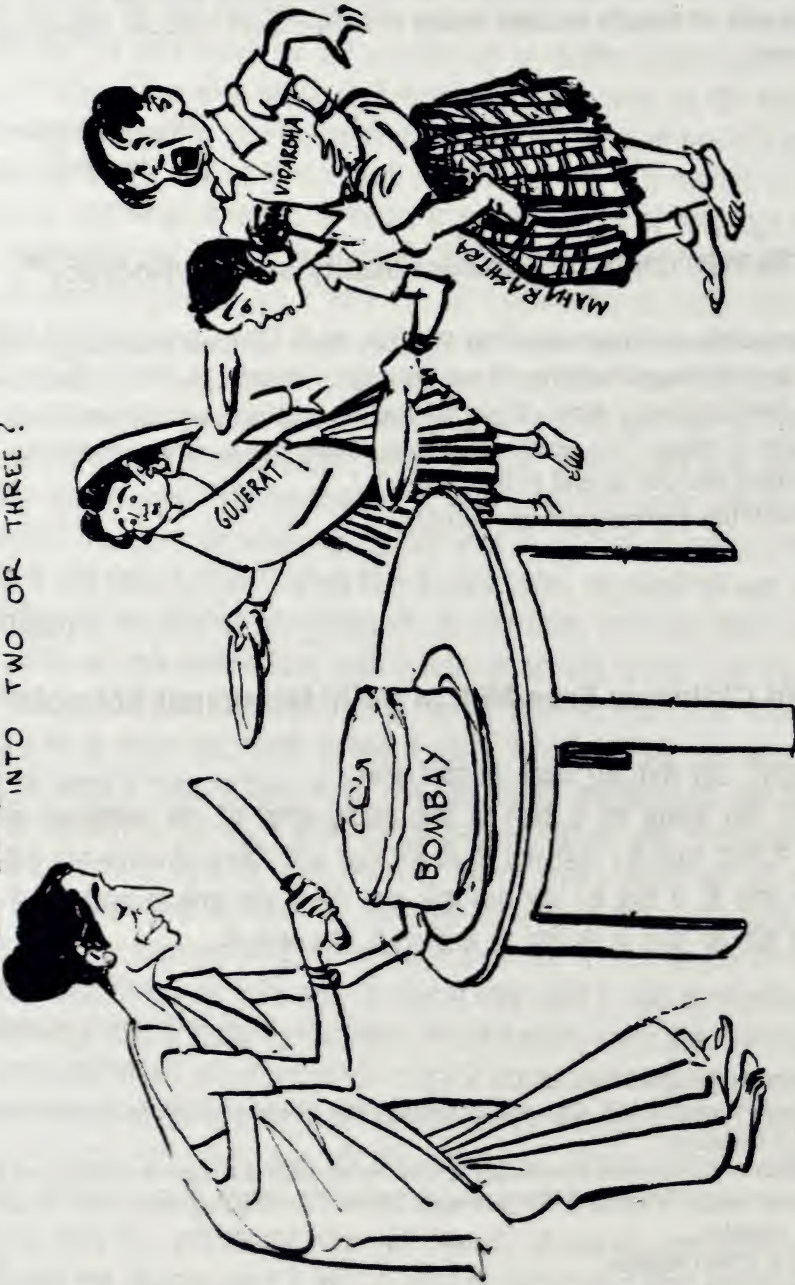
21. Letter to K.M. Munshi, founder-President, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan and former Union Minister.

22. Letter to Sri Prakasa, Governor of Bombay.

23. It was held in New Delhi on 27-28 October 1959.



INDIRA GANDHI WILL RECOMMEND DIVISION  
OF BOMBAY.  
INTO TWO OR THREE?



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 20 SEPTEMBER 1959)

2. When you come here, you can discuss the question of Gujarat etc. with Indira<sup>24</sup> and others. Indira went to Maharashtra because it was an old programme of hers. It was not meant to soothe them because something had happened.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 32. To Y.B. Chavan: Untouchability and Democracy<sup>25</sup>

I congratulate the Government of Bombay State on their launching a special drive against untouchability. If we believe in democracy, we cannot accept untouchability in any form. If we believe in socialism, untouchability is even more out of place. But, even apart from these, our common humanity must assert itself and put an end to this evil.

I wish this campaign every success.

(iii) Delhi

### 33. To Children: Free Milk in Delhi Municipal Schools<sup>26</sup>

मेयर साहब<sup>27</sup> और बड़ों और बच्चों, खासकर बच्चों,  
मुझे आज यहाँ बुलाया था ये देखने के लिए दूध जो बच्चों को अब कॉरपोरेशन के बाज़ स्कूलों<sup>28</sup> में दिया जाता है। अभी तक वो तो मैंने देखा नहीं, लेकिन और नाच-गाने देखे-सुने। वो बहुत अच्छे थे, ये ठीक है। और नाच-गाने अच्छे होते हैं और बच्चे भी अच्छे होते हैं। जब दोनों का जोड़ हो जाता है तो फिर दो बातें अच्छी मिल जाती हैं।

24. Indira Gandhi, President, AICC.

25. Note forwarded to Y.B. Chavan, 22 October 1959. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

26. Speech at the free milk distribution scheme for students at a municipal school on Idgah Road, Delhi, 17 October 1959. AIR tapes, NMML. Concluding words of the speech are not available.

27. Trilok Chand Sharma.

28. The *Hindustan Times* reported on 18 October that the scheme which would cost Rs. 1,00,000 per annum. See SWJN/SS/52/p. 78.



अब ये दिल्ली की कॉरपोरेशन ने बच्चों को दूध देना शुरू किया और अभी महापौर जी ने आपसे कहा कि कुछ दिन हुए, मैंने इधर ध्यान दिलाया था तो इस पर सोच के उन्होंने किया। खैर, मेरे ध्यान दिलाने का कोई प्रश्न तो नहीं था, क्योंकि उसका चर्चा तो होता ही रहता है आजकल सब जगह, लेकिन हाँ, मैं मद्रास से उस समय आया था और मद्रास में जो इन्तज़ाम हुआ था, प्रबन्ध हुआ था, उसको देख कर मैं बहुत खुश हुआ था। और खुशी वहाँ इसलिए हुई थी मुझे, एक तो ये चीज़ अच्छी थी एक किस तरह से ये एक शुरू में लोगों के सहयोग से, यानी बच्चों के माँ-बाप के सहयोग से हुआ था और उस पर खर्चा बहुत कम हुआ था। क़रीब-क़रीब शुरू में कुछ हुआ ही नहीं था, फिर कुछ होने लगा। वहाँ खाना मिला करता था, और खासकर देहातों की बात है, ग्रामों की। वहाँ उन्होंने प्रार्थना की, अपील किया माँ-बाप से, गाँव के पड़ोस के रहने वालों से कि भाई, तुम इसमें मदद करो तो उन्होंने बड़ी खुशी से, आखिर उन्हीं के बच्चे थे, पहले तो उन्होंने इस क्रिस्म का सामान दिया जैसे थाली, कटोरी, लोटा; हर क्रिस्म की चीज़, जो काम में आती है। और वो ख़ाली खाने-पीने का नहीं, बल्कि पढ़ने-लिखने का, किताब, कागज़, क़लम, दवात, मेज़, कुर्सी, अजीब-अजीब चीज़ें, यहाँ तक कि मैंने तीन नुमाइशें इसकी देखीं। नुमाइशें होती थी एक-एक इलाक़े में जा के, वहाँ के स्कूलों के प्रतिनिधियों को, टीचर्स को, अध्यापकों को, जमा करते थे और वहाँ जो सामान उन्होंने उसी इलाक़े में जमा किया है, लोगों ने उनको दिया है उनकी अपील पर, उनको भी जमा करते थे। मैं तो हैरान हो गया देख कर उस नुमाइश को, जो जमा किया, इतना जमा किया था उन्होंने एक अपील पर, इतने लोगों ने दिया, खुशी से दिया, कि वो आप समझिए कोई एक फ़रलाँग तक फैला हुआ था। क़तारों में चीज़ें रखी थीं और हर क्रिस्म की चीज़ें। उसमें रेडियो भी थे, उसमें ये भी थे, वो थे; खैर, रेडियो तो थोड़े थे, किसी ने दे दिया रेडियो भी। लेकिन मामूली चीज़ें, जो ज़रूरी हैं स्कूल के लिए, वो हर चीज़ वहाँ थी और इफ़रात से थी, और सब मुफ़्त में मिली थी लोगों से एक अपील करने पर और उनके सहयोग से। और मैं नहीं जानता कहाँ तक ये हो सकता है, किस ढंग से हो सकता है यहाँ इस तरफ़। लेकिन आप को कुछ मिले या न मिले, और मिलना तो चाहिए ही, इन स्कूलों के मामले में, मेरी राय में, उनके माँ-बाप का सहयोग बहुत आवश्यक है। और आवश्यक है उनकी ज़रा भी मदद से, ज़रा भी सलाह से, कई बातें होती हैं। एक तो ये कि कुछ जो स्कूल में आप पढ़ाते हैं, कुछ वो सिलसिला घर में भी थोड़ा-बहुत जारी हो सकता है, थोड़ा-बहुत। कम-से-कम उन्हें मालूम होता है, माँ-बाप को। कुछ इसमें आप माँ-बाप को भी पढ़ा लेते हैं। पढ़ाने से मेरा मतलब किताब नहीं पढ़ाना, लेकिन सिखाना कि क्या हो रहा है, उससे वो खुद भी सीखें, क्योंकि मेरा खयाल ये है कि माँ-बाप को, सब माँ-बापों को नहीं कहता, बाज़ बड़े ऊँचे दर्जे के हों, उनको छोड़ दीजिए, लेकिन जो मामूली दर्जे के हैं, उनको सिखाने का तरीक़ा सब में बहतर है बच्चों के ज़रिये से, उन्हीं के बच्चों के ज़रिये से। यानी जिनको मौक़ा नहीं मिला है, माँ-बाप को, खुद सीखने का कुछ, उनको आप कुछ सिखाया चाहते हैं बातें, तो उन्हीं के बच्चे स्कूल में सीख कर उनको बताते हैं तो उससे सीखने लगते हैं। और खाली उसमें बहुत बातें हैं, उसमें आदतें भी हैं। बहुत सारी

हमारी आदतें भी अच्छी नहीं हैं, वो स्कूल में अच्छी आदत सीख के जायें, अच्छे क्रायदे-कानून, कुछ-न-कुछ घर में उसका चर्चा करें तो असर होता है। तो इसलिए माँ बाप का सम्बन्ध स्कूल से, अब ये जितना हो सके उतना अच्छा होता है। अक्सर वो मदद कर सकते हैं, और हर सूरत से उनका भी उससे लाभ होता है और बच्चों का भी। कैसे हो? ये आप जानें। मैं तो कभी स्कूल मास्टर रहा नहीं, मैं तो खाली बातें कह देता हूँ, चाहे वो चल सकें या न चल सकें, ये सब आप जानें।

लेकिन आम तौर से स्कूलों में और देशों में अब कहलाती है परेन्ट्स असोसियेशन, यानी माँ-बाप के संघ होते हैं, एक-एक स्कूल के बच्चों के आ के देखें ये है। कभी-कभी वो कुछ, कभी-कभी स्कूल की पढ़ाई में वो कुछ गड़बड़ भी करते हैं आ के, तंग भी करते हैं, परेशान भी करते हैं।

लेकिन खैर इस वक़्त तो दूध का सवाल है। वहाँ मद्रास में, जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा, वहाँ तो दोपहर को कुछ खाना देते हैं, और खाना भी उन्होंने कैसे देना शुरू किया था, उसमें कुछ खर्चा बरदाश्त, खुद नहीं उठाया। गाँव वालों से कहा तुम खाना बनाओ, स्कूल के बच्चों को दोपहर को आपस में तुम बाँट लो, कुछ-न-कुछ बना कर दिया करो। तो स्कूल के ऊपर क़रीब-क़रीब ज़र्रा भर भी खर्चा नहीं पड़ा। उन्होंने आपस में इन्तज़ाम कर लिया, कुछ करने का। खैर, बहुत पेचीदा खाना तो था नहीं, मद्रास में आप जानते हैं खाने आम तौर से पेचीदा होते ही नहीं हैं। कुछ चावल, कुछ इडली, कुछ साम्बर, कुछ ऐसी चीज़ें, मुझे ठीक मालूम नहीं उनके नाम सही हैं कि नहीं। उन्होंने लपेट के एक केले के पत्ते में बाँध दिया, अच्छी चीज़ें हैं। और सब वहीं आ कर गाँव वालों ने बना दिया उसे, बारी-बारी से बना देते थे कुछ ला के सामान, बन जाता था। क्योंकि उसमें एक यूनिट गाँव का समझ लीजिए, गाँव का स्कूल। गाँव उसकी देख-भाल करता है, खिलाता, पिलाता, सामान देता, वगैरह। अब ज़ाहिर है, एक गाँव की मिसाल बड़े शहरों के लिए मौज़ू नहीं है, यहाँ के सवाल ही दूसरे हैं, पेचीदा हैं। आपके यहाँ क़रीब पौने दो लाख बच्चे पढ़ते हैं स्कूलों में, शायद अब भी बहुत सारे बच्चे हों जिनको मौक़ा नहीं मिला पढ़ने का और बढ़ते ही जाते हैं। शहर की आबादी बढ़ती है और उससे ज़्यादा बच्चों की आबादी बढ़ती है।

खैर, तो मद्रास में तो ये खाना दिया जाता है एक क्रिस्म का और अच्छा है, उससे बहुत फ़ायदा हुआ है। लेकिन मेरा खयाल है कि दूध देना मामूली खाने से ज़्यादा अच्छा है, चाहे थोड़ा ही आप दूध दें, ज़्यादा अच्छा है, ज़्यादा आसानी से दिया जा सकता है, ज़्यादा फ़ायदा होता है उससे, और हमारी तरफ़ बदक्रिस्मती से खाने के मामले में इतनी अलग-अलग राय है कि मुश्किल से एक खाना निकले जो हरेक पसन्द करे, हरेक खा सके। अब ये तो नामुमकिन है कि आप पाँच-सात क्रिस्म की रसोइयाँ खोलें अपने बच्चों के लिए, दिक्कत हो जाय। लेकिन दूध एक ऐसी चीज़ है जो हरेक को मिल सकती है, मुफ़्रीद है। और एक माने में वो एक चीज़ है जिसकी बच्चों में कमी है, वो पूरी करती है। तो दूध देना तो बहुत अच्छा है। और मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि...अभी तो शायद आप तीस हज़ार बच्चों या कितनों को दे देते हैं...कि सारे पौने



दो लाख बच्चों को, सभी को ये मिलेगा। हो सकता है कि बाद में आप इस दूध के साथ कुछ मुख्तसर नाश्ता दें दें, खाना मामूली नहीं, दाल चावल नहीं...

(अपूर्ण)

[Translation begins:

Mr. Mayor,<sup>29</sup> Elders and Children, particularly Children,

I was invited here to see the free milk distribution scheme which has been adopted in some schools.<sup>30</sup> I have not yet seen that. But I have seen some dancing and heard songs which were very good. Singing and dancing is a good thing and so are little children. When the two things are linked together, it is doubly good.

The Delhi Corporation has started free milk distribution in schools. The Councillor told you that I had drawn their attention to it a few days ago and they have done it. Well, there was no question of my reminding anyone, because the matter is often talked about everywhere these days. Yes, I had just come back from Madras where I saw excellent arrangements for this scheme. I was happy because one, it is a good scheme and two, it was started with the cooperation of the people, the children's parents, and so it was done at minimum cost. Initially it cost almost nothing. Midday meals are provided to children, particularly in the rural areas. The authorities appealed to the parents and other villagers to help which they did very willingly. After all, it was for their own children. First, they contributed plates and cups and glasses, etc. Then, they gave foodstuff as well as books, pens, paper, ink, tables, chairs and an assortment of things. I even saw three exhibitions of the things which had been collected in different areas. The representatives from the schools go around collecting things. I was amazed at the response that their appeal had. People had given so much that they were spread out over a furlong. There were radios and other odds and ends too but by and large they were ordinary things useful in a school. The whole thing was done through the cooperation of the people.

I do not know if it can be done here or how. But whether you get anything or not, in my opinion, the cooperation of parents in matters pertaining to schools is very essential. For one thing, what is taught in schools can be continued to some extent in homes if the parents are made aware what is happening in schools. It is in a way an education for the parents. I do not mean book learning but the

29. See fn 27 in this section.

30. See fn 28 in this section.

parents are bound to learn something from what is taught in schools. I feel that most parents are of from very ordinary backgrounds. The best way of educating them is through their own children. If you wish to educate the parents who have not had the opportunity of going to schools, it can be done best through their own children. That includes good habits too and discipline, etc. Therefore, the more contact there is between the parents and the school, the better it is. They can help in their own way, and everyone benefits. You must try to find a way. I have never been a school master. I can only make suggestions. It is up to you to see if they work or not. But normally, the parents-teachers association is becoming a well-known concept in India and in other countries. The parents can go and meet the teachers about their offspring, their studies, play and difficulties etc.

Anyhow, at the moment the question before us is of milk distribution. As I told you, in Madras, there is a midday meal scheme which they have been implementing at no great cost. The villagers help in kind as well as in cooking and distributing the food. So the school has not been put to great expense. The villagers have arranged it among themselves. Naturally the food is simple as it is all over South India. They give rice or idli-sambar and things like that wrapped in banana leaves. It is all done by the villagers themselves. The village looks after the school in this respect. It is obvious that the example of a village is not relevant to big cities because the problems are different and more complex. I believe there are a lakh and seventy-five thousand children in schools here and even now many children are probably deprived of the opportunity for education. The urban population and particularly the number of children keep growing.

Anyhow, the midday meal scheme has proved very beneficial in Madras. But in my opinion, milk would be better than ordinary food even if the amount given is small. It is easier to distribute and is more beneficial. Unfortunately food habits vary widely in India and it would be difficult to find something which everybody would like. It is impossible to open different kinds of kitchens. But milk will benefit everyone and in a sense, it will supplement a child's diet. So it is an excellent thing. I think at the moment you are giving milk to thirty thousand children. I hope you will soon be able to give it to all one lakh seventy five thousand of them. Later perhaps you can give some snacks too with the milk, not ordinary rice and dal....

[Incomplete]



## (iv) Jammu and Kashmir

**34. To Ghulam Mohammad Bakhshi:  
Kashmir Flood Relief<sup>31</sup>**

October 1, 1959

My dear Bakhshi,

I had hoped to see you at Chandigarh and was rather disappointed that you had not come there.

I am much concerned to notice that some newspapers in Kashmir, including newspapers run by the National Conference, are criticising the Sadar-i-Riyasat in connection with the Fund he has started for the Kashmir flood relief work. I think this is very improper. As you know, the Sadar-i-Riyasat started this Fund at my instance and, indeed, at my request. I had made exactly the same request to the Governor of Assam when the recent big floods occurred there.<sup>32</sup> To criticise him, therefore, is really to criticise me. I feel very embarrassed about this. If necessity arises, I shall have to make this clear in public.

This is the normal practice in India, and to say that the Sadar-i-Riyasat is encouraging Opposition groups in this connection seems to me not right. Such funds should always have a non-political background though, inevitably, most of the money is spent by Government or through Government.

I have sent you some sums of money for your Fund separately. Only today I sent a cheque for a considerable sum to you. In addition, I shall be sending money to the Sadar-i-Riyasat's Fund.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

31. Letter to Ghulam Mohammad Bakhshi, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Srinagar.

32. Chandreswar Prasad Singha.

### 35. To Krishna Menon: World Court on Kashmir<sup>33</sup>

I have received your letter of 28th September on my return to Delhi today.

2. I agree with the approach you have suggested in regard to Kashmir, Canal Waters and the question of compulsory jurisdiction of World Court. In view of what Mansur Qadir<sup>34</sup> has said, some reply is needed but this reply need not go into too much detail or argument. I think you might refer also to the disturbances created in Kashmir.

### 36. To Shankar Prasad: Brigades to Leh<sup>35</sup>

October 15, 1959

My dear Shankar Prasad,

I enclose a copy of a letter which Kushak Bakula has sent to the Home Minister. I suggest that you make it clear to him when you meet him that it is quite absurd for him to ask us to send full brigades, etc., to Leh. It is equally absurd for the people of Leh to get frightened and panicky. We have no sympathy with those who are panicky. The defence of Ladakh is our concern, and the people should carry on their work and vocations.

He refers to H.N. Kaul.<sup>36</sup> I do not know who he is. But I gather that one Kaul has been sent to Leh as some kind of a Deputy Commissioner. I wonder if he is the same person.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

33. Telegram, 6 October 1959.

34. Foreign Minister of Pakistan.

35. Letter to Shankar Prasad, Secretary, Kashmir Affairs, New Delhi.

36. Son of Shridhar Kaul.



**37. To Shankar Prasad: Defending Maulana Masoodi** <sup>37</sup>

October 17, 1959

My dear Shankar Prasad,

Mridula Sarabhai saw me this evening.<sup>38</sup> Inter alia, she mentioned one or two matters which I am passing on to you.

She said that Sheikh Sahib<sup>39</sup> and his companions were needlessly made to suffer from pin pricks and deliberate discourtesy. As an instance, she mentioned that his son-in-law, Gulshahr was ill. He was in the prison hospital, but he was treated as Class C prisoner.

A second instance which she gave was that Maulana Masoodi had been continuously treated very badly.<sup>40</sup> He had already been a long time in prison and apparently the case had not been sent to Sessions yet. Most of the people in that case were out on bail, in some way or other. But Maulana Masoodi was still in prison. He was not allowed to write or receive letters.

I have always been very unhappy about Maulana Masoodi. I have not approved of some things that he has done, but he has seemed to me a straightforward person. He was in Parliament for several years, and most of our MPs have a high regard for him. Personally I still doubt very much if there is any real case against him but the police having tied him up with others in this case, even though this was not probably justified, had to carry on in that way lest the whole case might suffer. However that might be, I wish that he was treated with ordinary decency. Why should not he be let out on bail as others have been?

I am mentioning these matters to you so that you might take them up to your own way. Do not bring in Mridula Sarabhai's name.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

37. Letter.

38. Congress leader and worked in the Bal Sena of the Congress.

39. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah.

40. Maulana Mohammad Saeed Masoodi, the leader of Pakistan Action Committee.

### **38. To Ghulam Mohammad Bakhshi: Excess Payments for Leh-Kargil Road Construction<sup>41</sup>**

October 20, 1959

My dear Bakhshi,

Thank you for your letter of 16th October about the Leh-Kargil road. I am glad that things are moving at last and that we might hope to see this road completed in a little more than a year from now.

I am rather upset to find from your letter that overpayments estimated at over Rs. 11 lakhs were made. This would indicate that the system followed needs overhauling, apart from the fact that steps have to be taken against those who are guilty of this.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **39. To M.R. Krishna: MPs Trekking in Ladakh<sup>42</sup>**

October 26, 1959

My dear Krishna,

Your letter of the 26th October. Thank you for it. We are fully seized of the situation on our borders and are taking such steps as we consider necessary and are feasible.

Your suggestion that MPs and diplomats should visit the place of the last incident in Ladakh is hardly feasible. It will take full four weeks of hard marching through mountain passes and others to reach there and another four weeks to come back. Much of this journey will be at a height of between 14,000 and 17,000 feet above sea level. Only people who can stand this height and are used to very rough trekking in difficult mountainous territory can do this journey. One good such a visit might do and that is to acquaint our MPs with the kind of terrain we have to deal with in these mountainous areas. But it is quite out of the question for us to organise such a visit.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

41. Letter.

42. Letter to M.R. Krishna, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Karim Nagar, Andhra Pradesh.



## (v) Kerala

40. To M.K. Vellodi: A Chief Minister for Kerala?<sup>43</sup>

October 6, 1959

My dear Vellodi,

I have your letter of September 29th about the visit of Mannath Padmanabhan.<sup>44</sup> He shot up to great prominence during the agitation in Kerala earlier this year. He has some virtues but he does not seem to me a man of much political understanding. During the agitation, he behaved most peculiarly as some kind of an incarnation of the deity.

As for Pattom Thanu Pillai,<sup>45</sup> I think he is completely gaga and wholly incapable of controlling the State administration. Personally I think that if he gives any kind of an ultimatum, the sooner he is disabused about it, the better. He has become almost a laughing stock among many people. I do not say that even so he should on no account be Chief Minister because I do not know what the circumstances might be at that time. But to announce the Chief Minister at this stage would not raise the prestige of the Congress anywhere and not even in Kerala. It would appear also far too much as an ignoble bargain.

It seems to me far more important that Congress, P.S.P. and some other parties should pull together than that the Chief Minister should be announced at this stage. On the whole, there are chances of their pulling together. To start talking about the Chief Minister now would also mean discussing the distribution of portfolios. That would probably give rise to more trouble both in the parties as well as in the public.

One good thing is that some of the old Congress leaders, like Govinda Menon, have announced that they will not even stand for election.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

43. Letter to M.K. Vellodi, Ambassador of India to Switzerland.

44. Congress leader, who led the agitation to end Communist rule in Kerala.

45. PSP leader in Kerala.

**41. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Threat of Excommunication of Voters<sup>46</sup>**

October 15, 1959

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

I enclose a letter I have received from a Member of Parliament, presumably a Communist.

I do not know what we can do about this matter, but I certainly do not like any religious persuasion to hold out the threat of ex-communication in connection with a vote.<sup>47</sup> I am not sure if this will not be considered an offence in the legal sense. I think that it might be desirable for you to point this out privately to the Heads of the Churches as well as to the leaders of the Muslim League.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**42. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: A Vice-Chancellor for Kerala University<sup>48</sup>**

20th October, 1959

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

Your letter of October 15th about a Vice-Chancellor for the Kerala University. You have suggested three names of distinguished Kerala men. I have rather informally spoken to N.R. Pillai.<sup>49</sup> He told me that he had been too long away from Kerala to have any contacts left there and he had in fact decided to settle down in the north even after his retirement for health and other reasons. It was

46. Letter to B. Ramakrishna Rao, Governor of Kerala.

47. According to *The Hindustan Times* of 18 October 1959, Catholic bishops in Kerala had issued a pastoral letter, read out in churches: "We all experienced the extent and seriousness of the dangers that our church and state had to face as a result of Communist victory in the last election. We have to make big sacrifices to protect our rights and redeem democracy in Kerala... We therefore exhort you to exercise your franchise prudently and effectively and play your part in the great endeavour to establish a stable non-Communist Government in the State." The report did not refer to excommunication.

48. Letter.

49. SG, MEA.



obvious to me that he was not at all anxious to go back to Kerala. I would myself like him to stay on here till the end of his present period or even a little longer. There are also possibilities of some other type of work being entrusted to him later because he is a man whose experience and ability would be of value. Anyhow, in view of his own feelings in this matter, I think that his name should not be considered by you for the Vice-Chancellorship.

K.P.S. Menon<sup>50</sup> is supposed to remain in Moscow till the middle of next year. He has done well there and we find it difficult suddenly to withdraw him. I have no idea what his own reactions might be. We are, however, sounding him about this matter though I rather doubt if his response will be helpful.

K.M. Panikkar<sup>51</sup> has all the normal qualities for a good Vice-Chancellor. Indeed, his name has sometimes been before us for the Vice-Chancellorship of other universities. There are, however, two aspects to be kept in view. One is his health. He had a heart attack in Paris. He has recovered from that but still is by no means fit.

Secondly, it is rather doubtful if he is very popular in his own homeland. About that I can express no opinion and this matter can be enquired into. I mention this because a friend told me that his appointment might not be welcomed in Kerala itself.

I am writing to you now, but of course I shall be seeing you soon in Delhi.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 43. To the Southern College of Engineering and Technology<sup>52</sup>

I am glad to learn of the good and successful work being done by the Southern College of Engineering & Technology at Ernakulam. In particular, I am interested in this College dealing with Aeronautical Engineering. This is an aspect of engineering science which will necessarily grow in India. I send my good wishes to it on the occasion of its 5th Anniversary celebrations.

50. Ambassador of India to the USSR.

51. Ambassador of India to France.

52. Message, 25 October 1959.

#### 44. To P. Subbarayan: Cochin Shipyard<sup>53</sup>

October 28, 1959

My dear Subbarayan,

I presume it is your Ministry that is dealing with the question of a new shipyard. This has been pending for a very long time and I remember that a special expert Committee recommended that the Cochin Harbour should be chosen for this purpose. Why is there this long delay in coming to a decision? The sooner this is announced, the better.<sup>54</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 45. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad: Kerala Elections<sup>55</sup>

October 28, 1959

My dear Namboodiripad,

I have your letter of the 24th October. Since you have mentioned a number of instances in it, I am forwarding it to the Governor of Kerala.

As for the date of the elections, we have all along been anxious to have them as early as possible. I know that the Election Commissioner<sup>56</sup> is equally anxious in this matter. In fixing the date, he will no doubt take every factor into consideration.

I think that it is intended to have the elections on a single day all over Kerala. That would be a considerable improvement on our last elections and it will not interfere with people's work.

You have referred to the proposal to set up double member constituencies. This question has been with us for a considerable time and has been discussed repeatedly. Under the present practice, all kinds of anomalies have occurred which have been pointed out even by some superior courts. I am myself sure that it would be better to have single member constituencies. The whole

53. Letter to P. Subbarayan, Union Minister of Transport and Communications. File No. 17 (79)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

54. Subbarayan replied on 31 October 1959 that the delay was due to N.R. Pillai's Inter-Departmental Committee, which felt that the U.K. Shipyard Mission's recommendation conflicted with the Navy's plans in Cochin.

55. Letter to E.M.S. Namboodiripad, former Chief Minister of Kerala.

56. K.V.K. Sundaram.



conception of a double member constituency is not a correct one. It is possible to point out some objections to single member constituencies, such as you have done, but I think, in the balance, single member constituencies are better. This has nothing to do with Kerala. It has been considered from the all-India point of view.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**(vi) Madhya Pradesh**

**46. To K.N. Katju: Vinoba and Dacoity<sup>57</sup>**

October 20, 1959

My dear Kailas Nath,

You know Major-General Yadunath Singh who was Military Secretary to the President and is now Chairman of the Public Service Commission in Kashmir. He has been in close touch with Vinoba Bhave during the latter's tour in Kashmir. At Vinobaji's instance, he has visited Madhya Pradesh to report to him about the dacoity problem there.<sup>58</sup> While there he got into touch with some people who had close association with the leading dacoits. On return he gave a report which appeared to open out some avenues of ending this menace.

Vinobaji asked him to keep in touch with this and report to him. He will, therefore, be going to the Bhind-Morena area probably from 30th October to 12th November. He has spoken about this matter to Pantji also. He will be grateful if some facilities in regard to transport are provided to him during these days. I think it will be worthwhile doing this and I hope you will be able to arrange this either from civil source or the army. I suppose a jeep will be the most suitable.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

57. Letter to K.N. Katju, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

58. *The Times of India* of 21 and 24 September 1959 reported that the dacoits, Kachi and Barelal, along with four of their gang, were killed in an encounter with the police near Morena in Madhya Pradesh. In fact, Barelal raided a village in Morena district and killed 11 persons, killing four sons of a villager in front of their parents. On 23 September 1959, Narsing Rao Dixit, the Deputy Home Minister appealed to all dacoits to surrender.

(vii) Madras

**47. To S. Dutt: Poor Opinion of Tamil Leaders<sup>59</sup>**

I have gone through these papers. I am fairly well acquainted with these two organisations in Madras. The Dravida Kazhagam, the original Party formed by Shri E.V. Ramaswami Naicker, has, to some extent, faded out. Shri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker is, I believe, in the eighties and is quite irresponsible and even somewhat mentally unbalanced. The other organisation, namely the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, of which the leader is Shri C.N. Annadurai, is very much alive, and Shri Annadurai is a very able person and a forceful speaker in Tamil. He is, I think, the leader of his group in the Madras Assembly. He and his Party, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, are much more dangerous from the point of view of Indian unity than Shri E.V. Ramaswami Naicker. The influence of the D.M.K. has spread considerably in Madras State. Many of the Tamil films made in Madras are largely influenced by the D.M.K. and preach this kind of hatred and disunity. It has been a problem for us as to how to deal with such films.

2. So far as the invitation to the Mayor of the Madras Corporation is concerned, this is obviously given to the Mayor as such and not any Party leader.<sup>60</sup> It will be difficult for us to refuse it because he happens to be objectionable from some other points of view. I agree, therefore, that a passport might be issued to him and necessarily to the other members of his Corporation party who might be going to the Soviet Union. The passports may be limited for six months or even less.

3. I am inclined to think that Shri Ramaswami Naicker's passport should not be extended and should be allowed to expire.

4. However, before we take any action in either of these two cases, I think the matter might be referred to the Madras Government and a request be made for the Chief Minister's<sup>61</sup> advice on it. In making this request, our views as contained above might be indicated.

59. Note to S. Dutt, FS, 6 October 1959.

60. A.P. Arasu.

61. K. Kamaraj.



## (viii) Mysore

**48. To B.D. Jatti: Border with Bombay<sup>62</sup>**

October 6, 1959

My dear Jatti,

You know how anxious we all are for some step to be taken as early as possible in regard to the border dispute between Mysore and Bombay States. This matter has been pending for a long time. I know your difficulties and because of these we had suggested a process of mediation which you had accepted when you were here last for the AICC Meeting.<sup>63</sup> You said that you would write about it formally later, but no letter has come. Will you please expedite this matter?<sup>64</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**49. To B.D. Jatti: Border with Bombay<sup>65</sup>**

October 24, 1959

My dear Jatti,

I wrote to you some time ago about the border dispute between Mysore and Bombay. I reminded you that when you were here last, it was decided to take some steps to appoint a small committee to consider this matter. You have not sent me an answer to this letter. Will you please write very soon as the question is rather an urgent one?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

62. Letter to B.D. Jatti, Chief Minister of Mysore.

63. Jatti had been in Delhi on 5-6 September 1959 for the CWC.

64. *The Tribune* of 3 October 1959 reported that a committee of four would be appointed shortly to deal with the border dispute between Bombay and Mysore States. Each State would have two representatives on the committee but the committee's recommendations would not be binding.

65. Letter.



*"And mum is the word about the Mysore-Bombay border trouble!"*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 13 SEPTEMBER 1959)



## (ix) Punjab

50. To Partap Singh Kairon: Persecution of Namdharis<sup>66</sup>

October 1, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

This morning I had a visit from Shri Jagjit Singh, the new Guru of the Namdharis.<sup>67</sup> He invited me to visit his place in Hissar. I told him that if I came that way, I would gladly pay this visit and see what was being done there, but there was no chance of my going that way in the near future.

He then told me about the numerous cases going on against his people.<sup>68</sup> Apparently this is in continuance of all kinds of previous conflicts. I remember there was a murder case against his brother. I understand that his brother was acquitted in this case.

Once you sent me a note about the situation in Hissar, more especially relating to the activities of some of the Namdhari leaders. I do not know what the position is now. But, would it not be better to put an end to these day to day conflicts and continuing cases of law courts. Jagjit Singh is a young man and he can be influenced and brought round to right path. The Namdharis are a fairly well-disciplined group. If this kind of litigation in the law courts and conflicts outside continue, then Jagjit Singh also will go in a wrong direction.

When I went into these cases previously, it appeared that Jagjit Singh's brother was one of the persons who created trouble. I also felt that much of these troubles had arisen because of the conflict with Devi Lal.<sup>69</sup> I did not get the impression that Devi Lal was above reproach.

Anyhow, I think it will be worthwhile for you to put an end to these conflicts. I understand that Jagjit Singh is seeing you soon.

There is one other matter which I should like to mention to you. Reports reach me from time to time that the Public Services in the Punjab are becoming demoralised. I think this kind of thing should be checked. You have naturally

66. Letter to Partap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab.

67. According to *The Times of India* of 11 September 1959, Baba Jagjit Singh, elder son of the late Satguru Partap Singh was installed as the new head of the Namdharis on 10 September 1959. See item 97 in this section.

68. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 272; SWJN/SS/43/pp. 351-353 and 355-356.

69. Formerly President, PPCC.

to take action where it is necessary, but all this should be done in a way so as to ensure confidence in the Services and not demoralise them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 51. To Partap Singh Kairon: Dissidents<sup>70</sup>

October 7, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

I have received a letter from Prabodh Chandra.<sup>71</sup> I enclose a copy of it.

Apart from this, some other complaints have reached me about the appointment of District Returning Officers for the Congress elections.<sup>72</sup> There is a feeling among some people that these appointments have not been very impartial. Where the District Congress Committee's recommendations were not considered favourable to the majority party, they were not accepted. There is even some talk, I am told, of some Congressmen boycotting the Congress elections on this ground. These Congressmen may not have much influence, but every discrepant note adds a little confusion. Generally speaking we must avoid any feeling of lack of impartiality.

As Master Tara Singh is carrying on a big campaign against your Government and the Congress, it would be desirable not to provide him with any reason for criticism. He is often talking about the Punjabi language and says that no step has been taken by your Government to encourage this. What

70. Letter.

71. MLA from Punjab. He complained on 5 October 1959 (i) that notices had been issued to eight MLAs opposed to Kairon; (ii) that candidates for elections to local bodies had been selected on purely "partisan lines"; and (iii) about the District Returning Officers, "because those very people who with the help of Rubber and Pencil brought this group into power have again been appointed Returning Officer."

72. *The Tribune* of 9 October 1959 stated that the appointment of Kanahiya Lal as the District Returning Officer was strongly resented by the dissidents. Later, he was expelled by the District Congress Committee for alleged manhandling of Gopi Chand Bhargava, a Congress leader of Punjab. The Punjab Pradesh Congress reinstated him on appeal. When the District Congress Committee approached the AICC, the latter expelled him.



the facts are, I do not know. But I think it is desirable to take active steps to encourage both Punjabi and Hindi. Perhaps some small Department for this purpose might be started.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 52. To Tara Singh: Controversy over Kartar Singh<sup>73</sup>

October 7, 1959

My dear Master Tara Singh,

I have received your letter of October 2nd.<sup>74</sup> I returned to Delhi from Poona yesterday.

You complain that I have not acknowledged your letters. This presumably refers to your last two letters. One of them was really a statement issued to the press and the other was chiefly a condemnation of Giani Kartar Singh.<sup>75</sup> I felt that it would hardly be proper for me to enter into an argument about these personal controversies.

In your letter of October 2nd, you refer to the committee of four and state that those you have appointed to this committee do not belong to any party, while the appointees of the Punjab Government are partisans. When I suggested a committee of four, I did not and could not limit the choice of the representatives. The Punjab Government could appoint any two persons they liked and so could you. Obviously the persons appointed had to be the choice of the appointing authority and not of the other party.

I have been informed that the two persons you have appointed are considered strong partisans even though they might not be technically members of the Akali Party. As for Sardar Boota Singh,<sup>76</sup> I gather that one of the complaints made by you which has been placed before the committee of four is about Sardar Boota Singh's removal from the Chairmanship of the Gurdwara Judicial Commission. This matter is still under consideration and Sardar Boota Singh is apparently personally concerned with it.

73. Letter to Tara Singh, Sikh political and religious leader.

74. See Appendix 3, pp. 544-545.

75. Agriculture Minister, Punjab Government, and Member, SGPC.

76. MLC from Punjab.

You then refer to the proposal made to request the Governor to preside over the meetings of the four man committee. This was an odd proposal and the Governor very rightly did not agree. It was in fact changing the whole nature of the committee by making it five man committee with the Governor as Chairman. The Governor is supposed to consider the matter after the committee has dealt with it. Therefore, it would not be proper for him to preside over this committee. In any event, I do not see how this is the fault of the Punjab Government.

Then you mention that the Chief Minister was asked to spare some time presumably to attend the meetings of this committee of four, but that he did not see his way to agree to this proposal. Again, I do not understand why the nature of the committee of four should be changed. I have no doubt that the Chief Minister will gladly meet anybody to discuss the matter, but to ask him to be present at the meetings of the committee of four would make it a committee of a somewhat different kind from that intended.

These are the two instances you have given to indicate that no effort was spared by your representatives to proceed with the work of the four man committee as expeditiously as possible. I really do not understand what this has got to do with the work of the four man committee. Both these proposals were extraneous matters which probably delayed the work of that committee. Anyhow I do not see how the Punjab Government can be blamed about them. You have given no instance of the Punjab Government delaying the proceedings.

Further, in your letter you say that in the last three meetings of this committee of four, the Akali Dal nominees agreed with most of the suggestions of the Governor or the Government, while the Government nominees would not agree to anything and so the whole thing had to be referred to the Governor. As you have not referred to any particular matter in this connection, I am quite unable to give any opinion. I have enquired from Giani Kartar Singh and he says that there have been no suggestions of the Governor or of the Government with which he did not agree. Anyhow obviously I cannot consider vague allegations like the one you have made without some specific details.

What then am I to remedy? In your whole letter there is nothing stated which I can deal with and wherein lies the lack of implementation on the part of the Punjab Government. I have read your letter carefully more than once and I just cannot find out any specific instance which I can get hold of.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



### 53. To Partap Singh Kairon: Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir's Complaints Against Kairon<sup>77</sup>

October 9, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

I have sent you several letters in the course of the last few days. I am writing again on the eve of my going away to Andhra because I feel that I must convey to you whatever is reported to me concerning you or the Punjab Government so that you can deal with the matter as you think best or advise me in regard to it.

Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir<sup>78</sup> came to see me this morning. He appeared to be somewhat excited and much distressed. He said that the position in the Punjab had deteriorated very badly and there, was a feeling of fear both among officials and others. The officials were afraid of the Chief Minister and do not function properly because of this fear. Congressmen also were afraid because of the vindictive attitude of the Chief Minister. The Punjab Government was running the Congress directly and every person who is supposed to be speaking against the Chief Minister was suppressed or some kind of action taken against him. The Chief Minister wanted complete surrender from everyone to his words. Good people did not like this.

In regard to the Congress elections taking place, the Chief Minister was intervening, and a person supposed to be not fully in his favour was not allowed to come in as the D.R.O. The result was that there was no room left in the Punjab Congress for people who disagreed with the Chief Minister to remain in the Congress with dignity, and all kinds of undesirable elements were collecting round the Chief Minister. There was a good deal of intrigue going on, and a sense of apprehension about the future was prevalent both in regard to individuals and the State as a whole. He said that he did not himself wish to give special instances as this would mean his getting entangled in all these matters and he wished to keep away from them. But he did mention two cases. One was that of Prem Singh Prem<sup>79</sup> and the Superintendent of Police telephoning to Prem Singh's wife about some charge against him. This was an extraordinary procedure to frighten and terrorise people. Subsequently Prem Singh met the Superintendent of Police and asked him about this matter. The Superintendent said something about Prem Singh being in a car which was carrying opium. The whole thing is fantastic, and yet this kind of thing was done to discourage

77. Letter.

78. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Amritsar, Punjab. See item 95 in this volume.

79. MLA from Punjab.

The Cold War



The Congress High Command will try to solve the dispute between the ministerial and dissident groups in the Punjab, says a report.

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 18 OCTOBER 1959)



people. The other case he mentioned was that of Har Bhagwan Singh, who had been made a member of the Land Commission on a salary of Rs.1500/- or so. This man, according to Musafirji, had a black mark, put against his name by the A.I.C.C. who had not approved of his conduct in certain matters. Yet, this man who probably was earning a very small sum of money was made a member of the Land Commission on a high salary.

I have repeated rather briefly what he said. I was in a hurry when he came to me. I could not talk to him at any length. I am rather worried at this kind of atmosphere prevailing in the Punjab. My own impression is that Musafir does not represent any large number of people. But, nevertheless, he has some position in the public life of the Punjab and, more specially, in the Congress. For such feelings to arise and such statements to be repeated must necessarily create a bad impression on the public.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 54. To Ghanshyam Singh Gupta: "Save Hindi" Agitation<sup>80</sup>

October 14, 1959

Dear Ghanshyam Singhji,

I have your letter of 10th October. I received your previous communication also. As you know, the Punjab Government is anxious to deal with these matters and I am sure that this will be done satisfactorily. But you must be aware also of the agitations started by Master Tara Singh in other connections. I am sure that the Punjab Hindi Raksha Samiti<sup>81</sup> does not wish to strengthen the hands of Master Tara Singh at this juncture in his demand for a Punjabi Suba. Therefore, I would advise patience.

This letter is not meant for publication, but for your personal information.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

80. Letter to G.S. Gupta, President, Sarvadeshik Bhasha Swatantrya Samiti.

81. The Hindi Raksha Samiti was formed in 1957, and launched a "Save Hindi" movement in Punjab.

## 55. To Indira Gandhi: Appointment of District Officers<sup>82</sup>

You spoke to me this evening about the complaints in regard to the appointment of Election Officers in the Punjab State. I had written about this to the Chief Minister of the Punjab.<sup>83</sup> He has sent me a reply, with which is attached a copy of a letter from the P.R.O., Shri Durga Dass Khanna. This letter from the P.R.O. deals with the appointment of District Returning Officers in some detail. I am sending these papers to you. If you think it necessary, you can show them to Pantji.

## 56. To G.B. Pant: Dealing with Dissidents<sup>84</sup>

October 18, 1959

My dear Pantji,

As you know, some of the Punjab dissidents as they are called, have been complaining about the arrangements for the Congress elections there. Musafir also came to see me about this matter.<sup>85</sup> He made general complaints without anything specific. However, I wrote to Partap Singh on the subject. Partap Singh with his reply sent me a long note by the P.R.O., Durga Dass Khanna, who is an Advocate. In this note, full particulars were given about the way the other Election Officers had been appointed. Durga Dass had taken good care to consult the dissidents and others at every stage, and it seemed to me that he functioned very well. I sent this note to Indira. Perhaps, she might show it to you.

Durga Dass Khanna came to see me himself this morning. I was struck very favourably by him and his account. He told me that Partap Singh had kept completely away from these election matters and had definitely told him to do what he thought best and to keep in touch with the dissidents. Apparently, Durga Dass himself has not been associated with any particular party though he might have his sympathies. He struck me as a straightforward man. I think

82. Note, 17 October 1959.

83. See item 91 in this section.

84. Letter.

85. On 9 October 1959. See item 53 in this section.



he is here till tomorrow as he wants to see Indira who has gone to Jabalpore today. If you care to see him, he will be here tomorrow.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 57. To Giani Kartar Singh: Resignation from the Punjab Cabinet<sup>86</sup>

19th October, 1959

My dear Giani Kartar Singh,

I have just received your letter of the 17th October. I am glad you drew my attention to these statements in the press.<sup>87</sup> There is no justification for them. When you came to see me some days ago, you told me yourself that you had decided to resign from the Punjab Cabinet as you wished to devote yourself particularly to the Gurdwara elections.<sup>88</sup> I told you that I appreciated your decision in this matter. There was no question of my bringing any pressure on you. The decision was entirely yours and I was informed of it by you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

86. Letter.

87. *The Times of India* of 22 October 1959 reported details from this letter.

88. Giani Kartar Singh resigned on 24 October. See *The Times of India*, 27 October 1959 and *The Hindustan Times*, 31 October 1959.

## 58. To Partap Singh Kairon: Namdharis<sup>89</sup>

October 20, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,  
Your letter of October 17th.

I have myself been greatly dissatisfied at the behaviour of the Namdharis. I spoke rather strongly on this subject to the late Guru.<sup>90</sup> Why I wrote to you was that an effort might be made to pull away the new Guru from these old activities. How this is to be done is a matter for you to consider.

You have mentioned three matters: 1) illegal export of paddy, 2) possession of a foreign-made rifle and perhaps of other illegal weapons, and 3) the abduction of the daughter of a Namdhari. You might speak directly to Jagjit Singh about 1 and 2. He should agree to be cooperative in such matters before you can do anything.

Therefore the matter is for you to decide.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 59. To Partap Singh Kairon: Corruption<sup>91</sup>

October 25, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,  
Abdul Ghani Dar<sup>92</sup> saw me a few days back. He drew my attention to a large number of questions and answers in the Punjab Assembly giving information on various matters connected with land and cooperatives. There were also some other documents. As these appeared to be official papers, I asked my Principal Private Secretary to look through them carefully.<sup>93</sup> He has submitted a note to me as to what these papers contain. I give below a brief summary:-

- 1) Cooperative farms. The figures indicate that the number of cooperative farming societies has increased in the last two years from 583 to 710, but the total area of land under them has increased only by 5,979 acres.

89. Letter.

90. Satguru Partap Singh. See item 89 in this section.

91. Letter.

92. MLA from Punjab.

93. K. Ram.



The subsidy given amounts to Rs.1, 46, 180/-. The progress made in the cooperative farming societies does not appear to be marked at all, and the question is how far these societies are real or fictitious.

- 2) Production of important crops. The actual production of wheat, rice, gram, oilseeds and gur for three years is given. The progress made is not very great, but the expenditure incurred is very considerable. The value of the additional foodgrains appears to be very little as compared to the expenditure involved. I am not giving the figures, but they have been mentioned in the official papers supplied.
- 3) Seed farms. The expenditure incurred is very considerable; and yet actually the seed produced is little.
- 4) There is a copy of a Deed which mentions that four khasras of land belonging to Rao Virendar Singh's father were purchased for Rs.17,68,780 although they were officially classified as Bhud, that is, the lowest category of land, the price of which should not be more than Rs.5,000/- at the most. There was another case like this also.
- 5) Abiana. A comparison is made of the Abiana rates in the U.P. and the Punjab. The U.P. rates are generally much higher. Thus, for sugar cane they are Rs.32/- in the U.P. and Rs.16/- in the Punjab. For wheat, barley, etc. the U.P. rates are Rs.12/- and the Punjab rates Rs.6.37. Further, the recoveries from Abiana seem to be very low. Unrealised balances are very considerable. Thus in 1952-53 the unrealised balance was Rs.27, 24, 997. In 1956-57, this figure had gone up to Rs. 70, 15, 950/- . Meanwhile the water supply had increased considerably.
- 6) Taccavi loans. In spite of poor recovery, considerable sums continue to be advanced, and they appear to be more in certain areas than in others.
- 7) Tenants ejected. The figure given is that during the period 1948-49 to 1958-59, 18, 361 tenants were ejected, but only 157 were rehabilitated.
- 8) Savings. In 1958-59, the Savings amount is given as Rs. 23, 97, 26, 144/-. Soon after the withdrawals, amounted to Rs. 20,19,32,691/-. This left a balance of only Rs.3. 8 crores. At the same time, the expenditure incurred on the Savings Scheme by Government was considerable, in payment of commission to agents, T.A. and D.A., etc.
- 9) The case of Hafiz Mohammed Umar Palwali is mentioned whose property in Palwal was declared evacuee, although he has all along lived in Delhi.
- 10) There are complaints also against Rao Virendar Singh about various matters such as sale of land at a high price, etc., but I need not mention all these here.

2. I am sending those on to you as these facts appear to deserve looking into, and apparently they are based on official replies.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 60. To Darbara Singh: Congress Principles<sup>94</sup>

26th October, 1959

My dear Darbara Singh,

There was one matter I wanted to mention to you when you saw me, but forgot to do so. There is far too great a tendency in the Congress everywhere to forget principles and think of personalities. Often people are encouraged who do not believe in Congress principles. This is one of the chief reasons of troubles in the Congress. Therefore, stress should be laid on not only the principles, but also the programme of the Congress as laid down in our manifestos and more especially in the last Nagpur Session of the Congress.<sup>95</sup> If people do not accept that programme, then they cannot be given any position of responsibility.

I think it is of great importance that we should maintain the quality of our congressmen, especially those in responsible offices. This is not only a question of their adhering to Congress principles, but also of their being people of integrity in public life and known to be such. The whole reputation of the Congress was built up in the integrity of its members and their capacity for sacrifice. Many of the troubles of the Congress organisation have been due to a lowering of our standards and to our accepting people or encouraging people who are not considered by the public as men or women of high integrity.

Then a recent question that we have to face is that of the formation of the Swatantra Party.<sup>96</sup> I do not worry about Swatantra Party and indeed it may do some good to us by making the issues clearer before the public and by leading to a few people in the Congress who do not believe in the principles of the Congress leaving our organisation. That is all to the good and this will lead to clearer thinking. But this can only do good if we keep the issues clear. A person who joins the Swatantra Party or speaks in its favour can obviously have no place in the Congress. Thus to encourage such persons would lead to confusion in the public mind as to what we stand for.

94. Letter to Darbara Singh, President, Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee, Chandigarh.

95. See SWJN/SS/46/pp.164-261.

96. See SWJN/SS/50/p. 2.



There is also the question of agrarian reforms in the Punjab. The reforms are already there but the question is of implementation, especially the land ceilings. The ejection of tenants cannot be allowed to continue.

I have written this letter to you so that some matters which I consider important should be borne in mind by you and your colleagues, especially in the elections that are coming.

There is one case to which I might draw your attention. About a year and a half ago, one Om Perakash<sup>97</sup> of Rajpura was I believe charged for not keeping proper Congress accounts. The AICC drew attention to this matter and ultimately disciplinary action was taken against him by, I think, the District Congress Committee. Later, this Om Perakash appears to have become a member of the District Loan Advisory Committee for houses. These are the facts which I have heard. I do not know how far they are wholly correct. But if disciplinary action has been taken against a person in the Congress for failure to keep proper accounts, such a person can hardly be considered a fit and proper member of a committee dealing with loans etc.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 61. To Partap Singh Kairon: Propaganda Against Swatantra Party<sup>98</sup>

October 28, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

In the recent Swatantra Party conference held at Patiala, very objectionable speeches were made.<sup>99</sup> I know that this conference was limited to some of the so-called upper class people. But I do not think it will be right for us to ignore these developments. I think that the Congress organisation should carry on definite propaganda against this, and in favour of the Congress programme.

97. Congress, MLA from Ludhiana, Punjab.

98. Letter.

99. According to *The Tribune* of 27 October 1959, the convention was called on 26 October 1959 by Udham Singh Nagoke and Darshan Singh Pheruman, leaders of Swatantra Party in Punjab, and N.G. Ranga presided. It denounced the Nagpur resolution on cooperative farming.

The only way to rescue the Congress from ineptitude is to concentrate on definite policies and programmes and not on individuals.

I am writing to Darbara Singh also on this subject.<sup>100</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(x) Rajasthan

## 62. To Home Ministry: Travelling Princes<sup>101</sup>

Yesterday I was in Jaipur and I discovered, not for the first time, that vast areas of Jaipur City and roundabout were supposed to be the private property of the Maharaja. In fact all the old buildings and land appertaining to the British Residency had been allotted to the Maharaja. My impression was that such Residency buildings elsewhere had not gone to the old ruling princes, but were taken over by the Government. Why the Jaipur lands were given to the Maharaja there, is not clear to me.

There is one matter which I have, I think, previously referred to the Home Ministry.<sup>102</sup> This relates to the visits of ex-ruling princes to foreign countries. Quite a large number of them go to foreign countries every year. The Maharaja and Maharani of Jaipur go every year and spend about seven months in a year chiefly in England.

I should like to have information as to how many of these ex-ruling princes went to foreign countries this year during summer and what their names are? If possible, also the period they spent outside India.

Also, if any foreign exchange was given to them. If so, how much? Probably most of them do not take any foreign exchange. This can only mean that they have reserves of foreign exchange in foreign countries on which they can draw. I remember that the Home Ministry asked the ruling princes at one time for information about their foreign assets.<sup>103</sup> Many of them supplied this information, though perhaps not all. It is clear that these ex-princes going abroad and living

100. See item 60 in this section.

101. Note, 3 October 1959. File No. 37 (86)/59-65-PMS.

102. See *Selected Works of Govind Ballabh Pant*, Vol. 17 (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 480.

103. See SWJN/SS/45/p. 482.



there ostentatiously for months must spend a good deal of money and, therefore, must have these foreign exchanges there. If they have not sent full information about them, they should be asked to do so.

While I do not wish to come in the way of occasional visits abroad of these ex-princes, it seems to me improper that they should go abroad frequently and for long intervals and spend what is essentially India's money and Indian currency in foreign countries. Apart from the question of money being spent, they function abroad in a manner which is not creditable to India.

### 63. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Stone Quarry Contractors and Congress Dissidents<sup>104</sup>

October 7, 1959

My dear Sukhadia,

Some people came to see me today. Some of them were, I think, MLAs from Rajasthan. They gave me a representation, a copy of which I enclose.<sup>105</sup>

I do not know the facts in connection with this matter. But, if what they have stated in their representation is correct, it does seem rather odd why a private organisation which has been criticised in the past for its conduct should now be given this work, and more or less on a monopoly basis, in preference to cooperatives. The matter deserves your attention.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

104. Letter to Mohanlal Sukhadia, Chief Minister of Rajasthan. File No. 2/107/60-PMS.

105. Mohanlal Sukhadia replied on 19 October 1959 that Dalip Singh, a dissident Congress MLA and a contractor with a close interest in stone quarrying in Kota, had collected signatures from a group of dissident Congress MLAs for this representation to Nehru to block the lease of the quarries to the Associated Stone Industries Ltd so that he could secure the lease later for himself.

## 64. To K. Ram: Correcting False Statements in the Press<sup>106</sup>

Please reply to this letter.<sup>107</sup> First of all tell them that the Jodhpur Municipality has not given me any dinner or indeed organised any function for me. I have not been to Jodhpur for some years. Some two weeks ago, I spent about 20 minutes at the Jodhpur aerodrome changing planes. Therefore, the report they refer to is completely baseless.

2. Perhaps the report refers to my visit to Nagaur where a great conference was held of Panches and Sarpanches from all over Rajasthan to consider the new scheme of handing over power to the Panchayat Samitis. This was a historic occasion and at this conference the Panches and Sarpanches discussed their problems for several days. I visited Nagaur on one of these days and addressed them. No dinner or other function was organised specially for me, except the meeting I addressed. I had joined the normal dinner of the Panches and the Sarpanches in the evening.

3. You might send a copy of this letter and a copy of your reply to the Chief Minister of Rajasthan. Tell him that statements in the press should be contradicted and corrected. The sum of Rs.15 lakhs mentioned is of course fantastic.

106. Note to K. Ram, PPS, 14 October 1959. File No. 8/111/59-PMS.

107. Bhagvandas Sheth of the Swatantra Party had written to Nehru on 8 October 1959 quoting Saurashtra newspapers of 7 October "that the Jodhpur Municipality had performed a Dinner Party in your honour at the cost of Rs. 1,500,000 fifteen lakhs only." He went on to advise "I hope you will feel sorry for having accepted such an honour of the Jodhpur Municipality and for the future advise the people at large not to spend a single Naya Paisa for honouring your august person."



## 65. To Mulraj Kersondas: Nathdwara Temple Jewels<sup>108</sup>

30th October, 1959

My dear Mulraj,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th October.<sup>109</sup> I have been much interested in the report of the Nathdwara Enquiry Commission which has justified the stand you took.

As for some legislation to deal with funds of religious institutions, I believe some steps are being taken soon. To begin with, it is our wish to get all these funds properly audited and controlled in this way. To make a law which otherwise affects temple and mosque funds of different types would lead to considerable complications. That may come later.

As for your housing schemes, I have drawn the attention of the State Governments repeatedly. I shall do so again.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

108. Letter to Mulraj Kersondas, an entrepreneur from Bombay.

109. See Appendix 11, pp. 560-561. The Commission had been set up on 2 March 1959 under Sarjoo Prasad, Chief Justice of Rajasthan. Mulraj had claimed that the Commission's report of 18 October 1959 closely corresponded to his evidence to the Commission. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* reported on 19 October that the Commission had held the Tilkayat (head priest), Kesarsingh Ranavat, the then executive officer, and Kanahiyalal, the Gahnaghar Daroga, directly responsible for breaking open a sealed room in the Gahnaghar of the Shrinathji Temple at Nathdwara and removing jewels and valuables on 25 December 1957. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 357; SWJN/SS/45/pp. 381-385; SWJN/SS/46/p. 342.

(xi) Uttar Pradesh

## 66. To Sampurnanand: Border Roads<sup>110</sup>

October 16, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I had a visit today from Triloki Singh Brijwal<sup>111</sup> who came from the border areas of Almora. He gave me a note which I understand has been sent to you also. This, points out the great difficulties of the people on the border who cannot carry on any trade with Tibet. We can do nothing in this matter so far as trade with Tibet is concerned, but I think we should try to help these people in such ways as we can.

I have always been of opinion that the first thing to be done about these distant and rather inaccessible areas is to build roads and other communications. It seems to me that the progress in this matter has been very slow. What is the position now? The Maharaja of Tehri Garhwal,<sup>112</sup> who is an M.P., writes to me frequently about this area. He came to see me today also.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 67. To Sampurnanand: Charges Against Kamlapati Tripathi<sup>113</sup>

October 18, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

You will remember that when I sent you our Law Minister's note about Kamlapati's case,<sup>114</sup> I suggested to you that you might show it to leaders of your Opposition. In your reply, you said you would do so. I forgot to mention that the note should be shown to Governor Giri. I think this should certainly be

110. Letter to Sampurnanand, Chief Minister of UP.. File No. 2 (242)/58-64 PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

111. A businessman from Almora, UP.

112. Shah Manabendra.

113. Letter.

114. Home Minister, UP Government.



done. Indeed, you can show the note to others too. The main point is that it should not be published and that copies of it should not be given to anybody.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 68. To Sampurnanand: Border Roads<sup>115</sup>

October 25, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

Owing to the serious developments on our borders, we have had to give fresh thought to the question of communications. I find, after a reference to our Planning Commission, that the programme for the development of communications on the U.P.-Tibetan border has rather lagged behind the schedule. The provisions made in the Five Year Plans were not fully utilised, although there has been some improvement in 1958-59. I am referring, of course, especially to roads. We are prepared to help you more if necessary and I think Tarlok Singh<sup>116</sup> has recently had a talk with your Development Commissioner on the subject.

Will you please look into this matter as soon as possible and let us know the position?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

115. Letter. File No. 2 (242)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

116. Additional Secretary, Planning Commission.

(xii) West Bengal

**69. To B.C. Roy: Caution Against Additional Amenities<sup>117</sup>**

October 7, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

I understand that the West Bengal Legislative Assembly has just passed an amendment to the Members' Salaries & Emoluments Act providing free first class railway travel up to 3,000 miles in a year throughout India and certain additions to daily and conveyance allowances. It has struck me that at this particular juncture in West Bengal when there is so much suffering and so much agitation, this measure might well irritate the public generally and give another handle for agitation. I am merely drawing your attention to this matter. It is, of course, for you to decide.

I might tell you that there have been repeated attempts here in Parliament to add to the privileges of Members. For instance, they have asked for free air travel as well as some other additional amenities. We have resisted these, whether they came from Congress or Opposition Benches, and made it quite clear that we are not prepared to add to the financial burden of the State.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawahar

**70. To B.C. Roy: Contributions for Flood Relief<sup>118</sup>**

October 8, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

I sent you another cheque for Rs. 25,000/- from the PM's National Relief Fund for flood relief in West Bengal. I was able to do so because I received some further subscriptions today, among these a contribution of Rs. 25,000/- from the U.S. Government. I have received some other promises today also from some Delhi merchants.

G.D. Birla has informed that within a few days, in response to my appeal for flood relief, he will send me Rs. 1 lakh. When I receive this, I shall send you some more money.

117. Letter. Reproduced from Saroj Chakrabarty, *With Dr. B. C. Roy and Other Chief Ministers: A Record Upto 1962* (Calcutta: Benson's, 1974), pp. 428-429.

118. Letter.



I am enclosing a cheque for Rs.1,000/- for your Flood Relief Fund. This is entirely my personal contribution and has nothing to do with any official fund.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawahar]

## 71. To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim: Visit to Flood Affected Areas<sup>119</sup>

October 16, 1959

My dear Hafizji,

I intend going to Calcutta on the 21st October for a day to have a look at the flood situation there and to discuss matters in connection with it. My present intention is to leave Palam about 7.15 in the morning, reach Calcutta at 10.30 and immediately take off from Dum Dum in a helicopter to fly over the flood-affected areas. This flight will take about six hours, and I shall return about 5 p.m. In the course of the evening, I shall discuss matters with the Ministers and officials there. Next morning, I intend returning to Delhi stopping at Allahabad for two or three hours to see Lal Bahadur.

It struck me that perhaps you might care to come to Calcutta also with me. A visit by you to the flood-affected areas would be desirable and would have a good effect. I am not at all sure if the small helicopter will be able to accommodate others. Dr. Roy is coming here tomorrow, and I shall try to find out from him. You will anyhow be able to discuss matters with people in Calcutta. You can come back with me the next day or, if you prefer it, stay in Calcutta for two or three days more.

The immediate need, of course, in West Bengal is for relief. But there is another aspect of this problem of floods which is troubling people in Bengal greatly. What has been the effect of the Damodar dams? Have they increased the liability to floods? What more should be done to prevent such a calamity occurring again, and such like questions? I think it is necessary for some of our best experts to visit this area and give their opinion as to what should be done. There is a demand for this, and we should certainly take this step. What we do afterwards will depend on their preliminary report. Probably it is too early yet to have this enquiry. We have to wait till the floods have completely subsided. Nevertheless, it might be desirable for some expert to go there straightaway

119. Letter. File No. 8/122/59-PMS.

and have a talk with the Calcutta people. If you think it worthwhile one or two of your experts could accompany me to Calcutta on the 21st and have these preliminary talks.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## **72. Distress Over Unprecedented Calamity<sup>120</sup>**

Nature had dealt very unkindly with West Bengal in many ways. Recently, we lived in the hope of a really bumper crop there during the next season. But cyclone and floods came to dash our hopes and bring distress and misery to a vast number of people. This unprecedented calamity demands an equally unprecedented endeavour to meet the challenge. I am glad that people in Bengal are rising to this challenge and doing their utmost to help those that are afflicted. Indeed, this is not a matter for Bengal only but for the whole of India and I earnestly hope that help will come from every part of India.

## **73. At the Press Conference, Calcutta: West Bengal Flood a "National Calamity"<sup>121</sup>**

**"FLOOD CONTROL IN BENGAL-CENTRE TO SET UP COMMITTEE"**

Calcutta  
Oct. 21

The Prime Minister Mr. Nehru announced here today that the Government of India would soon constitute a two-man high-power commission to study in detail comprehensive measures for flood control in this region.

Mr. Nehru who was addressing a Press conference at the Raj Bhavan immediately after his return from an aerial survey of the flood affected areas in Burdwan, Murshidabad and parts of Nadia declared that unprecedented flood in West Bengal was a "national calamity" and it was up to every Indian to help the flood affected victims.

120. Message forwarded to Ashutosh Ghosh, Secretary, West Bengal Flood Relief Committee, Bengal, 20 October 1959. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

121. Report of speech, Calcutta, 21 October 1959. From *The Hindu*, 22 October 1959.



Recounting his impressions of visits to the places where the Air Force helicopter, in which he was travelling, could land, the Prime Minister said that he was glad to note that twenty to thirty thousand people, who had braved all hazards to meet him, were laughing and jovial despite the heavy suffering which they had undergone.

Mr. Nehru said that the immediate problem was to drain out water from the water-logged areas and that too quickly. While he was not opposed to "build dams where necessary", he was against this mentality to have dams wherever floods occurred. He said he was glad to find that people were becoming conscious of the fact that floods were not God-ordained and that human agencies could control them. While floods caused heavy damage, they also brought in their wake good silt which would help produce better crops. He was against "damming up the province from floods", the idea was absurd, he said.

He suggested that the people should live with floods and should construct their houses on a higher ground or raised levels in low areas. He suggested that the people in villages should construct a large village dormitory on a raised ground where they could go for safety in case of emergency.

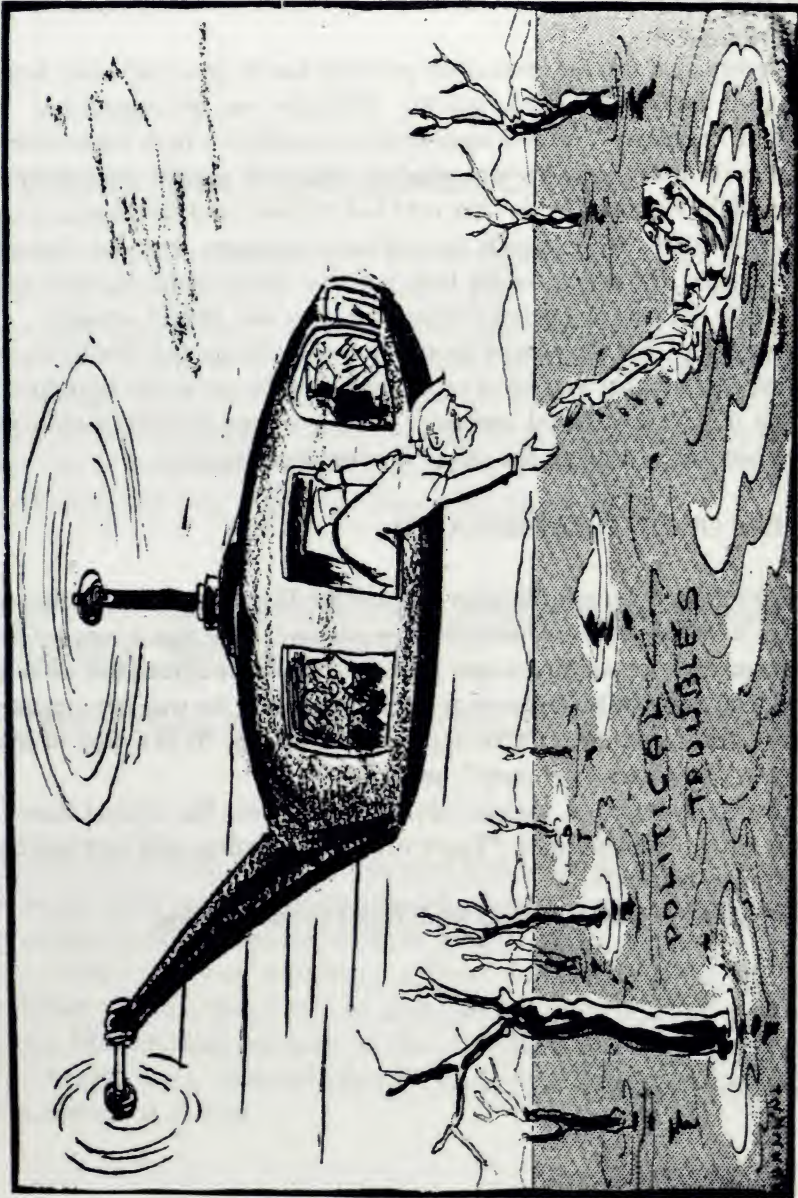
#### CRITICISM OF D.V.C. DEPRECATED

Mr. Nehru rebuked the people who blamed the Damodar Valley Corporation authorities for negligence in controlling floods and stated that it was not fair to condemn and criticise and find scape-goats for floods. He agreed that an enquiry might be held and until it became an established fact, he was not prepared to say a word criticising anybody or apportioning blame. "It is a way of mental escape from the burdens we carry", he added.

Instancing cyclones in various advanced countries like United States and Japan, the Prime Minister said: "There is no good getting cold feet and blame other for nature's fury."

Prime Minister Nehru arrived from Delhi in the morning.

OPERATION RESCUE



Prime Minister Nehru is visiting Calcutta.  
(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 25 OCTOBER 1959)



## 74. To Krishna Menon: Flood Relief for Bengal and DVC<sup>122</sup>

My visit to Calcutta and various parts of West Bengal confirmed our impression that the cyclone and floods had done very great damage there. I visited a number of places by helicopter as there was no other way of getting there. The floods have subsided considerably but large areas are still under water. Paddy crops which were in very fine shape have suffered greatly. Tens of thousands of village mud huts have been swept away. The immediate problem of relief, which means food, clothing, medicines and some kind of temporary shelter, is being attended to, though there are still difficulties in reaching some places. In Orissa the same thing has happened on a smaller scale.

2. While these immediate problems are necessarily occupying attention, people are even more worried about the future and how to prevent such floods. The Damodar Valley dams etc. did good work but were not adequate for the purpose. A high level committee of engineers has been appointed to go into this matter.<sup>123</sup> Meanwhile the need is for relief.

## 75. To Humayun Kabir: Tagore Centenary Fund<sup>124</sup>

October 30, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of the 30th October about Rabindranath Tagore Centenary Fund.<sup>125</sup> I am inquiring as to whether the Standard Vacuum Oil Company has sent their donation or not.

As for not having two Funds, that would have been desirable, but, having started a special Fund as Chancellor of Visva-Bharati, it would be rather awkward for me to say that that Fund is closed. As a matter of fact, hardly any

122. Telegram, 24 October 1959.

123. According to *The Times of India* of 31 October 1959, a team of three Central and State engineers which visited the flood affected areas in West Bengal had recommended the raising of the level of villages and protection of major towns by constructing ring bounds in the worst affected regions. Construction of storage dams on the offending rivers and increase of the flood control capacity of the existing DVC reservoirs were also recommended as a long term measure.

124. Letter to Humayun Kabir, Union Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

125. Also known as Rabindranath Tagore Jayanti Fund, established in 1957 to celebrate his birth centenary in May 1961. See SWJN/SS/43/pp. 195-196.

mention is made about that Fund now and we need not advertise it in any way. Practically speaking, we could deal with one Fund.

Shri G.D. Birla wrote that he would be giving Rs. 1 lakh for Visva-Bharati. He did this at the instance of Shri S.R. Das. As far as I remember, he has sent me Rs.50, 000/- already. The rest will probably come later.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 76. To B.C. Roy: Indira Gandhi's visit to Calcutta<sup>126</sup>

October 30, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

I had your letter today about the rumour that I was visiting Santiniketan on the 8th November. I have sent you a telegram contradicting this report. At no time did I think of going to Santiniketan on the 8th November. I do not know how this wrong report was circulated. I shall be in Delhi on the 8th and 9th. I am leaving on the 10th morning for Indore.

2. Indira continues her touring in spite of everything. Tonight she has gone to some places in Uttar Pradesh. She returns after three or four days and then goes to Bombay and Kutch almost immediately, returning on the 10th. She will thus not be here when you come on the 8th.

3. I have been trying hard to limit her touring, but there are two places which she wants to go to. One is Mysore. That is an old promise and she is likely to go there for four or five days late in November. She would also like to pay a relatively brief visit to Calcutta if you think that this is feasible. The main purpose of her visit would be more psychological than other, that is, because of the floods. She wanted to go there earlier, but she had been hopelessly entangled in other tours. If, therefore, you think that she can go there for two or possibly three days, this might be arranged to suit her and your convenience. She is tied up till the 16th November, that is, she comes back on the 16th November after various visits outside Delhi. After two or perhaps three days in Delhi she can go to Calcutta, say about the 18th or 19th. If you think it convenient, she could go to one or two of the flood affected areas. I would not like her to overstrain herself.

126. Letter. Reproduced from Saroj Chakrabarty, *With Dr. B. C. Roy and Other Chief Ministers: A Record Upto 1962* (Calcutta: Benson's, 1974), p. 427. Also available in JN Collection.



4. When you come here on the 8th, could you please bring some fresh cocoanuts for her? As you know, she has been advised to drink Dhab.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawahar

(c) Pondicherry

# **77. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Pondicherry Bharat Sewak Samaj**<sup>127</sup>

October 30, 1959

My dear Gulzarilal,

I sent you a copy of a telegram which Goubert<sup>128</sup> of Pondicherry had sent me in regard to the appointment of a Convenor of the Pondicherry Bharat Sewak Samaj. I wish to reply to Goubert. I should like to know what your advice is in this matter.

Broadly speaking, I think that for work in Pondicherry itself of the Bharat Sewak Samaj, the advice of the Madras Congress people might well be not appropriate. Pondicherry has a certain individuality which it treasures and does not like being imposed upon.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

127. Letter to Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Labour Minister. File No. 40 (12)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

128. Edouard Goubert, Congress Member, Pondicherry Representative Assembly.

(d) Sikkim

**78. To Indira Gandhi: Sikkim Congress, a "Good" Organisation<sup>129</sup>**

You have already seen some telegram we have received from Gangtok, about some remarks you are reported to have made regarding the Sikkim Congress. Now this letter has come for you from the President of the Sikkim State Congress.<sup>130</sup> I hope you will send a suitable reply to him.

2. The Sikkim State Congress is, on the whole, a good organisation and has played an important role in Sikkim. Sometimes it has gone astray a little, but, generally speaking, it has restrained itself and followed our advice. It is desirable, therefore, not to discourage it in any way in public or otherwise.

3. The question of affiliation of the Sikkim Congress to the Indian National Congress is, of course, a separate matter. I do not think this is possible under the present Constitution of the Congress. But they have often sent delegates and we have accepted them as such.<sup>131</sup>

(e) Administration

**79. To K. Raghuramaiah: Enquiry on Cheeki Depot<sup>132</sup>**

I have read these notes. I think it is desirable for the Deputy Minister to visit the Cheeki Depot<sup>133</sup> and to enquire into these matters personally and thoroughly.

2. Reading through the Secretary's note, it seems to me that the approach of the local authorities has not been very commendable. There is Ganesh Prasad's case. The fact that he did not disclose his suffering from Tuberculosis to the Depot authorities is certainly against rules and regulations. But from any human point of view to consider this offence as deserving of being charge-sheeted and serious action taken seems to me not proper. A person suffering from

129. Note, 1 October 1959.

130. K.R. Pradhan; he wrote to Indira Gandhi on 26 September 1959.

131. See SWJN/SS/41/pp. 649-651.

132. Note to K. Raghuramaiah, Union Deputy Minister of Defence and O. Pulla Reddi, Defence Secretary, 9 October 1959.

133. Central Government's Arms and Ammunition Depot is located at Cheeki, Allahabad.



Tuberculosis deserves some sympathy, even though he might have tried to conceal his illness.

3. I am not referring to the other matters contained in this note. But they do leave an impression on my mind of an approach to labour a question which is rigid and lacks the human element. It should always be remembered that these are human problems to be dealt with on that basis.

### 80. To C.R. Srinivasan: False Reports of Squandering Money<sup>134</sup>

In acknowledging this picture sent by Mr Karanjia,<sup>135</sup> you might refer to the article by Shri K.A. Abbas on the last page.<sup>136</sup> Say that my attention was drawn to special expenditures being incurred for the airfield and the Rest House and I enquired into this matter. We found that the reports made were greatly exaggerated. The Rest House was already there, but a second story [sic] was put on to it. This was not for my sake but because it was the general plan of increasing the capacity of that Rest House. The airfield also was not made specially for me, but was a part of their planning. It is true that this was expedited for the purposes of the conference. There was no pomp or ceremony in it at all in the ordinary sense of the word; it was a strictly business gathering of a very large number of Panches and Sarpanches who had come from all over Rajasthan. The rest of the expenditure was incurred in simple arrangements for the stay of these thousands of Panches for several days. The conference lasted many days although the Prime Minister was there only for part of one day.

134. Note, 14 October 1959.

135. R.K. Karanjia, editor of *Blitz*, in his letter of 9 October 1959 enclosed a souvenir photo of the Chowpatty Rally together with a copy of the latest issue of *Blitz*.

136. Abbas, a columnist with *Blitz*, in an article titled *High Cost of Socialist Pattern—Half a Million for Half a Day*, dated 10 October 1959 criticised “special expenditures”, incurred for the airfield and the Rest House at Nagaur during Nehru’s visit on 2-3 October 1959.

## **81. To K.S. Thimayya: Governors' Conference<sup>137</sup>**

19th October, 1959

My dear Thimayya,

The President is inviting the Governors of various States to the Governors' Conference to be held in Delhi on the 27th and 28th October. He would like the Governors to be told of the situation on our borders. For this purpose, I suggest that you might attend this conference on the 28th October at 9.30 a.m. The conference is being held at Rashtrapati Bhavan. We shall also have there our men from the Historical Section of the External Affairs Ministry with their maps and charts.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## **82. To O. Pulla Reddi: Defence Officers' Rent Payment<sup>138</sup>**

The Cabinet Secretary sent me a note about a month ago on the subject of rent to be paid by Defence officers who are posted to Delhi for a period. The question arose in the case of those Defence officers who owned houses in Delhi which they had rented out. Under the normal rules if an officer has a house of his own in Delhi which he has rented out, presumably at high rent, then there is no reason why he should be charged only a concessional rent for additional government accommodation given to him.

2. In spite of informal discussions, no agreement has been arrived at. It appears, however, that a proposal was made by the Cabinet Secretary, and largely accepted by other Ministries excepting the Defence, to the effect that concessional rates might be permitted for two years to the Defence officers in Delhi, but not afterwards. In answer to this it was pointed out that the normal tenure of Service officers in Delhi will be three years and it will be difficult for them to make special arrangements for an extra year. Further that even after three years they should be charged rent at some concessional rate which may be less than the normal.

3. I do not think it is necessary for this matter to be kept pending for the return of the Defence Minister. We should deal with it as soon as possible and

<sup>137</sup>. Letter.

<sup>138</sup>. Note, 19 October 1959.



finalise it. There is certainly something in favour of the Defence contention about officers being posted here for small periods. At the same time, any marked difference between them and Civilian officers who are also posted here usually for fixed periods would not be desirable. This would particularly apply to External Affairs Ministry officers. The whole point is that if an officer, Civilian or Defence, is actually drawing considerable rent for the house he has built, there is no obvious reason why he should be given a concessional rate. Land was given to officers to build houses for themselves and not for speculation or for investment from the point of view of getting high rents. I presume that there are not many cases where such land has been given to officers. Probably some senior officers got this land.

4. On the whole, it seems to me that the proposal made by the Cabinet Secretary has much logic in it. Possibly the period might be extended somewhat. But there is no reason whatever to make it an indefinite period.

5. I feel, therefore, that we should consider this matter afresh in the Defence Ministry before it is sent up to the Cabinet. If we can come to an agreement ourselves, then it will not go up to the Cabinet.

6. I should like to know how many cases there are of such land being given for building houses to the Defence officers.

### 83. To S. Dutt: Alerting Border Police<sup>139</sup>

I had a talk with you and General Thimayya this morning on this subject. It is clear that the defence of the entire frontier area in the North and North-East must be coordinated and placed directly under the army. This means that the present arrangements under the State Governments of U.P., Punjab and Himachal Pradesh as well as the Intelligence and Border Police in Ladakh should be under the directions of the army authorities. The army authorities may and presumably will use the present police personnel at the frontier, but the general direction, both operational and otherwise, should be that of the Army Headquarters. I have asked General Thimayya to meet the D.I.B., Shri Mullik, and discuss this matter with him. I have also written today to the Home Minister, Chief Ministers of U.P. and Punjab and the Lieutenant-Governor of Himachal Pradesh on this subject.<sup>140</sup>

In view of recent developments, this question of frontier defence has to be considered afresh. General Thimayya has promised to put up a paper on this

139. Note, 25 October 1959.

140. See item 170 in volume.

subject soon for our consideration. It is not necessary to appoint a committee for this purpose but, after General Thimayya's note has been considered by our Ministry, a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee should be held. On the 29th October morning, I have invited you and General Thimayya to come to the Governors' Conference where the frontier question will be discussed.

#### **84. To K. Ram: Appointment to Executive Positions<sup>141</sup>**

Some months ago or perhaps more, I mentioned the case of a senior officer in the army, a Muslim, who had retired at a fairly early age. His name had been mentioned to me by Shri Shah Nawaz Khan.<sup>142</sup> He seemed to be a very fit person for some kind of a senior administrative appointment. I understand that you pursued this matter with many Ministries but nothing has come of it. I do not at the moment remember his name, but I think it was Ashraf. What exactly happened? It is a pity not to use some of these men who are really good.

There are other cases too of senior men who are retiring from the army. One such case is that of Major-General Dubey who was in the Delhi Command. We are often in search of people to take up executive positions in our big undertakings. Normally nobody thinks about these army people who, I think, might be better than many whom we may employ.

You might find out the names of any such special persons like this from Shri Shah Nawaz Khan and then I should like to pursue this matter further with the Cabinet Secretary, Planning Commission and some Ministries.

141. Note, 25 October 1959.

142. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Meerut, Uttar Pradesh, and Deputy Minister of Railways.



## 85. To G.B. Pant: Responsibilities of Army Authorities<sup>143</sup>

October 25, 1959

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have sent to the Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh and the Punjab and the Lieutenant-Governor of Himachal Pradesh. Also to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. I am sure you will agree with what I have written.

The immediate issue is Ladakh. There also final responsibility having been cast on the army authorities, we must abide by their judgment as to what should be done. The present border force there and the intelligence have done good work and will no doubt continue, but it will have to function under the broad directions of the army and communication should be organised accordingly.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 86. To O. Pulla Reddi: Defence Officers' Rent<sup>144</sup>

I have read this note of the Defence Secretary. I do not think it meets the point raised by me in my note. The question raised, in spite of the long noting, is a relatively simple one. Should an officer, civil or military, get special Government concessions on rent when he is earning large sums of money by receiving rent on houses that he has built? I am told that sometimes the rents being received by officers on such houses even go up to Rs.7,000/- or Rs. 8,000/- a month. Even if these rents are half this figure, they are very considerable. A person receiving such rents is not obviously justified in claiming from Government special treatment in regard to concessions on the house he occupies. He cannot have it both ways. Land in Delhi should not be allotted to any person merely for speculation, and not more than one such plot should be given for residential purposes. In case of officers who have to serve outside Delhi, they should certainly be allowed to rent out their houses, but on their re-posting in Delhi, the only argument that may be raised is that the houses they built cannot be got back by them as they are rented out.

143. Letter.

144. Note, 25 October 1959.

2. I do not, therefore, understand at all any other argument in this connection. To meet the one valid objection of quick transfers, it was suggested that for a period of two years they might be allowed to have the concession and a house in Delhi even though they have their own houses here. But to suggest that indefinitely they should have some kind of a special concession even though they are earning a considerable sum of money in rent appears to me to have no justification whatever.

3. In Defence Secretary's note, it is mentioned that some of the plots allotted to Defence Services personnel have passed into the hands of others. That also appeals to me to have been not quite proper, even though there was no rule against it. The whole purpose of allotting the plot was to enable the Defence Service officer to build a house for his own residence and not to speculate on land values.

4. If necessity arises, I shall have to go much more deeply into the question of the houses that have actually been built by officers or others in the Defence Services and rented out; what rents are charged for them. Also if these houses were built and rented out while the officers in question were in Delhi at the time. Further, are there any cases of more than one plot of land being owned by an individual and thus his getting rent from several properties, while he claims a concessional rate for the house he is living in.

5. Obviously, whatever principle we may apply will have some general application. The Foreign Service personnel have to face exactly the same difficulty as Defence Services personnel, possibly more so.

6. Unless some satisfactory arrangement is reached, the matter should be considered in the Defence Minister's Committee.

## **87. To O. Pulla Reddi: Thimayya's Resignation<sup>145</sup>**

As these Questions are addressed to the Minister of Defence, the Defence Ministry will please send the following note to the Lok Sabha Secretariat.

2. I have seen three Questions, Nos. 1757, 2446 and 3180 addressed to the Minister of Defence for answer in the Lok Sabha. All these Questions relate to the letter of resignation of General Thimayya addressed to the Prime Minister and to matters connected therewith, more especially in regard to the leakage of this resignation. I would submit to Mr. Speaker that it would not be desirable for me to deal with these Questions in the Lok Sabha. I have enquired into

145. Note, 27 October 1959.



these matters and not been able to come to a definite conclusion. I decided, therefore, not to pursue this any further as this would serve no useful purpose. It would indeed revive a controversy which is neither good for the Army nor for the public generally. I trust, therefore, that Mr. Speaker will be pleased not to allow these questions.

## 88. To MEA: Chancery in Tokyo<sup>146</sup>

I sent you a little note the other day about the proposal to build our Chancery in Tokyo. I mentioned in that note that the Finance Minister, during his recent visit to Tokyo<sup>147</sup> had inspected the site for our Chancery and had agreed with our Ambassador's proposal. This proposal was not only to build the Chancery there, but the Embassy also on the same place of land.

2. This afternoon the Comptroller & Auditor General<sup>148</sup> came to see me. He had also been to Tokyo recently and seen this plot of land and the Embassy. He told me first of all that we had suffered considerable loss by not building the Chancery earlier. We had had this plot of land for the last five years or so and meanwhile we had been paying a very heavy rent for the present Chancery office and rented building which were in addition not very suitable. If we had built our Chancery five years ago, the amount spent on it would have been roughly the same as the rent we have paid during this five years period.

3. As regards the proposal of the Ambassador to have the Embassy also on the same plot, the Comptroller & Auditor General is not in favour of it. He said that this place of land measure about one acre. It is a good piece of land for the Chancery and centrally situated. But to crowd it with the Embassy also did not appear to him to be at all desirable. There will be no open land left at all. But, in any event, he said that the Chancery building should be put up as soon as possible. From a relatively long term view this will be advantageous for us even from the foreign exchange point of view.

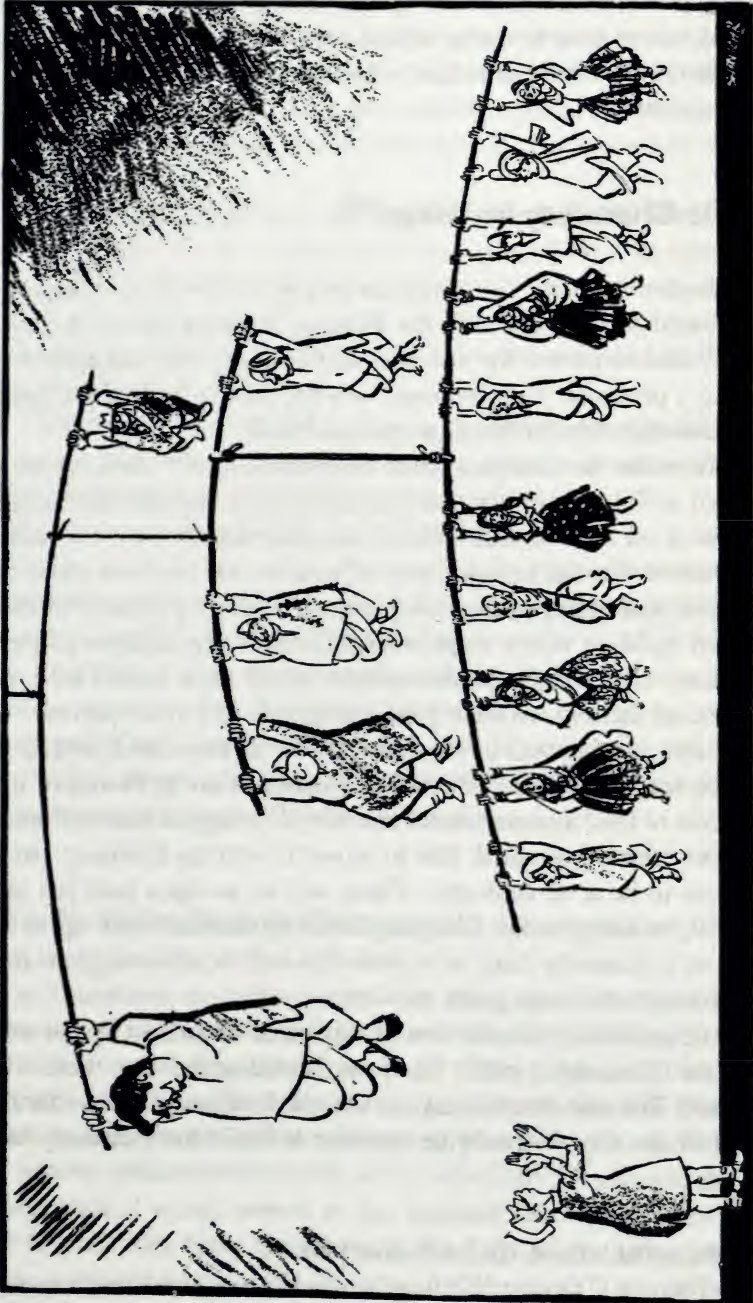
4. I have no particular recollection of this piece of land in Tokyo which we bought for the Chancery. I rather liked our Embassy building there which had plenty of land. The one disadvantage is that the Embassy is rather far from the central part of the city. It would be possible to build the Chancery in the

146. Note to SG, FS and M.J. Desai, CS, 29 October 1959.

147. He arrived in Tokyo on 17 October 1959 for a five-day visit to discuss Japanese economic aid to India.

148. Asok K. Chanda.

*Division of Labour*



The Prime Minister lauded the devolution of power under Rajasthan's new "Panchayat Samitis" and "Zila Parishads" scheme.

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 11 OCTOBER 1959)



land there but that would not be a suitable site for the Chancery as it is far away.

5. Anyhow, we should come to a fairly quick decision about putting up the Chancery building.

6. The Comptroller & Auditor General also visited Hong Kong and said that it would be advantageous for us to purchase the present building occupied by our Mission there instead of paying rent for it. It is quite suitable for our work. I think he told me that we were paying Rs. 24,000/- per year as rent while we can buy it for Rs. 2 lakhs.

#### (f) Representative Institutions

### 89. Public Meeting, Nagaur: Democratic decentralisation— A Historic Step<sup>149</sup>

We are going to lay the foundations of democracy or Panchayat Raj in our country. If Mahatma Gandhi had been alive today, how happy he would have felt. Rajasthan is the heart of India, historically as well as geographically. The people of this State have come from villages and towns and have pledged themselves to take upon their shoulders the heavy responsibilities of democracy and the Government of this State have, by an Act of Legislature, handed over the responsibilities to them. It is a historic task and it would have given great pleasure to Mahatma Gandhi to know that such a historic step was taken on his birthday.

As I look back over the history of India, I find that during this long and chequered period of India's history, many things have happened. So many great events that took place have been recorded in history while others are only enshrined in the hearts of the people. For instance we celebrate Ram Lila in every nook and corner of India. Dussehra is celebrated throughout the country because it is imprinted on the hearts of people, not on the pages of history. All these events both recorded as well as unrecorded have been absorbed in the life of our nation. The ups and downs that we have witnessed, the pains and pleasures that we have gone through, the successes or failures that we have met have all gone to constitute what we call India.

149. Speech at Nagaur in Rajasthan while inaugurating the programme of Democratic Decentralisation on 2 October 1959. The speech was in Hindi; it was translated by D.C. Sharma, Congress Lok Sabha MP from Gurdaspur, Punjab, and published in *A.I.C.C. Economic Review*, Vol. 11, No. 16-18, New Delhi, January 16, 1960.

### What is Mother India?

The story of India is very very long and I do not know how many of you have tried to know it. Since our childhood, we have heard and read a lot about what we are, why we call our country Bharat and why we shout Jai Hind. Our country may be called by different names, Bharat, Hindustan, India and when we shout the slogan Jai Hind, we mean the same thing. May I ask from you what Mother India stands for? Once I enquired from some sturdy peasants of the Punjab, who were shouting Jai Hind at the top of their voices, what Mother India stood for. After a lot of thinking they replied that the soil on which they stood represented Mother India. I again enquired whether the soil alone was Mother India, to which they could not give a clear answer and asked me to explain it. I told them that the Mother India did not mean the picture of a long-haired goddess that they had seen here and there. The picture is only a symbol; Mother India really meant all of us who were the part and parcel of this great country. Each one of us was a part of Mother India and all the 400 millions of Indians constituted Mother India as a whole. Even those who have gone before us and the others, who will follow, will be a part of Mother India. In the living present it is we who jointly make up our country and, therefore, when we shout Jai Hind, it means so many things.

### We are building the future

We should, therefore, be clear in our minds that it is we, the people of this country, the present, the past and the future generations, that are a part and parcel of this great country. We are engaged in various activities in our homes and on the fields. If we look at it from another angle, we are working today for our future; the past is gone but we are trying to dress Mother India in new clothes. The old clothes that Mother India was wearing, were tattered and torn because she was poor. Now we want Mother India to put on a new garb and to live in a beautiful house. We want to get our country all the necessities of life. We want our countrymen to enjoy adequate food and shelter. We want to obtain these things by our efforts, not through charity. We want to raise our country by our own industry and hard work. It is a gigantic task before us so that when our children grew up, they should find themselves in a new India, the India of our dreams in which there should be no poverty or hunger. There was a time when we saw the dream of an independent India. At that time that dream appeared to be impossible because India, was ruled by a mighty empire. To our good luck we had a great leader at that time who infused a new zeal in our hearts. We had a mad desire to win independence and I must say that on occasions madness is



also necessary. In great enterprises we cannot take every step after calculations. We jumped into the battle but it was not an armed battle. Slowly and gradually we saw our dreams come true. It is usually very rare that the dreams we see are realised; but our dreams came to fulfilment and a new chapter was added to the history of the world when India became independent. It was through peace and unity that we were able to shake off the foreign imperialism. After the realisation of the dream of independence, however, our work was not concluded. We were confronted with big problems because this great country was still poor and weak. Quite a large number of people did not get enough clothes to wear or opportunities for employment. We could not hold the Congress responsible for our ills nor could we go round with a begging bowl because no country can make progress through charity. We had to depend upon our own labour and hard work and this was a formidable problem before us.

### The days of rulers must change

At that time one of the biggest problem was that the country was divided into small states ruled by petty rulers. If a country is broken up like that, it can never make any progress. Our first task, therefore, was to eliminate the petty rulers. The institution of kingship had outlived its utility. The world had moved forward, our social structure had assumed a new shape and like a child, it had grown up. Old clothes are good in their own time but you all knew that when a child grows up, its old clothes become tight and unfit for use. Wise parents, therefore, keep on replacing the old clothes by new ones. Society is dynamic. Its structure must keep pace with the changing times. I agree that the basic principles that form the core of society must be kept intact but the outward garb of society is something different. There was a time when kingship was probably suited to the conditions of society. Some kings have, no doubt, been great men. We are proud of them and we shall always remember them with gratitude. But those times have gone by and an institution which was good 300 years back has become outdated today. Similarly even jagirdari had its use at a particular time but with the change of times we had to abolish jagirdari. We had no enmity against any ruler or jagirdar; they were also our friends and comrades; a part and parcel of Mother India. But the system of individual rule is an anachronism in the world of today. It hinders the country's progress and so we had to put an end to this system. Jagirdars and taluqdars are a relic of the past and the outdated institutions of yesterday cannot be useful today. We had to overhaul the social structure and we did it peacefully without causing any discord or bloodshed. If you read the history of the world, you will find that many revolutions took place when people tried to change the social order but in our country this change

was brought about by peaceful methods.

Science, the secret of other nations' progress

If I examine the history of India, I find that thousands of years ago India was a great country. People from far and wide came to visit this famous land and as compared with other countries it was fabulously rich. Then came the downfall when other countries became rich and we became poor. You will probably say that one fifty years of foreign rule have reduced us to poverty. But this will only be a partial answer. Why was the foreign rule clamped upon our country? The reason was that our social structure had become old, we were suffering from internecine quarrels and our progress had come to a standstill. We were clinging to the old order whereas England, like other countries of Europe, had put off its old clothes and donned new ones. The people of England learnt new scientific knowledge and technological skill. They had mastered the forces of nature and had harnessed them for their use. Just to give you one example, we see lightning in the sky. This lightning is not in any way different from the electric energy that we use. The only difference is that the former is beyond human control; whereas electricity we can produce with the help of our own machines. For thousands of years, the means of communications were horses or bullock carts. Then came the railway engine propelled by steam power. Everyone had seen the steam in our own homes but we never thought of harnessing this source of energy for driving a railway engine. The people of Europe were able to control these forces and utilise them for running all kinds of machines and for inventing new weapons. With the introduction of machines and new weapon they not only acquired military strength but they also developed capacity for work.

The power of machines

You work with your hands. If you are strong enough, you will probably be able to do the work of four men at the most. The people of Europe built a small machine which could do work of 100 men. With the help of these machines they gained great strength and began to produce greater and greater wealth in the fields and factories. This was a great revolution which increased their military strength and their wealth tremendously. What is after all wealth? Gold and silver are not the real wealth of a country; the real wealth of a country lies in the industry and hard work of its people with which they produce wealth from the land or manufacture goods in factories. A carpenter, a blacksmith or a goldsmith produces wealth on a small scale. Gold and silver, therefore, are only commodities of exchange; one cannot subsist on them. The people of Europe,



therefore, controlled the forces of nature and learnt many things. Take for instance the case of the aeroplane. If a young man starts getting training, he can learn to run an aeroplane within two or three years. In our country aeroplanes are now being manufactured. There is no magic by which aeroplane flies into the air. It is all due to science. Therefore I say that the nations which learnt new scientific knowledge became strong, their wealth increased and they began to dominate the world while we were left behind. The English began to rule India because India was backward in scientific knowledge. We became complacent and we did not acquire knowledge of the new scientific methods.

Thus the world went on changing but India remained where it was. In the race of new technological skill, we were left behind. Our Rajas and Maharajas had all their paraphernalia of elephants and golden crowns but they lacked real strength. In older times a ruler possessed the strength of muscles and he could face the enemies successfully. But in the modern world the rulers were kings only in name. In the world of today only he is strong who possesses scientific knowledge, who can build aeroplanes, who can install machines and who can invent new weapons. In the changed world of today, the scientists and the engineers are the real heroes. Therefore I say that social values go on changing. The days of rulers are gone; but strangely enough in our country, the institution of kingship continued for about a 100 years. It was not due to the intrinsic strength of individual rulers but due to the protection of the British Government. The British Government maintained them because they were their loyal supporters. When the British rule ended, the support of the kings also disappeared and kingship came to an end. Similarly jagirdari also disappeared from our country.

### Rural Uplift

Let us now study the political aspect of the question. We became independent and we established the rule of the people and every citizen of India was given the right of vote. You elected your representatives to various Assemblies like that of Delhi and Jaipur and to the Lok Sabha. In a way it was a step in the right direction but still after electing the people's representatives, real democracy did not come into being. If the big officers consult the people now and then, it does not usher in the rule of the people. India will make real progress only when the people living in villages become politically conscious. More than 80 per cent of the Indian population lives in villages and the progress of the country is bound up with the progress in villages. Whenever our villages make progress, India will become a strong nation and nobody will be able to stop its onward march. Seven years ago we started development plans like the Community

Projects and the National Extension Services.<sup>150</sup> These by now have covered more than three lakhs of villages and on the whole good work has been done. You must, however, realise that to uplift lakhs of villages is not an ordinary task and we have not been able to do as much as we expected. The reason for the slow progress is our dependence on official machinery. An officer is probably necessary because he is an expert but this work can only be done if the people take up the responsibility in their own hands. Some people thought that if the responsibility was handed to the people, they would probably not be able to shoulder it but it is only by providing opportunity to the people that they can be trained to handle responsibility. Therefore, it became imperative to take the bold step whereby more and more responsibility could be transferred to the people. They were not merely to be consulted but effective power was to be entrusted to them. Therefore, we decided that in every village there should be a village panchayat with more powers and there should be a cooperative society which should wield sufficient powers.

#### Panchayats and Cooperative Unions

You must distinguish between the functions of the panchayats and the cooperative unions. The panchayat helps in the day to day administration and the cooperative union manages the economic affairs. In ordinary language cooperative union means that people should mutually help each other and we all know that unity is strength. The responsibilities of administration should not be only in the hands of big officials but they should be divided equally among our 400 millions of people. If we are able to do that, we can acquire great strength. We must have the cooperation of the people and we must do things in consultation with each other. Therefore, we gave due recognition to the role of panchayats and the cooperative unions. Cooperative unions are of many kinds and it is not necessary that in the whole of India we should have a uniform type of cooperative unions. The functions of a cooperative union should depend upon the needs and conditions of the area in which it is formed. Usually a cooperative society is thought to be an institution that advances loans to the agriculturists. This is a very important role but this alone is not enough. We

150. This refers to the launching of the Community Development Programmes in selected areas on 2 October 1952 for rural development and its supplementation by the National Extension Service Scheme in the remaining areas on 2 October 1953.



want that the cooperative union should take upon itself all other jobs like marketing, distribution of fertilizers, seeds and manures and other duties like the sale of agriculture produce. Formerly the farmer had to depend upon the middleman for marketing his produce with the result that all the profits went into the pocket of the village sahukar and the farmer could not get much advantage. Whenever the farmer needed money, he would sell his yield or his crop at a very low price. We are trying to change that system so that the farmer should enjoy the maximum benefit from his labour. If the agricultural produce is marketed through the cooperative union and the middleman is eliminated, the entire profit will be shared by farmers themselves. I may, however, point out that cooperative societies are not meant simply to advance money to the farmers but to render many other services like providing good quality seeds, better implements and if need be, small tractors. It is meant to perform all those functions which an individual farmer cannot successfully do. It is in this way that a cooperative union can encourage cooperative effort among the farmers and save them from exploitation. The cooperative unions do not take away the land of the farmer; the land remains his property. They only help in increasing his profits. The money that formerly went into others' pockets is shared by the farmers themselves and thus the farmers can become prosperous. In almost every country of the world, farmers and agriculturists have formed cooperative unions. They not only share the profits among them but they also set up small factories, open schools and run civil and veterinary hospitals. Thus all of them are gainers. Their children get opportunities for education and everyone gets employment. Thus the country as a whole stands to gain. You must, however, remember that cooperative unions do not start functioning by just collecting a few people together. They have to be trained for the jobs and unless adequate training is given, they cannot run the unions efficiently. We, therefore, made arrangements that proper training be imparted to the people. The village workers and the Block Development Officer were trained in these jobs so that the cooperative unions should be manned by trained personnel. In our cooperative unions, the ownership of land will remain with the farmer himself.

Cooperative Unions can serve in another way. It may not be brought about immediately. In a country like ours, where there is a fragmentation of holdings, with each farmer owning a small piece of land, it would be much better if twenty or thirty farmers join together and start collective farming. This reduces the expenses and increases the profits. Collective farming is, therefore, a very useful thing but it can come about only after some time. At this time I shall impress upon you the need for forming cooperative unions. It will not affect in any way the ownership of your land, but it will help you in marketing your agricultural products and in other economic matters. I, therefore, believe that if

you can have panchayats to help you in administrative matters and cooperative unions in economic matters, our villages can make great progress.

### Importance of Schools

The third important thing that we need in our villages is schools. In the world of today illiterate people cannot make any progress. It would be wrong to suppose that the people who live in village need no education. Education is necessary even to a farmer. Of course, when I say that people should be educated, I do not mean that they should become clerks in the offices of Jaipur and Delhi after receiving education. I want that people should serve their villages, make progress and spread light after their education. Every day new opportunities are opening out and it is necessary that every village should have a school so that the villager should be able to receive education. All these three things, panchayats, cooperative unions and schools are the foundations of our village life and remember, education should not be confined only to men, womenfolk should also get equal opportunities because no country can make progress unless its men as well as women join together in making the country prosperous. Those days are gone when women were confined to the homes and were not allowed to share in any activities that men engaged in. Women should do the duties of the home but that should not be all. They should also serve the country in any way they can. It is only then that our country can make progress. We cannot afford to waste time. Our population is increasing day by day, and along with that our responsibility too. We should, therefore, strain every nerve to take the country forward with as much speed as we can.

### Hard work is our wealth

We should all remember that wealth can only be produced by our sweat and toil. Whether we produce wealth on our lands or in our factories, we do so with our hard work. Our wealth is entirely dependent upon our labour. The Government of India does not have any treasure hoarded at Delhi. Whatever it has is collected from the people through taxes. It is the people's money that is spent upon education, health, communications and in so many thousands of ways. It is the money collected from the people and it is spent on their welfare. We have, however, to see that this money should be utilised in such a way that it should further increase our wealth. If we do not take adequate measures, it will probably be spent in wrong channels and the people will not gain anything. We, therefore, set up a commission known as the Planning Commission which was to decide, after consultation with the people, about the plans and the schemes



on which money should be spent.<sup>151</sup> This Commission framed the First Five Year Plan which came to an end and now we are having the Second Five Year Plan. It will come to an end after a year or so. The Third Five Year Plan is in the making and is being discussed at present. It is this Commission that formed Development Plans like the Community Development Blocks for the uplift of the villages. Now the time has come when the responsibility of running those plans should be entrusted to the people. I shall, therefore, ask you to shoulder those responsibilities with faith and courage. You should increase your income and then spend it upon the welfare of the entire village, and the education of your children. You should know that you have taken upon yourself a heavy responsibility and the people of India are looking towards you. I am fully confident that not only in Rajasthan but in any part of India where responsibility is entrusted to the people, it will yield happy results.

### Millions on the March

As we sit here, I see the sun going down, and before my eyes flash two pictures—the picture of old Rajasthan, symbolised in the fort of Amar Singh Rathore and the picture of new Rajasthan represented by the present generation. The old and the new are rubbing shoulders with each other. We are the product of the past but we have to build the future. We must respect the old order but we must remember that we have to build a new India. Building a new India does not mean that a few persons belonging to the high classes should be able to receive high education but it means that every child of India should get proper opportunities of receiving education. Agriculture is a noble profession but we do not want our farmers to remain poor; we want prosperous farmers. Agriculture is the foundation of our nation's life today. We have to undertake many projects but the success of all our projects depends upon our agriculture. As long as we do not acquire self-sufficiency in food, we cannot march ahead. We cannot depend upon others for ever. If we import food from outside, all our money will be drained away and we will become poorer day by day. At the same time we need money for setting up our heavy industries and for other projects. Therefore, our primary need is to increase our agricultural produce. It is in this context that I stressed the need of cooperative unions because it is through such unions that we can increase our agricultural produce and can get the maximum advantage. The land of Rajasthan is very fertile. Many of you might be coming from Suratgarh near Ganga Nagar. Some time back it was a barren area but

151. The Planning Commission was set up on 15 March 1950.

# You Said It

By LAXMAN



*At last, imports liberalised, my dear chap!  
We may now import the rest of the machinery and start producing for export!*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 5 OCTOBER 1959)



now it is being irrigated by Bhakra and it has yielded a bumper crop. The land of Rajasthan produces gold but it can do so only after it is properly irrigated and we are gradually making arrangements for the irrigation of barren lands. All these things can only be achieved if people work hard and serve the nation with might and main.

### Historic Step

I, therefore, repeat that you have taken a historic step on an auspicious day and I congratulate you and offer my blessings. But who am I to offer my congratulations and blessings? We are all participants in a joint enterprise. It is good that we should encourage each other but the real joy lies in our success. It is only when our efforts begin to bear fruit that we get real pleasure. You may undertake any enterprise and if you take it to a successful conclusion by your courage and hard work, it gives us strength and makes the whole nation strong. There was a time when we fought for our independence, and as soon as we attained it, we felt a new strength within us. The world began to respect us and our efforts bore fruit. We framed the First Five Year Plan and we carried it through successfully. That gave us self-confidence. You should also try to make your panchayats a success. You should try to run cooperative unions with strength and courage, and you will see that the life of the people of Rajasthan will be transformed. As your conditions improve, you will gain more strength and greater self-confidence. You will be able to raise your head high with pride and you will make rapid progress. You have all gathered here to ponder over these problems. My best wishes are always with you and I am confident that step by step the people of Rajasthan will march towards their goal. We have so far succeeded and moved step by step. We obtained independence, abolished the petty rajas, jagirdari came to an end and this one is also a historic step. You have seen that gradually and steadily your strength is increasing. Now when the responsibilities have been entrusted to the people, it will increase still more. Formerly the rajas and their subjects were divided into water-tight compartments but now that distinction between the rulers and the ruled has been obliterated. In olden times when a king was installed on the throne, he did not become wise overnight. Similarly you should not think that by gaining an official position you will become superior to others. This is the main drawback of our national life that sometimes our officers begin to consider themselves as masters. This is, however, a vestige of the British rule which will disappear gradually.

We must work in a spirit of equality

An officer is appointed by us. He goes through a hard test. He is trained to work and then we entrust the responsibility to him. If after that the officer begins to consider himself superior to everybody else, he will not be able to serve the country properly. I, therefore, hope that your Presidents and sarpanches will not work in that way. It is obvious that only a person who can work efficiently is given the responsibility. The others will not be able to function efficiently. If, however, an officer becomes very proud and wants to employ bureaucratic methods, he will not be able to win the cooperation of the people. A good officer, therefore, works in a spirit of equality. It is only then that he can impart training to others. You should also move along those lines and work in mutual cooperation. All the people like village workers and Block Development Officers associated with your panchayats or Block Development Projects should consider themselves as the members of one fraternity. There should be no distinction between the high and the low because the day of the rulers and the ruled are gone. The petty rulers and jagirdars have gone out of our national life and, therefore, the caste distinction amongst us should also disappear. In the India of today nobody should consider himself superior to the others. In political life everyone has an equal vote; in economic matters everyone has equal opportunities; in our panchayats also everyone should be considered as equal, whether he is a man or a woman, high or low. You might be a Hindu, a Buddhist, a Muslim, a Parsi, a Christian, or a Jain. You have full liberty to worship in any way you like, but the very fact that you belong to one sect does not mean that you should ill-treat the others. We are all the children of one country. To whatever religion we might subscribe we should all live like brethren. We may follow our own religions but we should respect other religions also. It is in such a spirit of unity and brotherhood that we have to march ahead and keep up the step that you have taken, with courage in your work and faith in yourself. You should remember that the world is watching you at every step. If you flinch from your determination and get caught up in mutual quarrels and party factions, you will not be able to succeed in your mission and you will expose yourself to ridicule. When we undertake a big enterprise, we ourselves become great. We should not act like small men. Therefore, all of you, the panches, sarpanches, presidents and other eminent persons who have gathered here have taken upon yourselves a heavy responsibility. You have to awaken the masses of Rajasthan and it is a great thing. You should, therefore, guard yourself against adopting a wrong course so that you should not bring a bad name to yourself, to your panchayats or to your State. You have to rise above petty things and set a noble example. If you do so, you will find peace and strength of mind and you will



make tremendous progress. The future generations would be able to say with pride that you laid the solid foundations of democracy in Rajasthan.

## 90. At Nagaur: Public Meeting<sup>152</sup>

अब कुछ मुझे समय मिलेगा आप लोगों से कुछ अलग-अलग मिलने का, बातचीत करने का। ये बात ठीक है कि पाँच हज़ार आदमियों से अलग-अलग मिलना कठिन हो जाता है।

तो ये प्रबन्ध हुआ कि मैं आपसे कुछ कह दूँ। कल कुछ बातें मैंने आपके सामने रखी थीं। अब आपके ऊपर जो आप प्रमुख हैं, प्रधान हैं, सरपंच हैं, पंच हैं, उनके ऊपर एक बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी आती है। मुझे इस बात का विश्वास है कि उस ज़िम्मेदारी को आप अच्छी तरह से ओढ़ेंगे, लेकिन याद रखिए, है ज़िम्मेदारी। ज़िम्मेदारी कई तरह की होती है। एक तो होती है कि आपके ऊपर, आपके कंधे पर ज़बरदस्ती रखी जाये, करना पड़ता है, उसमें जी लगे या न लगे। एक होता है जो अपनी खुशी से कोई लेता है तो उसको उस काम करने में कोई बोझ नहीं होता है, चाहे कितना ही मुश्किल काम हो। अब खुशी से कोई काम करता है और जब अपने लोगों के लिए, अपने लिए, अपने गाँव के लिए कोई काम होता है तो बोझ नहीं होता, कितना ही हो। और आप लोग सब चुन के आये, तो आपने उसको स्वीकार किया, और अब आपको एक तरह से आप चुनाव में खड़े हुए, और आये तो एक तरह से प्रतिज्ञा आपने ली [कि] उस काम को करेंगे ठीक-ठीक।

अब आप देखें इस काम के माने क्या है? ये आप समझ लें। ये खाली कुछ ऊपरी काम नहीं है, ऊपरी काम कर दें, बल्कि आप लोगों को अपने-अपने गाँवों या इलाक़े को समझो उठाना है, अपने परिश्रम से, गाँव वालों के परिश्रम से उठाना है। क्योंकि ये बात समझ लेनी चाहिए आपको। ये बात बड़ी मोटी बात है, सीधी बातें हैं, लेकिन लोग समझते नहीं, कि कैसे एक देश या एक इलाक़ा [...] तरक्की करता है? आप लोग समझें, आपमें से बाज़, कि साहब, कोई सरकारी ख़ज़ाने से मदद मिलती है, तो तरक्की होती है या कोई राजा के ख़ज़ाने से मिलती है तो तरक्की होती है ये समझें, लेकिन वो सरकारी ख़ज़ाने में और राजा के ख़ज़ाने में पैसा कहाँ से आता है। कहीं बाहर से तो नहीं आता, आप ही लोगों में से आता है उधर और उसमें से एक थोड़ा-सा हिस्सा निकल जाता है असल में इसलिए एक देश की शक्ति ऊपर से [...] कहीं से नहीं आती, वहाँ के लोगों के काम करने की शक्ति है, अपने काम से वो कमाते हैं, अपने काम से वो धन पैदा करते हैं। धन क्या चीज़ है? मैं कल भी कह रहा था, धन कोई सोना-चाँदी नहीं है, वो तो व्यापार की चीज़ है या कोई आप उसका ज़ेवर बनाये लें दिखाने के लिए, लेकिन वो कोई खाने-पीने की चीज़ नहीं है। धन है, असली धन है, जिस चीज़ को आप अपने परिश्रम से पैदा करें, चाहे खेत में पैदा करें, चाहे घरेलू-धन्धों से पैदा करें, चाहे कारखाने

से पैदा करें, चाहे कारीगरी से पैदा करें, जो चीज़ मेहनत से पैदा होती है, चाहे हाथ की मेहनत से, चाहे दिमाग की मेहनत से, वो नयी चीज़ हुई। अब मैं आपको बताऊँ कैसे फ़र्क है? एक वकील है; वो वकील वकालत में कुछ पैसा कमाये तो उन्होंने नया धन नहीं बनाया, उन्होंने दूसरे के धन, उसने कुछ दिया उनको तो उसको मिला, नयी चीज़ नहीं बनी। एक आदमी ने अपने, जो उसने कमाया था, उन्होंने वकील को दिया, तो वकील के पास धन हो गया, लेकिन आदमी कारीगर है, वो कोई चीज़ खुद बनाता है तो उसने एक नयी चीज़ बनायी, वो किसी और की जेब से नहीं निकाला और वो नयी चीज़ है। दुनिया में नया धन पैदा हो गया। एक ज़मीन से आप, खेती से काम करते हैं, तो खेत से जो निकला वो किसी और का नहीं है, वो आपके परिश्रम से और ज़मीन से निकला, वो धरती से निकला। कारख़ाने में कोई काम करें, या घरेलू धन्धा हो या आप चरखा चलायें घर में, चाहे थोड़ा या अधिक, वो अपने नयी चीज़ कोई पैदा की, नया धन हुआ वो। आपने सूत काता या बुना, तो देश में जित्ता अधिक नया सामान पैदा होता है चाहे ज़मीन से, चाहे घर के धन्धे से, या कारख़ाने से वो देश का नया धन होता है, और जितने लोग उस नये धन को पैदा करें, जित्ता अधिक पैदा हो, उतना ही वहाँ धन उस देश में होता है, देश भर को ले कर, कहीं बाहर से नहीं आता। अब उस धन में से देश का प्रबन्ध करने के लिए, इन्तज़ाम करने के लिए, टैक्स लिया जाता है। कुछ-न-कुछ तरह-तरह से कि वो सरकारी ख़ज़ाने में आये; फिर उससे काम होते हैं, जो कुछ काम हो — सड़कें बनाना, स्कूल बनाना, हस्पताल बनाना और पचासों बातें होती हैं, जिसको एक सरकार को करना चाहिए और उनके जो काम करने वाले हैं, सरकारी, उनको तनख़्वाह वगैरह देना, ये सब उसी से आता है। यानी जनता की कमाई का एक हिस्सा जाता है एक सरकारी ख़ज़ाने में और उसमें से फिर, फिर जनता के लिए ख़र्च होना चाहिए उसको, कोई गड़बड़ी हो तो और बात है, लेकिन सिद्धान्त ये है कि जनता के लिए उसके उद्धार के लिए उन्नति के लिए वो ख़र्च हो। इस तरह से पैसा घूमे।

अब आप देखो कि आप तरक्क़ी करना चाहें, आपकी उन्नति हो, तब जो-जो आप करना चाहें, फ़र्ज़ करो आप स्कूल बनाना चाहते हैं सब जगह, अब स्कूल बनाने में, विद्यालय बनाने में पैसा ख़र्च होता है। कहाँ से आये पैसा? आख़िर में कहीं-न-कहीं घूम कर वो जनता ही से आता है। या तो घूम कर आये टैक्स हो कर उधर से, सरकारी ख़ज़ाने से या सीधा आये। अब एक कठिनाई होती है, ग़रीब देश में लोगों के पास पैसा कम होता है, अमीर देश में अधिक होता है। कोई अमीर देश वाले आगे बढ़ना चाहें तो जल्दी बढ़ सकते हैं, क्योंकि उनके पास बहुत पैसा है और उसको लगा सकते हैं नये कामों में, यानी ये बात आप समझें, जितना आप कमाते हैं, उसमें से आप ख़र्चते हैं अपने लिए, अगर आपके पास कुछ नहीं बचे, सब आप ख़र्च दें, तब आप वहीं-के-वहीं रहते हैं। आगे-पीछे नहीं हटते, वहीं-के-वहीं हैं, यानी आपने कोई नयी बात नहीं की, जिससे आपकी तरक्क़ी हो। जितना कमाया, उतना आपने खा-पी लिया, वहीं-के-वहीं रहे। अगर जितना आप कमाते हैं, उससे अधिक खा-पी लें तो आपका दीवाला निकल जायेगा थोड़े दिनों में। मोटी बात है। जितना आप कमाते हैं उससे कम ख़र्चें आप तो



आप कुछ आपके पास बच जाता है, जो बच जाता है उसको आप नये काम में लगा सकते हैं, जिससे आपकी और आपके इलाक़े की उन्नति होती हो। हर देश भर की उन्नति होती है उससे कि जितना कमाता है देश और जितना खर्चता है जो बच जाता है उससे उन्नति होती है जो-जो चाहें काम हम कर सकते हैं, उससे कारखाने बनायें, सड़कें बनायें, हस्पताल बनायें, जो चाहें करें। उसी से कि जको बचा रहता है, याद रखिए आप। तो जिना ज़्यादा बचे उतने ही हम आगे बढ़ सकते हैं। अब एक ग़रीब देश में बहुत अधिक बचता नहीं है, नहीं तो ग़रीब क्यों हो अगर बच जाये बहुत, इसलिए उसकी उन्नति हल्की हो जाती है। अमीर देश जो होता है, उनके पास बहुत बच जाता है। अब अमरीका का देश है, उनके पास इतना धन-दौलत बच रहता है कि किते ही फ़ैकें तब भी बच रहता है। क्योंकि, क्यों [कि] वो इतना [...] कमाते हैं। वो ज़मीन से बहुत कमाते हैं। इतना कमाते हैं वो ज़मीन से, क्योंकि वो नये-नये तरीक़े ज़मीन में लगाते हैं, मशीन है, ये है, वो है, बहुत बातें, कि अगर आप सोचो कि वो फ़ैकते हैं, ज़ाया करते हैं। इसी साल का मैं पढ़ रहा था, अगर साल भर में एक, एक पाव भर भी वहाँ कोई पैदावार न हो अन्न की, तब भी उसके पास पड़ा हुआ है काफ़ी साल-दो साल चलने के लिए। सारे देश, इतना बड़ा देश, इतना पड़ा रहता है फ़ैकने पर भी, इसलिए कि उन्होंने कुछ नये तरीक़े निकाले हैं इस बात को करने के, अच्छे बीज चुन कर और अच्छा ये और अच्छा वो और इससे अधिक पैदा होता है। हम भी कर सकते हैं वो, ख़ाली उसकी कोशिश करनी होती है। तो इसीलिए मैं आपसे कह रहा था कि जो हमें आगे बढ़ना है, पहली बात, देश को हमें आगे ले जाना है। आगे ले जाने में नये-नये काम करने में पैसा खर्च होता है, चाहे तो स्कूल बनाओ, चाहे सड़क बनाओ, चाहे हस्पताल बनाओ, चाहे कारखाना बनाओ, जो भी कुछ करो, चाहे आप सहकारी संघ बनाओ, उसको कुछ पैसे की ज़रूरत है, इन सभों में। वो पैसा नहीं आता है जो कि बच रहता है। चाहे वो सारे देश का बचे, चाहे वो एक एक शहर का, गाँव का, परिवार का जो भी कुछ हो जो बच रहता है, वो लगाया जाता है। वो सरकार की तरफ़ से वो है क्या कहलाता है, सेविंग सर्टिफ़िकेट क्या कहते हैं उसको? अल्प बचत के सर्टिफ़िकेट निकलते हैं। वो ही हैं जो बच रहे उसको रखा जाये, तो उसमें लाभ होता है और उसमें सूद भी मिलता है। और वो नये कामों में लगाया जाता है।

अब नये कामों में जो लगाया जाता है पैसा, वो दो-तीन तरह के काम होते हैं। एक तो ऐसे काम होते हैं, जिससे कुछ आमदनी होती है। फ़र्ज़ करो कारखाने में लगाओ और कारखाने से आमदनी हो तो आमदनी होती है, फिर बढ़ता जाता है देश का धन-दौलत। दूसरा ये कि ऐसे बातों में लगाओ कि सड़क बनायी, विद्यालय बनाया, हस्पताल बनाया, उसमें एकदम से आमदनी नहीं होती है, लेकिन असल में बड़ी आमदनी होती है उससे। कैसे? उसमें दूसरी तरह से आमदनी होती है कि वहाँ की जनता को बहुत लाभ होता है, पैसे की आमदनी नहीं, लेकिन आदमियों में आमदनी हुई, आपके बच्चे पढ़ें तो कोई पैसा तो आपको नहीं मिल गया, लेकिन पैसे से अधिक क़ीमती चीज़ आपको मिल गयी, विद्या मिली बच्चों को, जिससे वो पैसे भी कमा सकते हैं और...और हस्पताल हुआ आपके स्वस्थ का प्रबन्ध ठीक हुआ, तो आपका शरीर

मज़बूत हुआ। पैसा नहीं आपको मिला, लेकिन आपकी ताक़त बढ़ गयी, पैसा कमाने की या और काम करने की। तो देश में दोनों बातें करनी होती हैं, एक तो ये कि ऐसे-ऐसे काम करें जिससे पैसा हम कमा सकें। फ़र्ज़ करो हमने एक बड़ा कारख़ाना खोला, वहाँ सिन्दरी में है, आपने सुना हो, जहाँ एक क्रिस्म की खाद बनती है, जिससे बहुत आप खेत में डालें तो आपकी पैदावार बढ़ जाती है। हम ऐसे-ऐसे बहुत कारख़ाने खोल रहे हैं सब जगह, शायद राजस्थान में भी खुलें, तो उससे हम यहाँ खाद बनाते हैं। (तालियाँ) तो उससे आपकी आमदनी बढ़ेगी, जब आप खाद को लगायेंगे, लेकिन आखिर में बहुत आवश्यक बात ये है कि पैसा ऐसी बातों में लगाया जाये जिससे आदमी ज़्यादा अच्छे हो जाते हैं, पुरुष, स्त्री, बच्चे और सब में आवश्यक बात वो है कि हम बचपन बच्चों से शुरू करें, बच्चों की पढ़ाई, बच्चों का स्वास्थ्य, क्योंकि वो ही असल में जड़ पड़ती है। बड़े हो कर फिर ज़रा पढ़ना-लिखना कठिन हो जाता है। आप जानते हैं, नयी बातें सीखनी हैं। बच्चा सीखता है तो फिर उसका दिमाग तेज़ हो जाता है, वैसे ही करता है।

कल मैंने आपसे बहुत सारी बातें वहाँ कीं, लेकिन एक बात मैं आपसे कहूँ विशेषकर, कि पहला ध्यान, दो बातों की तरफ़ आपको अधिक देना है, एक तो बुनियादी बात है कि आप अपनी ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा करें। उसमें आपका लाभ है, देश का लाभ है, ये बहुत ही ज़रूरी बात है और इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि ये बात हो सकती है, क्योंकि हमने देखा हमारे देश में जहाँ-जहाँ कोशिश हुई है, वहाँ दुगुना-तिगुना पैदा होने लगा है। हाँ, अच्छी ज़मीन करके, और ज़मीन तो आपकी बहुत अच्छी है। पानी की क़सर रहती है, जो कुछ हो, फिर भी हो सकता है। तो एक तो पहले ध्यान आपको देना है, क्योंकि जैसे अधिक पैदा होगा आपके यहाँ, वैसे ही आपके पास अधिक, आपकी शक्ति हो जायेगी और काम करने की, आपकी आमदनी बढ़ जायेगी, आपकी, एक तो व्यक्तियों की, और एक सारे वहाँ के समाज की। आपकी आमदनी बढ़ जायेगी तो आप और काम कर सकते हैं, उससे, एक तो ये है ही दूसरी बात दूसरे ढंग की है कि आपको ध्यान देना चाहिए विशेषकर बच्चों पर, अपने बच्चों पर, दूसरे के बच्चों पर नहीं ज़्यादा। क्योंकि ये समझ लीजिए कि बच्चे, आजकल के जो बच्चे हैं, वे कल बड़े होंगे। अगर बच्चे ठीक हो गये, अच्छे हैं, सीखे हुए, स्वास्थ्य अच्छा है, स्कूल में पढ़े हुए, विचार अच्छे, तो फिर कल की जो जनता होगी वो अच्छी जनता होगी, तगड़ी और आगे पड़ेगी। और याद रखो कि छोटे बच्चे जितना सीखते हैं, उतना बड़े नहीं सीखते और दस-बारह वर्ष की उम्र में जितना बच्चा सीखता है, उसके बाद भी नहीं उतना सीखता है। लोग समझते हैं फिर जा के पढ़ायें, भेजो जब वो हो जाये बड़ा, वो नहीं होगा। इसलिए हर सरकार के लिए, मैं इनको, मोहन लाल सुखाड़िया<sup>153</sup> से कहता हूँ, हर राज्य के सरकार के लिए ये आवश्यक होना चाहिए कि बच्चों की देख-भाल का विभाग होना चाहिए। (तालियाँ) बच्चों की उन्नति और इसी तरह से आप लोग अपने-अपने इलाक़े में विशेष ध्यान दीजिए। उनके देख-भाल के माने क्या हैं? कुछ तो



खैर आपने घर में होती है। वो तो होती है माता-पिता की, वो तो होनी चाहिए। उसके अलावा पढ़ाई का उनका प्रबन्ध और उनके स्वास्थ्य का प्रबन्ध और जो बातें आप उचित समझें खेल-कूद का प्रबन्ध, खाली पढ़ाई का नहीं, खेल-कूद भी हो, हर जगह बच्चों के लिए कोई जगह जहाँ के। और सब बच्चे मिल-जुल कर करें, अमीर-गरीब की बात नहीं है। सभी को बराबर की तरह से, बचपन में ये फ़र्क भी नहीं होते हैं, तो ये बहुत आवश्यक बात है।

तो अब आपके ऊपर ये बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारियाँ आयीं, तो मैंने आपसे ज़ोर दिया एक तो यही, ज़्यादा ज़मीन से पैदा करना, इस सिलसिले में ये बात भी कही गयी है कि सहकारी संघ आपके हों, तो उसमें मदद ज़्यादा मिलती है। एक-दूसरे के साथ सलाह करके, मशविरे करके, करना है; यानी मैं उसका पहले कह रहा हूँ, सहकारी संघ, जिसमें आप अपनी ज़मीन जोतेंगे, अलग जोतेंगे, इसमें मिलने की बात नहीं, लेकिन कितनी बातें हैं जो मिल के आप कर सकते हैं बेचना-खरीदना सामान का, खाद-बीज, क्योंकि इस मामले में अगर आप बढ़ाना चाहते हैं अपनी पैदावार, तो बहुत आप तो जानते हैं, बीज पर है, अच्छे बीज पर है, अब उसमें आपको एक-एक आदमी कोशिश करे ये नहीं, यानी सब मिल कर करें, फिर वो मिल के कोई जो समिति हो आपकी वो लिखा-पढ़ी कर सकती है, मँगा सकती है कुछ। हरेक अलग-अलग आदमी क्या-क्या करें, नहीं हो सकता है। बेचने में, हम बीच के लोगों को, जहाँ तक बन पड़े, निकाल देना चाहते हैं। यानी आप बेचें उन लोगों को जिनको आवश्यकता है आपकी चीज़ की। बीच के लोग जो उससे लाभ उठाते हैं, वो न आपको लाभ होता है, न खरीदार को होता है। तो वो भी अगर आपकी सहकारी संघ हो तो आसानी से कर सकती है। जो उसमें लाभ हो वो आपको आ जाता है वापस, तो मोटी बात है, सहकारी संघ इस तरह के करना। बहस कुछ लोगों ने शुरू की इस बात पर कि कहा गया कि जहाँ लोग उचित समझें वो मिल कर अपनी खेती करें। ज़मीन तो उनकी रहेगी अलग, उन की मिलकियत, क्योंकि जहाँ थोड़ी-थोड़ी ज़मीन है एक-एक आदमी के पास, राजस्थान में तो इतनी नहीं है और जगह कहीं-कहीं बहुतों के पास एक एकड़ से कम ज़मीन है। अब एक एकड़ वाला आदमी, उसको बड़ा परिश्रम करना पड़ता है और उसको लाभ नहीं मिलता बहुत बातों का। लेकिन मिल कर सौ-पचास आदमी ऐसे करें तो उनकी शक्ति बढ़ जाती है। और ज़्यादा पैदा करते हैं, ज़्यादा हिस्सा उनको ही जाता है। खैर, मैं उसमें नहीं जाता। ये सवाल, ये प्रश्न आपके सामने नहीं है अभी। कोई करना चाहे करे, खुशी से, कोई ज़बरदस्ती तो है नहीं, लेकिन दूसरे सहकारी संघ ये आवश्यक है। और आप देखेंगे जैसे आप की शक्ति बढ़ जाती है पंचायत बना के वहाँ का इन्तज़ाम करने की। दूसरी में आर्थिक बातों में भी आपकी शक्ति फ़ौरन बढ़ जायेगी और हल्के-हल्के पहले आप ग़लती करेंगे, होता ही है, उससे कोई घबराना नहीं। लेकिन एक बात उसमें अवश्य है याद रखने की आपके लिए कि सहकारी संघ चलाने के लिए कुछ सीखना पड़ता है, कैसे चलायें? बहुत नहीं, लेकिन कुछ-न-कुछ सीखना है। और इसके सिखाने का प्रबन्ध भी हुआ है, यहाँ राजस्थान सरकार ने किया है। नहीं तो वो ठीक उसके क्रायदे-क़ानून न आयें तो फिर आप फँस जायेंगे उसमें, इसलिए सीखना है। और ये सरकारी अफ़सर हैं वगैरह, ये तो आपकी

समितियों में आयेंगे, सलाह-वलाह देने और जैसे मैंने कल कहा था, उनको कोई बड़ी वहाँ एक अफ़सरी नहीं चलानी है। लेकिन वो सीखे हुए लोग हैं, उनसे आप बहुत सीख सकते हैं। समझिए, बग़ैर समझे कोई बात करने की आपको कोई ज़रूरत नहीं है। समझ कर करनी चाहिए। जो बग़ैर समझे करता है, वो उससे लाभ नहीं उठाता। समझिए, बहस कीजिए, झगड़ा कीजिए। बहस करने में अगर आप का जी चाहे, समझिए बात को, और कभी-कभी ऐसा होता है कि कोई आपको बात समझा भी दे, लेकिन जब तक उसको करके देखें नहीं, उसका फल क्या होता है, ठीक-ठीक समझ में नहीं आती बात। बात ठीक है। असल में तो समझ में आती [है] उसका फल देख कर। कोई आपके पास बीज आये तो आप क्या कहें, बीज लगाया, देखें, हाँ, कितना बड़ा हुआ, तो आपको विश्वास हो जाये कि अच्छा बीज है, इसलिए ये नमूने के फ़ार्म्स जो बने हैं, मॉडल फ़ार्म्स, यहाँ ये देख सकें। तो ख़ैर ये तो सब स्कीम, तफ़सील में क्या जाऊँ? लेकिन इस बात को मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप समझें कि हमारे देश में एक बड़ी क्रान्ति हो रही है। इन्क़लाब, पुराना एक नारा हमारा है, इन्क़लाब ज़िन्दाबाद। अब इन्क़लाब के माने क्या, ये नहीं माने हैं कि [...] लाठी-बन्दूक ले कर लगे चलाने उसको दूसरों के ऊपर, हिंसा करना, मार-पीट करना, ये नहीं। असल में क्रान्ति के माने हैं जब समाज बदलती है, हुल्लड़बाज़ी के माने नहीं हैं क्रान्ति। अच्छा, तो सब में बड़ी क्रान्ति हमारे देश में हम कराना चाहते हैं जिससे समाज बदले, अपनी शक्ति से कोई ज़बरदस्ती नहीं, अपनी शक्ति से बदले, असल में वो बदलती है, बहुत सारी बातें उसमें हैं, लेकिन एक बड़ी वजह समाज के बदलने की होती है पढ़ना-लिखना, क्योंकि पढ़ना-लिखना एक कुंजी है जिससे नयी दुनिया खुल जाती है हरेक पढ़े-लिखे आदमी के लिए। हर बात में आप ज़मीन पर काम करते हैं। तो नयी-नयी बातें आपको मालूम होंगी और कैसे कहाँ-कहाँ हुआ, क्या हो रहा है भारत के और हिस्सों में या और देशों में। आप कोई घरेलू धन्धा करते हैं तो आपको उससे मालूम हो जायेगा कि क्या-क्या हो रहा है, कैसे-कैसे घरेलू धन्धे नये तरीक़े से हों, कैसे हमारे यहाँ बिजली आये तो उससे हम घरेलू धन्धे चलायें। क्योंकि वो तो शक्ति है बिजली एक, और आयेगी वो।

तो एक बड़ी क्रान्ति हमारे देश में हुई, और होनी चाहिए। सामाजिक क्रान्ति, क्योंकि उसी क्रान्ति से देश बढेगा नये-नये ढंग से। पुराने ढंग पर हम चलते जायें तो पुरानी ग़रीबी भी हम लिये रहें, रखें रहें, ग़रीबी से कैसे अलग हों। और एक बात और याद रखो, अगर हमारे देश में जो पैदा होता है, जित्ता, उतना ही रहे और लोग भी उते ही रहें तब बराबर रह जाता है, वैसे का वैसे है। लेकिन जित्ता पैदा होता है, उतना ही रहे और लोग बढ़ते जायें, तो खाने वाले अधिक हो जाते हैं। तो कमी हो जाती है हरेक को। जैसे एक परिवार में, वैसे ही देश में। अब हमारे देश में देश की आबादी तेज़ी से बढ़ती जाती है, हर साल लाखों बढ़ जाती है, तो इसके माने ये हैं कि अगर हमारी पैदावार तेज़ी से नहीं बढ़े, तो ग़रीबी बढ़ती जायेगी। क्योंकि खाने वाले अधिक होते जायेंगे, इसलिए और भी आवश्यक हो जाता है इसको ज़ोरों से बढ़ाना। तो ये हमें एक सामाजिक क्रान्ति करनी है। अपने उत्पादन में, पैदावार में बढ़ाना, पढ़ाई में, इसमें और इस तरह से समाज बदलेगी। समाज नयी दुनिया में नये भारत को बनायेगी और उस नये



भारत में आयेगी। इस तरह से तरक्की होती है। [...] और ये बातें सब होती हैं अपनी शक्ति से। अपनी कोशिश से, अपने परिश्रम से, आपकी कोशिश से, ये नहीं कि कोई ऊपर से राजा-महाराजा आपको दे-दे या जयपुर या दिल्ली की सरकार दे-दे। लेन-देन से नहीं होता है। हाँ, एक-दूसरे की सहायता हो; हाँ, सब मिल कर सलाह-मशविरा करें, क्या करना है, उसको करें। कभी-कभी ग़लती होगी तो बदल लेंगे। ये भी बात ठीक नहीं है, कि डर के मारे हम कुछ करें नहीं। अरे भाई साहब, आप इस डर के मारे कि भाई चलूँ तो कहीं फिसल कर गिर न जाऊँ, आप चलें ही नहीं, बैठे रहें तो कहीं भी नहीं पहुँचेंगे [...] चलते तो हैं ही चाहे फिसल कर गिर गये तो उठ खड़े होते हैं, फिर जाते हैं आगे, बढ़ते हैं, ठोकर खायी, फिर चले। चलते चलना तो है न? डरना नहीं है, कभी ठोकर भी खायेंगे, फिसलेंगे भी, गिरेंगे भी, लेकिन फिर, फिर खड़े हो जायेंगे, फिर आगे बढ़ेंगे। इसी तरह से लोग बढ़ते हैं।

तो आपसे तो मेरी इच्छा हो देर तक बातें करता जाऊँ और मौक़ा मिले तो कुछ अलग-अलग बात करूँ आपसे या अलग-अलग आपके इलाक़ों में जाऊँ, देखूँ, लेकिन ये तो बड़ा कठिन हो गया है। यों ही देश बहुत बड़ा है और अलग-अलग जाना बहुत मुश्किल हो जाता है, एक-एक जगह बैठना तो नहीं कर सकता, न बातें करने का बहुत समय मिलता है, लेकिन इस तरह से बहुत सारे लोगों से मिल के एक सभा में कुछ कह देने का अक्सर मिलता है। लेकिन ये ठीक नहीं है, असल में मिलना चाहिए, आपस में बातचीत करना और मैं चुप रहूँ और आप लोग कहें तो आपको सुनूँ मैं, तब ज़्यादा लाभ हो। क्योंकि सच बात तो ये है कि बहुत बातें मैं आपसे सीख सकता हूँ। कुछ बातें आप मुझ से भी सीख लें। आपसे बहुत बातें सीख सकता हूँ आपके बारे में। तो ये दो तरफ़ चाल होनी चाहिए, आप मुझे सिखायें, मैं कुछ आपको सिखाऊँ, तब काम चले।

तो थोड़ी देर में अब यहाँ से मैं जाऊँगा। यहाँ से तो नुमाइश है, प्रदर्शनी है। उसमें जाऊँगा। सुना है, बड़े-बड़े आपने वहाँ जानवर जमा किये हैं, बड़े ज़ोरदार गाय, बैल, यहाँ के प्रसिद्ध हैं, उनको देखूँगा, फिर वहाँ से जाऊँगा मैं एक पुलिस की परेड है, पुलिस वालों को कुछ इनाम मिलेंगे, जिन्होंने हिम्मत, बहादुरी दिखायी और फिर वहाँ से मैं हवाई जहाज़ से चला जाऊँगा बम्बई। आज मुझे वहाँ पहुँचना है, दोपहर तक।

लेकिन मैं ये पुलिस का मैंने आपसे कहा ये भी आप याद रखें कि पुलिस का काम बहुत कठिन होता है और उस में लालच भी बहुत होती है। दोनों बातें हैं, तो ये, और कुछ एक बुरा, काम वो बहुत आवश्यक है, है ही, आप देख सकते हैं। क्योंकि पुलिस का काम है क्या? जनता की रक्षा करना, जनता की सेवा करना। अब कोई ग़लत करे ये और बात है, लेकिन काम तो यही है न, सेवा करना, रक्षा करना और सब समाजों में पुलिस होती है। अब कहीं-कहीं ठीक न काम करे, सँभालना है उसको, और कुछ पुराने ज़माने से चला आता है, पुलिस भी एक बड़े अफ़सर बनने के बजाय सेवा करने के वो हमें सँभालना है और बहुत कुछ सँभले भी हैं, लेकिन ये बात ग़लत है, अब आपको बहुत कुछ अधिकार मिल रहे हैं, तो आपका रिश्ता पुलिस से एक सहयोग का होना चाहिए। पुलिस का रिश्ता आपसे सहयोग का होना चाहिए। नहीं तो न

आपका काम चले और न पुलिस का काम चलेगा। तो होना चाहिए इस तरह से, और गलती करे पुलिस या कोई करे तब ज़ाहिर है, उसकी जाँच-पड़ताल हो। लेकिन आम-तौर से कोशिश करनी चाहिए सहयोग से काम करने की, क्योंकि उसमें आपका भी लाभ होगा आपके लोगों का भी, पुलिस का भी।

अब मैं जाता हूँ। थोड़ी देर यहाँ नागौर में ठहर के। और आप सारे राजस्थान से आये तो एक तरह से सारे राजस्थान का चित्र मेरे सामने आ गया यहाँ, आप सब लोग दूर-दूर से आये, तो इस चित्र को देख कर और इसके पीछे जो जो बातें मैंने सुनी और देखी बहुत मुझे खुशी हुई है। क्योंकि मैं देखता हूँ, एक नया राजस्थान यहाँ बन रहा है और आप लोगों ने अपने कन्धे पर इस बोझ को उठाया है। तगड़े लोग हैं आप। तो आप ज़रूर उस बोझ को उठायेंगे और पूरा करेंगे और इसके रोज़-रोज़ इसको बढ़ते हुए राजस्थान को, मैं देखूँगा।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Now I will get a little time to sit and talk to you individually. It is rather difficult to communicate individually with five thousand people at a time.

It has been arranged that I should address you. I had made a few suggestions to you yesterday. A great responsibility rests with you, the chiefs of panchayats, the pramukhs, sarpanchs, panchs, etc. I have full confidence that you will be able to shoulder the responsibility very well. But please remember that responsibility is of many kinds. One is the kind that is forced upon you and there is no choice but to shoulder it, whether you like it or not. The other kind of responsibility is what you willingly take upon yourself. That kind of work is no burden at all, because it is done voluntarily, for one's people and village and country. Those of you who have been elected have chosen to accept the responsibility and having taken the pledge, I hope you will discharge it to the best of your ability.

You must understand the implications of your job. It is not a superficial task but involves the uplift of your village and the area that you live in by your hard work and effort. This is a simple, straightforward thing but most people fail to understand how a country or an area progresses. Many of you perhaps think that progress is possible only if you get financial help from the government treasury or the king or someone else. But where do they get the money from? It does not come from somewhere else. It has to come from your own pockets in the form of taxes or land revenue and what not, and it is a part of that which is invested in tasks of development. Therefore, the wealth of a nation depends on the peoples' capacity to work and produce goods.

What is wealth? As I was saying yesterday, wealth is not gold or silver



which are mere tools of trade. The real wealth of a country consists of what you produce from land or industries or by other methods through your own effort and hard work. Whatever human beings produce constitutes the wealth of a country. Now let me point out the difference between productive and unproductive employment. A lawyer may earn a great deal but he does not generate new wealth in the country. The money is merely transferred from one pocket to the other. But what an artisan makes is wealth because it is new and has not come out of anybody's pocket. Whatever we produce from land or industries, small industries or even by spinning a charkha, is new wealth. The more goods the people produce, the wealthier a country becomes. It cannot acquire wealth from outside. A part of this new wealth is taken away in the form of taxes for governmental expenditure and administrative arrangements. The money in the treasury is then utilised for the welfare of the people like making roads, schools, hospitals and for all sorts of other necessary things which a government has to provide. The salaries of government servants also come from this source. In short, a portion of the people's earnings goes into the treasury and is then spent for the welfare of the people. There may be wasteful expenditure but in principle, the money ought to be spent for the progress and uplift of the people. The money should thus be in circulation.

Now, for instance, if you want to progress and take up all kinds of work like building schools or something else, where is the money to come from? It has to come from the peoples' pockets in the form of taxes or something else. Now the problem is that there is very little money in poor countries. The rich nations can progress very fast because they have large sums of money to invest in new tasks of development. You must understand that you can spend only as much as you earn and save. If there are no savings, then you remain where you are and it is not possible to do anything new. Whatever you earn is consumed and there is nothing left as savings. If you spend more than you earn, you will soon become bankrupt. This is a broad fact. It is only when you try to save something from your earnings that it is possible to invest in new tasks of development and progress. Therefore, it is extremely important to save whatever we can in the country in order to be able to build schools, roads, and hospitals, set up industries and what not. The more the savings, the faster we can progress. A poor country cannot save very much, because it would not be poor if it had enough to save. The rich nations save a great deal. The United States has such enormous savings that even if they waste, they still have more than enough to do what they like with. It is because they produce an enormous amount of goods by every possible means, from land and industries and what not. They use big machines for everything. I read somewhere the other day that even if they do not produce an ounce of food-grains for the next couple of years, they

will have enough to last them for that long. It is such a large country and even if they waste food, they have large surpluses because they use modern technique and machines, good seeds and fertilizers, etc. We can also do it if we make an effort. So as I was saying, first of all we must increase agricultural production if we wish to progress. The country needs innumerable things like new schools, roads, hospitals, industries and what not. We need money for all these things and it can come only from the savings of the country, whether it is in villages, cities or anywhere else. You have heard of the savings certificates issued by the government. The capital remains intact and you get an interest on it which can be invested in new tasks.

Now these new tasks that we take up can be of three kinds. Firstly, the projects which immediately start earning something. For instance, all industries produce goods of some kind or another and add to the national wealth. The second category is the building of roads, schools, hospitals which do not yield any income at once. But, much income is derived from them. How? It yields income in a different way in so far as the people of that place derive benefit from them. The profit is not in terms of money but in human beings. If your children go to school, there is no direct profit to you in terms of money. But you get something much more valuable than money. The same thing goes for other things like hospitals, schools and other things. Hospitals mean better healthcare facilities and though there is no visible earnings, you grow stronger in body and the capacity to work and earn money increases. Therefore, we have to undertake tasks of both kinds, to earn money as well as provide essential services to the people. For instance, you must have heard about the fertilizer factory in Sindri. We need fertilizers to increase production from land. So we are opening more of these factories and perhaps there will be one in Rajasthan soon. [Applause] It will increase your earnings and also benefit agricultural production. But ultimately it is most important to invest in tasks which are for the betterment of human beings, men, women and children. Most important of all is the education of children, their healthcare, because that is the real foundation of the country's progress. It is difficult to educate people when they grow up. Children learn new things very fast and with education their minds develop.

I talked about various matters to you yesterday. But I would like to point out a couple of things to which you must pay special attention. One is of course to increase production from land. That will benefit the farmer as well as the country. There is no doubt that production can be increased wherever an effort has been made in India, the production has doubled or even trebled. The land has to be looked after. But the soil here in Rajasthan is very good. Only water is in short supply but that can be remedied. So the first thing that has to be done



is to increase production because it will add to our resources to take up other tasks.

Secondly, special attention must be paid to the upbringing of children because they are the future of the country. If the children of today are well looked after, given proper education and training and healthcare facilities etc., the people of India will be strong and progress fast in the future. You must remember that adults cannot learn as fast as children can. Even a child does not learn as much afterwards as what he learns in the first twelve years. People seem to think that they can be educated after they grow up. That is not possible. Therefore I would say that there should be a separate department of child welfare in every State. I say this to Mohanlal Sukhadia ji also. [Applause] Everyone must pay special attention to this in their own areas.

What does looking after children imply? They are looked after to some extent in their houses, by parents. Then, apart from arrangements for their education and providing health care facilities, there should be facilities for sports and games. All children must play together, the rich and the poor alike. In childhood, such disparities do not exist in any case. This is very important.

So, now all these great responsibilities are on your shoulders. As I have been stressing, there has to be greater emphasis on increasing food production. In this connection, as you know, cooperative societies can be of great help. You do not have to take up joint cultivation right away. But there are innumerable spheres where you can work together through the cooperative societies. They can undertake the task of buying and selling, procuring good seeds, and so on. These are some of the things which are very essential for increasing production. Each individual farmer may not be able to do them, so a cooperative society is very essential. We want to eliminate the middle men as far as possible because they take away most of the profit and neither the consumer nor the farmer benefits. Therefore, you should be able to sell directly to the consumer through the cooperative societies. Some people have been objecting to our saying that joint cultivation can be taken up whenever the people want to do so. Their title to the land will remain intact. Most farmers in India do not own more than an acre or two of land though the position is somewhat better in Rajasthan. Now the small farmer does not have the resources to take advantage of the modern techniques of agriculture. But if fifty or hundred of them work together their capacity increases so does production. Anyhow, I shall not go into that just now. This is not the problem before us. If anybody wants to take up joint cultivation, they are welcome to do so. But there is no compulsion.

However, cooperative societies and a strong panchayat are very essential for every village because this increases the capacity of the people to do many things. You are bound to make mistakes but there is no cause for panic. But

training is essential to be able to run the cooperative societies efficiently. The Government of Rajasthan has made arrangements to train people because if you do not understand the rules and regulations, you will get bogged down. Then, government officials may guide and advise but as I said yesterday the cooperatives should not become like government offices. Since they are trained you can learn from them. In fact, you should not take up anything without fully understanding it. You can argue, discuss and debate, but often, unless you do something practically, you cannot grasp all its implications. You can judge best by the results you get. If you want to test if a variety of seeds is good, you will have to sow it and see how it comes up. Several model farms have been set up for this purpose.

Anyhow, I shall not go into the details. But I want you to understand the great revolution that is going on in this country today. One of our old slogans used to be 'inquilab zindabad'. But the revolution does not mean violence and chaos. A real revolution is one in which a society changes itself gradually. We want to change the entire social organisation in India, not by force but with the complete willingness of the people. It is already happening. But one great impetus to social change is education. Education is a key which opens many doors. You can learn new things even in agriculture and will be able to keep abreast of what is happening in the rest of India or elsewhere in the world. This applies to small industries, villages and cottage industries, and educated people are in a better position to take advantage of the latest developments.

So a great revolution is going on in the country today, a social revolution which will set India on the road to progress. If we continue to exist in our old narrow grooves, poverty and all the other ills will also continue to dog our footsteps. If the production in the country remains static, as also the population, the situation will remain unchanged. But if the population keeps growing and the production does not increase, there will be food shortage in the country. This is true of a family or a nation. The population in India has been growing at the rate of several lakhs per year and if we fail to increase production, the country will become poorer because the number of mouths to feed is increasing.

So, we have to bring about this social revolution. It is only by increasing production and spreading education that we will be able to create a new society and a new India. All this is possible only if the people learn to stand on their own feet. It cannot be done by some grants or aid from the government in Delhi or the Raja or Maharaja of Jaipur or someone else. People must help one another and if mistakes are made, they can be rectified. It is not right that we should refrain from doing something because of the fear of making mistakes. You cannot stop walking for fear of slipping and falling. If you slip and fall, you have to get up and go on. There is no point in being afraid of making mistakes.



Even if we make mistakes, we must rectify them and go on because that is the only way we can progress.

All right, left to myself, I will keep talking and would like to see each one of you individually and visit your villages, but this is very difficult. As it is, India is a vast country and it is difficult to visit every single area. There is not much enough time for talking to people. So it is best to speak to them in large public meetings. But it is really not proper that I should talk while you listen. I will benefit more if you could talk to me, because the truth is that I can learn a great deal from you. You may also learn something from me. So this should be a two-way traffic.

I will go away in a short while. I shall visit the Cattle Fair and exhibition and see the famous cows of Rajasthan. After that I shall attend a police parade where some policemen will be given awards for their bravery and courage. Then I shall leave for Bombay by plane where I am due in the afternoon.

I mentioned the police because I want you to realise that the tasks of the police are very difficult and there are a great many temptations in their way. But their role is an important one for it is their duty to serve and protect the people. If the police is not functioning well, the matter should be rectified which is being done. But it is wrong that the police officers should consider themselves superior. The relationship between the police and the people should be one of cooperation. If the police make mistakes, it is obvious that they will be enquired into. But generally speaking, an effort should be made to cooperate with them because then the police as well as the people stand to gain.

I shall leave now. When I see the people assembled here from all over Rajasthan, I get a glimpse of the State which makes me very happy because I see a new Rajasthan emerging with the people shouldering responsibilities themselves. You must take on more burdens and discharge your duty well I shall see the new Rajasthan emerging faster from day to day.

Jai Hind.

Translation ends.]

## 91. Public Meeting, Shadnagar: Greater Autonomy to Panchayats<sup>154</sup>

पंचायत समिति के सदस्य और ज़िला परिषद के सदस्य और पदाधिकारी, बहनो और भाइयो, मुझे आज यहाँ आ कर खुशी है। ख़ाली एक मुझे दुख है कि मैं आपसे आपकी बोली में नहीं बोल सकता, तेलुगू भाषा में, क्योंकि यहाँ आ कर मेरी इच्छा ये कि मैं आपसे बातें करूँ, ख़ाली यहाँ बैठ कर व्याख्यान नहीं दूँ। हमारे लोगों में, मुझमें और सभी में, व्याख्यान देने की बहुत आदत हो गयी है, चाहे कोई सुनना चाहे या न सुनना चाहे, व्याख्यान होते ही जाते हैं। तो असल में तो आपस में बातचीत करनी चाहिए और मैं अगर यहाँ आया तो मैं चाहूँ आपसे सुनना बहुत कुछ कि आपकी कठिनाई क्या है, आपके प्रश्न क्या हैं और ये नहीं कि मैं दिल्ली से आ कर व्याख्यान दे कर दिल्ली वापस चला जाऊँ। इसलिए मुझे खेद है कि मैं आपकी तेलुगू भाषा नहीं बोल सकता।

आज का कार्यक्रम शुरू हुआ एक गाने से, गीत से, आन्ध्र प्रदेश की प्रशंसा में। बहुत अच्छी बात है कि आप आन्ध्र प्रदेश की, विशाल आन्ध्र की, प्रशंसा करें, उससे प्रेम करें, लेकिन अगर आन्ध्र की प्रशंसा करने में, तारीफ़ करने में, आप भूल जायें कि आप भारत के हैं असल में, तो आन्ध्र प्रदेश की प्रशंसा करना अच्छा नहीं है।

क्योंकि हमारी...हमें और आपको स्वराज्य मिला तो भारत को मिला, सारे देश ने लिया, आन्ध्र ने या अलग-अलग प्रदेशों ने नहीं, और अगर हमारे देश की उन्नति हो तो सारे देश की होगी, एकाध हिस्से की ख़ाली नहीं, और अगर आप हमारे देश के बाहर जायें, विदेश में, तो आपका वहाँ आदर होगा इसलिए कि आप हिन्दुस्तान से, भारत से, आते हैं, इसलिए नहीं कि आप आन्ध्र प्रदेश से या बंगाल से या बम्बई से आते हैं। इसलिए आप ज़रूर, अवश्य, आन्ध्र से प्रेम कीजिए, आप जैसे अपने गाँव से प्रेम कीजिए, अपने प्रदेश से प्रेम कीजिए, लेकिन हमेशा याद रखिए कि हमारी उन्नति, हमारी तरक्की सारे भारत से बँधी है और सब भारत के रहने वाले चाहे किसी प्रदेश में हों, चाहे कोई उनकी भाषा हो, कोई उनका धर्म हो, वो सब एक बड़े परिवार में हैं, एक बड़े ख़ानदान में हैं, और हमें मिल कर सब को रहना है और मिल कर काम करने हैं।

आज एक शुभ और मुबारक दिन मैं आपके पास आया हूँ और एक शुभ और मुबारक काम में भाग लेने, शरीक होने, आया हूँ तो इस बात की मुझे खुशी है, क्योंकि आज विजय दशमी का दिन है, जो सारे भारत में बहुत अच्छा और शुभ दिन माना जाता है, आप भी मानते हैं, और जिस काम के लिए मैं आया हूँ, वो भी एक बहुत महान कार्य है, बड़ा काम है, जिससे सारे हमारे गाँव में रहने वाली जनता, आन्ध्र में और बाद में सारे देश में भी, एक बड़ा क़दम उठाये, और अपने हाथ में हल्के-हल्के देश के प्रबन्ध का इन्तज़ाम ले। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप

154. Speech at Shadnagar, Hyderabad, 10 October 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.



लोग पूरी तौर से समझ लें कि आज के दिन हम एक क्रान्तिकारी (ठीक है, खैरियत है) एक बड़ा क्रान्तिकारी काम कर रहे हैं, और हुकूमत की बागडोर एक दर्जे तक उसको गाँव के रहने वालों को, पंचायत समिति को, जिला समिति को देते हैं। यानी जो काम बहुत कुछ अब तक अफ़सर करते थे, अब अफ़सर नहीं करेंगे। याद रखने की बात है, अफ़सर पीछे हटेंगे। अफ़सर सलाह करेंगे, अफ़सर मदद करेंगे, लेकिन पीछे रहेंगे और जो किताबें छापें, उसमें अपनी तस्वीरें भी नहीं छापेंगे, जैसे आज छपी हुई हैं, ये बात बिल्कुल ग़लत है। किसी ऑफ़िशियल, ज़ाबिते से किताब छपे, उसमें न किसी मिनिस्टर की तस्वीर होनी चाहिए, न किसी अफ़सर की। नॉन-ऑफ़िशियल और लोग छापें, छापें, अपनी तस्वीरें कोई नहीं छपा करता है अपनी किताबों में, ये ग़लत बातें हैं, इसलिए गाँव में सारा रंग, सारा तरीक़ा, सारा ढंग शासन करने का, ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का, बदलने की कोशिश हो रही है, जिसमें सरकारी अफ़सर वो एक सलाह देगा लेकिन गद्दी से हट जाता है और लोग गद्दी पर बैठते हैं।

तो आप सोचो कि आप लोगों पर, पुरुष-स्त्री पर, एक बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी आती है। और आप एक तरह से हमारे ग्रामों में एक नया युग शुरू कर रहे हैं असली जनतन्त्र का। वो युग दूसरा था, पहले अंग्रेज़ी राज्य गया, आपके यहाँ हैदराबाद की रियासत से निज़ामी राज्य गया। आपके यहाँ लोक-प्रतिनिधि चुने गये, नुमाइन्दे चुने गये, वहाँ सभाओं के लिए दिल्ली में, दिल्ली में या हैदराबाद में। फिर आन्ध्र प्रदेश बना और इस तरह से जनता का राज्य, जनतन्त्र एक माने में था और अब तक है। लेकिन अब एक बड़ा क़दम उठाया जाता है जिसमें और भी ज़ोरों से जनतन्त्र हो, जिसमें आप लोगों के हाथ में बागडोर हो, एक-एक गाँव में, और ख़ाली दिल्ली और हैदराबाद में बैठे हुए लोगों की या अफ़सरों के हाथ में ख़ाली सलाह करना हो, और ऊपर की बड़ी बातें करना हो, लेकिन आपके गाँव का प्रबन्ध, गाँव के काम, गाँव की उन्नति, ये गाँव के रहने वालों के हाथ में हो, बाहर के नहीं।

जब से स्वराज्य हुआ, उस समय से हमारा ध्यान एक दूसरे काम की तरफ़ गया। हमारी स्वराज्य की यात्रा पूरी हुई, तब दूसरी यात्रा शुरू की। दूसरी यात्रा भारत की सारी जनता को उठाने की, उनके उठने की, और अपनी ग़रीबी से बढ़ कर आगे जायें और सब लोग खुशहाल हो जायें। ये बड़ा काम है और ये काम कोई अफ़सर लोग नहीं करा सकते, कोई बड़े-बड़े मन्त्री नहीं करा सकते, ये काम लोग खुद कर सकते हैं, कोई दूसरा उनसे नहीं करा सकता है। दूसरे लोग सहायता दे सकते हैं। दूसरे लोग आपको बता सकते हैं क्या करो, मदद दे सकते हैं, लेकिन यात्रा करने का काम आम जनता का है, इसलिए ये पुराने विचार कि हम लोग देखा करें सब काम के लिए सरकार की तरफ़, सरकारी अफ़सर की तरफ़, ये बात ठीक नहीं है। हमें स्वयं अपने हाथ-पैर से उन कामों को करना है, अपने ऊपर भरोसा करना है और जहाँ तक हो सके, शासन की बागडोर भी अपने हाथ में लेनी है, तब जनता बढ़ती है, तब पुरुष-स्त्री आगे जाते हैं, और उस समय तक हम...जब तक ये बात नहीं हो, जो कुछ काम होता है, उसकी जड़ मज़बूत नहीं होती है।

तो जो काम आप शुरू कर रहे हैं आन्ध्र में, या कहीं-कहीं पहले से भी यहाँ हो रहा है,

पार साल से, इसमें आपके ऊपर, यहाँ के ग्रामवासियों पर, पुरुष-स्त्रियों पर एक बड़ा बोझा और बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी आती है, और उसको बहुत सँभाल के आप को करना है, क्योंकि अब आपके हाथ में आपकी उन्नति है। किसी अफसर के हाथ में नहीं और अगर आप नहीं काम करते तो आप आगे नहीं बढ़ेंगे, तो सब पुरुष, स्त्री और मर्द और सबको इस बात को समझना है। क्योंकि हम इस देश को ऐसा बनाना चाहते हैं जिसमें एक-एक पुरुष और एक-एक स्त्री भाग ले, हुकूमत में हिस्सेदार हों, खाली औरों के हुकुम न मानने पड़ें, खुद भी एक हिस्सेदार हों हुकूमत करने में।

पहले समय, पहले ज़माने में राजा होते थे और प्रजा होती थी, अब ये फ़रक़ मिटता जाता है। राजा प्रजा हो गये, होते जाते हैं और प्रजा राजा होती जाती है। तो राजा और प्रजा में हम चाहते हैं, कोई फ़रक़ न हो, अफसर और दूसरे में कोई फ़रक़ न हो, मालिक और नौकर में भी, आखिर में, कोई फ़रक़ न हो। अब ये बात एकदम से नहीं हो सकती, हल्के-हल्के होगी। लेकिन इस बात को आप याद रख लें कि जो बात हम चाहते हैं, वो ये कि हरेक पुरुष और स्त्री को बराबर को मौक़ा मिले, उन्नति का, तरक्की का, फिर जितनी उसमें शक्ति हो, उता आगे जाये। अगर शक्ति अच्छी है मानसिक, दिमाग़ की या शरीर की, तो आगे जायेगा, नहीं तो आगे नहीं बहुत जायेगा। लेकिन हर पुरुष और स्त्री को मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए आगे जाने का। ये नहीं कि किसी के पास रुपया है तो आगे जा सके, कोई ग़रीब है तो बेचारा पड़ा है, चाहे कितना ही क़ाबिल हो। ये बात नहीं होनी चाहिए, इसलिए जो समाज हम बनाना चाहते हैं देश में, उस समाज में ऊँच-नीच बहुत कम हो, और सब लोगों को मौक़ा मिले आगे बढ़ने का, यथाशक्ति और ये जो मैंने आपसे कहा राजा-प्रजा का रिश्ता है, ये नहीं होना चाहिए और सारी प्रजा को भी राज करने में एक भाग लेना चाहिए।

जब अंग्रेज़ी राज्य गया, निज़ामशाही गयी, और जनता के हाथ में अधिकार आया चुनने का अपने प्रतिनिधि को विधान सभा के लिए या दिल्ली में लोक सभा के लिए तो जनता के हाथ में थोड़ा-सा राज की बागडोर पकड़ने का उनको मौक़ा मिला। कुछ-न-कुछ जनता, जो पहले प्रजा थी, राज के प्रबन्ध में भाग लेने लगी या ऐसे लोगों को चुनने लगी जो राज का प्रबन्ध करें, वो एक बड़ा क़दम था, जो हुआ और जिन लोगों को आपने चुना अपने प्रतिनिधि, उन लोगों ने फिर...उन्हीं लोगों में से मन्त्री लोग चुने गये तो वो मन्त्री थे, वो एक तरफ़ से बड़े अफसर थे, दूसरी तरफ़ से बड़े सेवक थे जनता के और जब तक जनता चाहे उनको रखे, नहीं तो हटा दे। तो ये एक बड़ा क़दम था जनता के हाथ में राज की बागडोर कुछ-न-कुछ देना। तो पहला क़दम तो वो बड़ा हुआ था, अब दूसरा क़दम ये है कि आपको ग्राम के रहने वालों को, और अधिकार मिले, आपकी पंचायत को अधिकार मिले आपको, जनता को अधिकार मिले, ग्राम की और पंचायत समितियों को मिले और ज़िला परिषद को और जो-जो ग्राम की तरक्की की बातें हैं, वो आपके हाथ में आयें और उसके लिए आपको खर्चा भी मिले करने का, और आपको अधिकार हो कि आप चाहें तो और भी टैक्स वगैरह लगा सकें अपने इलाक़े में। अपने काम के लिए, दूसरों के नहीं।



तो ये बात एक बड़ा क़दम है जनता के हाथ में अधिकार देना और जनता, कौन जनता, गाँव के एक-एक आदमी, एक-एक पुरुष और एक-एक स्त्री के हाथ में, क्योंकि देश जभी ठीक तौर से चलेगा जब देश के सब रहने वाले एक भाग लें देश के प्रबन्ध करने में ख़ाली अफ़सरों पर न छोड़ दें या मन्त्रियों पर, तब देश मज़बूत होगा।

अब इसमें जो हमारे अफ़सर हैं, उनका एक बड़ा काम है। अफ़सर कैसे होते हैं? इसलिए कि उनको पढ़ाया-लिखाया है, उनको काम सिखाये हैं और वो अपने काम में चतुर हो गये हैं, सीखा है, इसलिए हम उनको अफ़सर बनाते हैं। कोई उनको कोई इनाम देने के लिए थोड़े उनके परिवार को, उनको बनाते हैं और अगर अफ़सर ठीक न काम करे तो अलग बैठे जा कर, कोई उनकी जगह आयेगा, कोई इनाम नहीं देना है कि परिवारों को कोई ख़ानदानी इनाम दे रहे हैं, ज़मींदारी-जागीरदारी दे रहे हैं, जैसा पुराना ढंग था। अब अफ़सर इम्तहान से चुना जाता है, इसलिए कि उसमें शक्ति समझी जाती है देश की सेवा करने के लिए।

ये तो ठीक है कि आपके हाथ में अधिकार आये, लेकिन उस अधिकार को ठीक चलाने के लिए, फिर हमारे सब ग्रामवासियों को मौका मिलना चाहिए अच्छी तरह से पढ़ने-लिखने का। आजकल की विद्या सीखने का, आजकल की खेती की विद्या भी और अधिक सीखने का, आजकल की कारख़ानों की विद्या सीखने का, तब काम ठीक हो। क्योंकि जो लोग अनपढ़ होते हैं, जो काम ठीक करना नहीं जानते, वो काम ठीक नहीं कर सकेंगे। इसलिए आवश्यक है कि आप अपने इस इलाक़े में पढ़ाई की तरफ़ ध्यान दें, बच्चों की पढ़ाई की तरफ़, लड़का-लड़की, और बड़ों की भी पढ़ाई की तरफ़ कि वो भी अपना काम अच्छी तरह से करें। जितनी अधिक अच्छी पढ़ाई होगी आपके इलाक़े में, आपके ज़िले या आन्ध्र में, उतना ही आन्ध्र आगे बढ़ेगा। आजकल देश वही आगे बढ़ते हैं जहाँ अच्छे पढ़े-लिखे लोग होते हैं, और पढ़ने-लिखने के माने नहीं है कि आप एक दफ़्तर में क़लम ले कर लिखना सीख लें। पढ़ने-लिखने के माने हैं कि जो आप काम करते हैं, उसको अच्छी तरह से समझें। अगर आप किसान हैं, ज़मीन पर काम करते हैं तो उसको और भी अच्छा करें। अगर आप कोई और काम करते हैं, कारख़ाने में, तो और अच्छा करें, तो इसलिए जितना आप पढ़ेंगे, उतना ही आपकी उन्नति होगी।

आन्ध्र प्रदेश में और सारे भारत में, आप जानते हैं कि अधिकतर लोग ग्रामों में रहते हैं। किसान हैं, ज़मीन पर काम करते हैं। कुछ बड़े-बड़े शहर हैं, दिल्ली, कलकत्ता, बम्बई, हैदराबाद, मद्रास, बड़े शहर हैं, लेकिन अधिकतर लोग गाँव में रहते हैं, अधिकतर लोग ज़मीन पर काम करते हैं तो भारत का उद्धार जभी होगा जब हमारे गाँव का उद्धार हो, हमारे गाँव उठें और गाँव की जनता की भलाई हो। तो ख़ाली शहर की भलाई के काम नहीं चलता, गाँव की जनता की भलाई हो, ये पहली बात है, चाहे शहर ठण्डे भी रहें, कुछ दिन तक। इसलिए इस बात को हमें याद रखना है। गाँव की जनता की भलाई कैसे हो, ये प्रश्न उठता है। दो तरह से। एक तो वहाँ जो खेती होती है, ऐग्रिकल्चर है, उससे। वो अच्छा हो, उससे लाभ ज़्यादा हो, उससे फ़ायदा हो। दूसरे ये कि गाँव में खेती के अलावा और धन्धे हों, उद्योग-धन्धे हों, इण्डस्ट्री। हाँ, छोटे उद्योग, बड़े उद्योग। ये दो बातें हों, तब गाँव की उन्नति हो, गाँव वाले अधिक कमायें, उनका

लाभ हो। और उसी के साथ देश का भी फ़ायदा हो।

हमारे देश में धन कम पैदा करते हैं लोग इसलिए देश ग़रीब है। देश जो धनी देश हैं दुनिया के, उनको आप देखें तो वहाँ ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा करते हैं। वहाँ कारख़ाने बहुत हैं, छोटे-बड़े। इसलिए वो धनी हैं। इसलिए वहाँ की जनता खुशहाल है। इसलिए हमको भी अपनी ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा करना है, और छोटे-बड़े कारख़ाने बहुत सारे बनाने हैं। इससे लोगों को रोज़गार मिलेगा और देश में अधिक धन पैदा होगा, जिससे हम और काम कर सकते हैं। अब इस बारे में, ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा करने के लिए, मैं इस बारे में कहूँगा आन्ध्र में, और हमारे प्रदेशों से, फिर भी अधिक पैदा होता है; तो ये अच्छी बात है और इसकी मैं आपको मुबारकबाद और बधाई देता हूँ। ठीक है, लेकिन इस से भी हमें बहुत अधिक पैदा करना है। तब हमारी शक्ति बढ़े और तब उससे हम फिर बहुत कुछ कारख़ाने वग़ैरह खोल सकते हैं।

मैंने आपसे कहा कि हमारे देश में बहुत सारे हम चाहते हैं उद्योग-धन्धे, परिश्रमालय, ये सब बनें, कारख़ाने, लेकिन वो जब बनें और जो चीज़ें पैदा करें, उनको ख़रीदेगा कौन? कौन उसको लेगा? वही लोग ले सकते हैं जिनके पास पैसा है लेने के लिए, और आम तौर से हमारे देश में तो ग्रामवासी हैं तो जब हमारे ग्रामवासियों के पास अधिक पैसा होगा, तब वो उन चीज़ों को ख़रीद सकते हैं, जो हमारे कारख़ानों में बनें। और इससे कारख़ाने भी चलेंगे। इसलिए ये आवश्यक है कि हमारे ग्रामवासियों के पास ख़रीदने की शक्ति बढ़े और वो ऐसे ही बढ़ सकती है जब उनकी खेती और ऐग्रिकल्चर की तरक्की होती है और उससे अधिक आमदनी होती है। तो इस सब के माने ये हुए कि हमें अपने देश में अपनी उत्पत्ति, उत्पादन, पैदावार बहुत बढ़ाना है, ज़मीन से और कारख़ाने से। और तभी देश आगे बढ़ेगा, देश उन्नति करेगा। जितना हम पैदा करें, उतना ही अधिक हम और नये-नये काम बनायेंगे। नये कारख़ाने बनायेंगे। अब ये कैसे किया जाये? ये हमारे सामने प्रश्न आ गया न और आप के सामने और आपकी पंचायत समिति बने और ज़िला परिषद बने तो आप के सामने भी प्रश्न यही होगा, कैसे करें? इसके लिए तीन बातें, अभी एक हमारे भाई आपसे कह गये थे, तीन बातें ज़रूरी हैं, आवश्यक हैं। एक तो आपकी पंचायत, ठीक-ठीक बने, ठीक-ठीक काम करे। एक-एक गाँव में, और उसी के साथ पंचायत समितियाँ अब बन गयीं, वो भी ज़ोरों से काम करें। दूसरे एक-एक गाँव में कोऑपरेटिव हो, कोऑपरेटिव सोसायटी, सहकारी संघ हो, और तीसरे एक-एक गाँव में स्कूल हो पढ़ाने के लिए सब बच्चों को, कोई बच नहीं जाये। तीन बातें सब गाँव में हों, पंचायत, सहकारी संघ और स्कूल। अब पंचायत का ठीक चलना, सहकारी संघ और कोऑपरेटिव का बनाना और ठीक चलना, और स्कूल का, पाठशाला का, ठीक चलना, ये आपके ऊपर अब हो गया है। जो पंचायत समितियाँ बनी हैं और ज़िला परिषद, उसके ऊपर बोझा हुआ, उसके ऊपर जिम्मेदारी हुई कि ये सब पंचायत ठीक काम करें। सब जगह सब ग्रामों में, कोऑपरेटिव बनें और सब ग्रामों में स्कूल बनें, और ठीक, अच्छी तरह से हो, ये बड़ा भारी काम आपके ऊपर आया, इसके अलावा भी ये तो काम आप का है ही कि खेती अच्छी हो, अधिक पैदा हो उसमें, और छोटे-मोटे कारख़ाने, ग्रामोद्योग ये भी आपके गाँव में हल्के-हल्के फैलता जाये। तो पंचायत



का काम तो आप जानते हैं, लेकिन आप उतना ही ध्यान दें कोऑपरेटिव सोसायटी, सहकारी संघ के बनाने में सब ग्रामों में क्योंकि अगर आप चाहते हैं कि आपकी खेती और अच्छी हो, तब उसके लिए ये आवश्यक हो जाता है कि गाँव में जो खेती करने वाले हैं किसान, वो मिल कर सहकारी संघ बनायें और मिल कर काम करें। तो पहला क़दम तो ये है कि सब गाँवों में हमारे सहकारी संघ हो, जिसको अंग्रेज़ी भाषा में सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव कहते हैं, यानी अपनी-अपनी ज़मीन उन की अलग रहे, लेकिन बहुत सारी बातों में, उनकी कोऑपरेटिव सोसायटी मिल कर काम करें। चाहे हल लेना है, प्लाउ लेने हैं अच्छे, चाहे और छोटी-मोटी मशीन लेनी है, क़र्ज़ा लेना है, पैसा, या बेचना है जो कुछ पैदा करें। अगर मिल कर करें तो उनको अधिक लाभ होगा, हानि नहीं होगी और बीच में लोग जो उससे फ़ायदा उठाते हैं, वो अलग कर दिये जायेंगे। इसलिए इस तरह की कोऑपरेटिव करने से, हमेशा सारी दुनिया में, सारे संसार में किसान को लाभ होता है और सब जगह ऐसे ही कोऑपरेटिव बनाये गये हैं और हमने भी निश्चय किया है कि इस दो-तीन बरस के अन्दर, सारे देश में हर ग्राम में, एक ऐसी कोऑपरेटिव हो जाये। तो इस तरह के सहकारी संघ, सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव्स, इसमें तो कोई बहस नहीं है, सब लोग मानते हैं कि ये इससे लाभ होगा हमारी जनता को, और जितनी जल्दी ये हों, उतना ही अच्छा है और आपकी जो पंचायत समिति है, या आपकी जो ज़िला परिषद है, उसको जल्दी-से-जल्दी सब गाँव में इसको कर देना है।

एक इसके साथ एक और बात भी है, जो हमने कहा कि इसके बाद का क़दम है, वो ये कि जहाँ हो सके जहाँ लोग राज़ी हों, वहाँ मिल-जुल कर खेती करें एक गाँव वाले। इसको मैं आपको समझाना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि इसके ऊपर बहस हुई है और बहस तो एक ग़लत हुई है, हमारी बात को बग़ैर समझे बहस हुई है। पहली बात तो ये है कि हमारी ऐसी बात वहीं होगी, जहाँ लोग उसको स्वीकार करें, खुद चाहें तो इस को करेंगे। दूसरी बात ये कि उसमें किसी की ज़मीन नहीं ली जाती, उसमें ज़मीन उसी की रहती है। लोग धोखा देते हैं (कहने वाले) ये बात ग़लत है और तीसरी बात ये है कि बाद में अगर कोई आदमी उससे निकलना चाहें, मिल-जुल कर खेती से बाहर होना चाहे, तो उसके लिए क़ायदे-क़ानून हो सकते हैं कि निकल सके। ये बात याद रखें। अब क्यों हम कहते हैं कि मिल-जुल कर खेती बाद में हो, इसलिए कि हमारे देश में बहुत थोड़ी-थोड़ी ज़मीन मामूली किसान के पास है और उसकी शक्ति नहीं है कि उसमें बहुत उन्नति करे। अगर सौ आदमी, पचास आदमी मिल कर करें तो अधिक ज़मीन भी मिल जाती है उन्हें और उनकी शक्ति बढ़ जाती है और उसमें फिर सभों को हिस्सा मिलता है, और अधिक कमायेंगे और देश का भी लाभ होगा और उनका भी होगा।

तो आपके सामने इस समय जो कार्यक्रम है, जो प्रोग्राम है, वो एक तरफ़ तो पंचायत को मज़बूत करना, दूसरी तरफ़ सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव को, जहाँ नहीं है, बनाना और उसको आगे बढ़ाना और स्कूल। याद रखिए कि इस समय सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव हमें सब जगह फैलाने हैं। उसी के साथ जहाँ लोग तैयार हों, वो चाहें मिल-जुल कर खेती करना कोऑपरेटिव फ़ार्मिंग करना, वो कर सकते हैं, कोई इसमें रुकावट नहीं है। और हम चाहते हैं कि बाद में हल्के-हल्के

करें, कुछ लोग करें उसको, कुछ लोग और करें, हम कोई ज़बरदस्ती नहीं किया चाहते हैं, खुद लोगों को चुनना पड़े, लेकिन इस समय सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव पहला काम है, उसको पूरी तौर से फैलाना। अब सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव या दूसरी तरह के कोऑपरेटिव में जभी सफलता आपको मिलेगी, जब आप लोगों ने उस काम को सीखा है। बग़ैर सीखे कोई बड़ा काम नहीं होता। इसलिए इसका प्रबन्ध करना चाहिए कि आपके गाँव-गाँव में कुछ लोग इसको सीख लें, और मैंने ये सुना है कि यहाँ की आन्ध्र प्रदेश की सरकार ने सिखाने का प्रबन्ध किया है। तो आप इसको सीखें, आपके नवयुवक सीखें कि इस काम को ठीक तौर से कोऑपरेटिव को चला सकेंगे तभी सफलता मिलेगी। मैंने आपसे कुछ आपके काम के बारे में कहा और बहुत सारी बातें, लेकिन असल बात ये है कि आप लोग अपने आपस में, पंचायत में सलाह करें, बातें करें, निश्चय करें, क्या करना है। खाली बाहर के अफ़सरों की बातें सुनने का काम आपका नहीं है। हमारे अफ़सर लोग भी आपकी सहायता करेंगे, आपकी सेवा करेंगे, लेकिन बोझा आप पर है। ये तो एक बात हुई। लेकिन दूसरी बात ये है कि देश की तरक्की में हमें और भी बड़े-बड़े काम करने हैं, बड़े-बड़े हमें कारखाने बनाने हैं, परिश्रमालय, उद्योगशालाएँ, बड़े-बड़े लोहे का कारखाना और किस-किस का। वो भी हमें करना है। वो आपके सामने नहीं है करने को, वो पंचायत समिति नहीं करेगी। लेकिन आपके आन्ध्र प्रदेश की और केन्द्रीय सरकार देहली में, उसको इन बातों को करना है। उससे भी आपको लाभ होगा। आपको लोहा मिलेगा, आपको पानी मिलेगा, नहरों से पानी आयेगा, पानी आ सकता है, आपको बिजली की शक्ति मिलेगी, जिससे आपका काम हो सकेगा। तो इस तरह की बहुत सारी बातें करनी हैं, सब बातें मिल कर फिर देश और बढ़ता है।

तो ये सब काम जो हैं ग्रामों के काम, पंचायत समिति के और हमारे शहरों के काम और बड़े-बड़े परिश्रमालय और कारखाने जो बड़े बन रहे हैं और बड़ी-बड़ी नदियों को रोक कर उससे नहरें निकल रही हैं, पानी के लिए और बिजली की शक्ति पकड़ी जा रही है कारखाने के लिए, ये सब काम और पढ़ाई-लिखाई, स्वास्थ्य का, ये सब मिल कर पंचवर्षीय योजना होती है और सारे देश के लिए, खाली आन्ध्र प्रदेश के लिए नहीं। आपने सुना होगा पंचवर्षीय योजना — फ़ाइव इयर्स प्लैन — वो इसलिए है कि देश में उन्नति हो, सब प्रदेशों में, पुरुष-स्त्रियों, बच्चों सब की, क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं सारा देश बढ़े। कुछ थोड़े-से चुने हुए नहीं सारे देश की उन्नति हो। तो इस बात को आपको अच्छी तरह से समझना है कि क्या सारे देश में हो रहा है उससे आप लाभ उठायेंगे, और जितना अधिक आप समझेंगे देश में क्या हो रहा है, उतना ही अधिक आप अपने ग्राम की, या अपने ज़िले की सेवा कर सकेंगे।

तो फिर जब फिर से आज के शुभ दिन जो आपने ये बड़ा काम शुरू किया उसकी आपको मुबारकवाद देता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि बड़े ज़ोरों से आप इस काम को करेंगे और आन्ध्र प्रदेश को और तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ायेंगे, और यहाँ की जनता भी रोज़-ब-रोज़ खुशहाल होगी, पढ़ी-लिखी होगी और अपना लाभ करेगी और देश की सेवा करेगी। तो ये बातें, मैं आशा करता हूँ, होंगी और आप लोग यहाँ सम्मेलन कर रहे हैं, इस सम्मेलन में आपस में बातचीत



कर के, सलाह करके, निश्चय करेंगे, क्या करना है और जो कुछ आपको करना है फिर उसको ज़ोर से करेंगे। जो बात निश्चय होती है, वो एक प्रतिज्ञा हो जाती है, और उसको पूरा करने से अपनी शक्ति बढ़ती है।

और याद रखिए आप एक बात, ये काम आप कुछ दिन से कर रहे हैं और अब और ज़ोरों से करेंगे यही जो पंचायत, पंचायत कमेटी, ज़िला परिषद। ये काम एक और प्रदेश में राजस्थान में भी अभी आरम्भ हुआ है, तो सारे भारत में दो जगह ज़ोरों से हो रहा है ये, एक आन्ध्र प्रदेश में और एक राजस्थान में। और भारत के प्रदेशों की आँखें, निगाहें, इस तरफ़ लगी हैं, देखने के लिए, कैसे आप करते हैं। तो ये सब लोग आप को देख रहे हैं, तो इसलिए और भी आवश्यक हो जाता है कि आप इसको खूब ज़ोरों से, खूब अच्छा करें, जिससे आन्ध्र प्रदेश की प्रतिष्ठा और बढ़े और आपको भी लाभ हो।

और हमारी बहनों को भी ये समझ लेना है और आपको समझना है इन सब कामों में हमारी बहनें हमारे देश में जो महिलाएँ हैं उनको पूरा भाग लेना है। तभी देश बढ़ेगा।

तो बस, अब जो कुछ मुझे आपसे कहना था, उसको मैं ख़त्म करता हूँ और आप लोग मेरे साथ तीन बार जयहिन्द कहिए।

जयहिन्द। सब लोग कहें ज़ोर से। स्त्री भी और बच्चे भी कहें। जयहिन्द। जयहिन्द। जयहिन्द।

[Translation begins:

Members of the Panchayat Samiti and the Zila Parishad, Office Bearers, Sisters and Brothers,

I am happy to be here today. My only regret is that I cannot speak Telugu because on coming here I wished to talk to you, not make a speech. Many of us have got into the habit of making longwinded speeches whether anyone wants to listen or not. As a matter of fact, there should be a dialogue between us. I want to hear what your problems and difficulties are instead of having come all the way from Delhi to make a speech and go back. So, I am sorry that I cannot speak Telugu.

The programme began with a song in praise of Andhra Pradesh. It is a good thing to eulogise Andhra Pradesh and give your love to it. But in doing so if you forget that you belong to India, then your praise of Andhra Pradesh will not be a good thing. Freedom has come to the whole of India, not to Andhra alone or to other provinces separately. Similarly, India's progress depends on the all-round progress of all parts of the country. When you go abroad, you are respected because you come from India and not because you belong to Andhra Pradesh or Bengal or Bombay. You should certainly love Andhra Pradesh, or your own village. But you must always remember that our progress is closely

tied up with the whole of India; and, all Indians, irrespective of their province, language, religion and caste, are part of a large family in which all of us must live and work together in mutual harmony.

This is an auspicious day and I am here to take part in an auspicious task. Today we are celebrating Vijaya Dashami which is considered auspicious all over the country. The purpose for which I have come here is a great one which will enable the people in the rural areas, in Andhra and very soon all over the country, to take a big step and pick up the reins of governance of the country in their own hands. I want you to understand clearly that today we are about to take a revolutionary step by giving greater autonomy to the village panchayats, the panchayat samitis and the zila samitis. Many of the powers entrusted to officials will now be handed over to these institutions. The officers will guide and help you but they will remain in the background. Their photographs should not be printed in pamphlets and books as it has been done in a brochure today. It is absolutely wrong. No official document, brochure or pamphlet must carry photographs of ministers or officials. We cannot print our own photographs in the books that we publish. We are making a great effort to change the entire pattern of administration in the rural areas and see that officials guide and advise from behind the scenes and the real power is exercised by the people.

This imposes a great responsibility upon you, the men and women of India. In a sense you are heralding a new era of real democracy in the rural areas. Gone are the days of British rule and the rule of the Nizam of Hyderabad. You now elect representatives to the state legislature and the Parliament in Delhi. Andhra Pradesh came into being and has had a democratic form of government. But we are now taking a big step which will give the reins of power to the people in every village. The officials and ministers will henceforth only advise and guide. The task of development and administration in the rural areas will be in the hands of the people of the villages.

The moment we reached the goal of swaraj, we had to set out on yet another long journey, to lift up the people of India out of a morass of poverty and give them a better standard of living. This is a very big task which cannot be done by officials and ministers alone. It is the people who will have to do it. Others can help them or show them the path. But it will be up to the people to do the work. The old attitude of looking to the government for everything is wrong. We must learn to stand on our own feet and as far as possible to hold the reins of administration in our own hands. Only then will the men and women of India grow in stature. Until we do this, whatever actions we may take, they will lack strong roots.

The step that you are taking today in Andhra, one that has been taken earlier in other states, will be a great burden and responsibility on the people in



the rural areas. So you will have to tread very carefully because your progress is in your own hands. If you fail to discharge your responsibility well, you cannot progress. I want every single man and woman to understand this clearly. We want to build a nation in which every single man and woman is a shareholder in its administration and development.

In the old days, there used to be a clear demarcation between the rulers and the ruled. That distinction is now slowly disappearing. We want that there should be no distinction between the officials and the common man, between masters and servants. But it can come about gradually. However I want you to remember that we want every man and woman to enjoy equal opportunity for progress, so that each individual can go as far as he can. The ones who are brighter or stronger mentally or physically will go far. But everyone must get equal opportunities. The poor must not be deprived of opportunity because of lack of money. We want to build a society in which there is very little disparity and everyone gets the opportunity to go as far as he can. As I said, the distinction between the rulers and the ruled must go and the people must learn to play a role in the administration of the country.

The days of British rule and the rule of the Nizam are over. The people have the right to elect their representatives to the legislative bodies in the state and the centre. So, indirectly, the people have got the opportunity to hold the reins of administration. Those who fell into the category of the ruled are now participating in the task of ruling. This is a big step. Ministers are chosen from among the elected representatives. So, they are both high officials as well as servants of the people. The people can keep them in office for as long as they want or remove them.

This was a major step towards establishing people's rule. Now we are taking yet another step in that direction by giving greater autonomy to the panchayats, the panchayat samitis and the zila parishads. The people will now be responsible for development in the rural areas, they will have the necessary funds which they can use at their discretion. They will also have the powers to levy additional taxes in their areas for specific projects.

This is a major step which gives greater powers to the men and women in the rural areas. A nation can progress only when the people participate in its administration, instead of leaving everything to the ministers and officials.

Now, our officials have a major task to fulfill. How do they become officers? They are highly trained and skilled at their jobs. If they do not discharge their responsibilities well, they can be removed. These are not hereditary posts given as reward to some families. Officers are now selected on the basis of competitive examinations and chosen for their ability to serve the country.

It is all very well to acquire power. But the people in the rural areas must



be given the opportunity to be educated and learn the modern techniques of production etc., if they are to exercise their powers wisely. An uneducated population cannot work well. Therefore it is crucial that you should lay great stress on education of the adults and children so that they are able to do their work well. The more educated the people become, the greater will be the rate of progress in your province. In the modern world, it is only the nations where the people are well educated and skilled which can progress. I do not mean mere book learning but training and new skills. The people must adopt new techniques of work in order to improve production. Therefore the more educated we get, the greater will our progress be.

As you know the majority of the population in Andhra Pradesh and India lives in the villages and depend on land for living. There are some big cities like Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Hyderabad and Madras. But the majority of the people live in the rural areas. Therefore India can progress only when there is progress in the villages and the people acquire a better standard of living. It is not enough for the cities to advance. The people in the rural areas must benefit even if the cities are neglected for a while. The question is how to go about it. One method is to improve agricultural production so that the people benefit. Secondly, other industries, small-scale, cottage industries must come up in the villages. These are the two ways in which the villages can progress, earn more and benefit not only themselves, but the whole country.

India is poor because we produce very little. The affluent countries of the world produce vast quantities of goods from their land and industries and so they are rich and the people are well-off. Therefore, we must also increase production in India, agricultural as well as industrial, by setting up small, medium and heavy industries. They will provide employment to large numbers of people and the national wealth will increase which can be used for development work. In this connection, I would like to say that agricultural production in Andhra is much more than in other parts of India which is a good thing and I congratulate all of you. But we have to step up production even more. Only then will our resources increase and enable us to put up other industries.

As I said, we want to set up large numbers of heavy, medium and small industries in India. But the question is who will buy the goods which will be produced? It is only the people with purchasing powers who can buy them and the majority of our population lives in the rural areas. It is only when they have the purchasing power that there will be a demand for the goods produced by our industries. That in turn will generate the capital to set up more industries. Therefore, it is essential that the purchasing power of the people in the villages must increase, which is possible only if the agricultural production goes up. So we come round once again to the need to step up production by every possible



means in order that India may progress. The more we produce, the greater will our capacity be to undertake new activities of development.

The question is how to go about this. It is a question which the panchayat samiti and the zila parishad will have to face. As one of our comrades pointed out just now, three things are essential. One is a properly functioning panchayat in every village. The panchayat samitis which have been constituted now must also do their work well. Two, there must be a cooperative society in every village and three, a school to educate the children. No child must be left out. The responsibility of seeing that the panchayat functions well and a cooperative society and school are established and properly run now falls on you. It is a big responsibility. Apart from that, it is your responsibility to see that agricultural production goes up and small industries are set up in every village.

The panchayats are aware of their immediate duties. But they must pay equal attention to cooperative societies because they are extremely important for improving agricultural production. Farmers must form cooperative societies. First they can be what are known as service cooperatives so that farming is done individually and the matters of buying and selling are dealt with by the cooperative. They can help to buy seeds, fertilizers and ploughs or other small machines by advancing loans and also help in selling the produce. This will put an end to the middlemen and the farmers will benefit. All over the world agricultural cooperatives have been accepted as essential. We have also decided that within the next two or three years, there should be a cooperative in every village. There is no argument about it, because everyone agrees that it will benefit the people and the sooner we do it, the better it will be. The panchayat samitis and zila parishads must ensure that they are set up as soon as possible in all the villages.

The next step is to introduce joint farming in the villages. There has been a great deal of debate, in a sense wrong kind of debate, about this. For one thing, it will be taken up only if the people are willing. Two, the title to the land will remain intact. Some people try to mislead others by saying that the title will be lost. That is absolutely wrong. Three, if any individual wants to get out, he can do so. The rules will be formulated in such a manner that the members will be able to leave the cooperative at a later date if they so wish. We are talking of joint farming, because the average farmer in India has very small land-holdings and does not have the wherewithal to make much improvement. If fifty or a hundred farmers get together they can adopt improved techniques of agriculture. There is more land available and the share of the profits will also go up. That will benefit the farmers as well as the nation.

The task before you is to strengthen the panchayat on the one hand and on the other to set up service cooperatives and schools in every village. Cooperatives

must spread to the whole country. At the same time, wherever the people are ready, joint farming must be taken up. We want the idea to catch on gradually. We do not want to coerce anyone. People are free to choose. But at the moment we must see that service cooperatives spread all over the country. That will be successful only if the people are trained. No big achievement is possible without training. Arrangements must be made to train people in every village to run the cooperatives. I have heard that the government of Andhra Pradesh has made some arrangements for training. The cooperatives will function, successfully if the young people are trained in this field.

I have told you about the tasks that need to be done. But the decision must be taken by the panchayats. You must not look to the officials for everything. They will help you but the burden rests upon you. This is one thing. Secondly, we have to take on even bigger tasks for the development of the country. We have to set up big industries and steel plants and what not. Those things are beyond the scope of the panchayat samitis. It is the central government and the government of Andhra Pradesh which will do them. Then you will get steel and water for irrigation, power, etc. So, these are the various things which will lead to an all-round development in the country.

All the programmes that are being undertaken in the villages and the cities, the big industries, the river valley projects, the hydro-electric power plants, education, health care, etc., under the five year plans are meant for the whole of India, for every man, woman and child in all the provinces. We want the whole country to progress, not merely a handful of privileged people. Therefore, you must try to understand what is happening all over the country for you will benefit by it and be able to serve your own village and district better.

So I congratulate you once again on starting this big project on such an auspicious day. I hope that you will succeed and help Andhra Pradesh to progress quickly. I hope the people will become better off day by day and get educated so that they can benefit and serve the country too. I hope you will discuss and take decisions at this conference about what your programme will be and then implement it with all your might. Your strength will increase by fulfilling that pledge.

Please remember that the work which the panchayat samitis and the zila parishads have been doing here for some time is just being taken up in Rajasthan, too. So, the eyes of everyone in India are fixed on these two states, Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan, to see how they fare. Therefore, it is even more essential that you should work well so that Andhra Pradesh grows in stature and you can also benefit.

Our women must understand that they have a big role to play in all these great national tasks. Only then can India progress.



I will stop now. Please say Jai Hind with me thrice, the women and children too. Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]

## 92. To Indira Gandhi: P. N. Saprú replies to Time-Life International<sup>155</sup>

Shri P.N. Saprú's<sup>156</sup> letter addressed to Time-Life International is a suitable one. I think, on the whole, it was better for him to avoid purely polemical reply, and I am glad he has done so.

2. There is one fact which might perhaps be included in his letter. This is our policy to which we are actually giving effect—to decentralise power and authority. In two of our States, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh, all development work and indeed much else in a district has been transferred to the Panchayat Samitis, that is, the village councils grouped together. Resources for these have also been provided. This will, no doubt, spread soon all over India and is very significant evidence of our policy of decentralisation.

3. Shri P.N. Saprú should indicate when he sends his reply that he is a Member of our Parliament and was formerly a Judge of the Allahabad High Court.

(g) Social Groups

## 93. To G.B. Pant: Conference of Muslims on Communal Conflict<sup>157</sup>

16th October, 1959

My dear Pantji,

Hafiz Mohd. Ibrahim<sup>158</sup> sent me a copy of a note which he has apparently sent you also. This deals with recent communal disturbances in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and UP and the reaction on Muslims all over India. In this note he refers

155. Note, 19 October 1959.

156. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Uttar Pradesh.

157. Letter.

158. Union Minister of Irrigation and Power.

also to the desirability of inviting some 50 or 60 Muslims from all over India to Delhi for discussing this question.<sup>159</sup>

I should like to know what your own reaction to this is.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### **94. To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim: No Conference of Muslims on Communal Conflict<sup>160</sup>**

19th October 1959

My dear Hafizji,

You will remember writing to me about a proposal by you to invite a number of leading Muslims from all over India to discuss various aspects of the communal situation. I was not quite clear about this matter myself. I, therefore, consulted Pantji. He seems to be a little doubtful about the advisability of calling a meeting of this kind. It may lead to others organising counter conferences. He suggests that it might be better for the Chief Ministers of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and UP to come here and discuss matters with us. After that, the question of calling a conference such as you suggest might be considered.

I suggest that you might have a talk with Pantji on this subject.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### **95. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Dandakaranya<sup>161</sup>**

October 31, 1959

My dear Mehr Chand,

I have just received your letter of October 30 about the troubles at Dandakaranya. I have read all the papers you have sent me. As you have sent Dharma Vira<sup>162</sup> to inquire into this matter, we have necessarily to wait for his report. But I rather

159. See the next item.

160. Letter.

161. Letter to Mehr Chand Khanna, Union Minister of Rehabilitation.

162. Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation.



doubt if the present arrangement should be continued as there is so much conflict at the top level. It is true that this is a delicate stage when displaced persons are going to Dandakaranya, but this does not get over the actual difficulty we are facing and the conflict between Fletcher<sup>163</sup> and the other two members. I cannot judge as to who is most at fault. Probably all of them are to blame to some extent. In a sense Fletcher, being the senior Executive Officer, must be held, to blame because it is up to him to see that the Board functions satisfactorily.

I think that after you receive Dharma Vira's report, you should discuss this fully with Dr. Roy. I would not like to have any decision taken which is against the wishes of Dr. Roy in this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## (h) Language

### 96. To Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Sammelan<sup>164</sup>

I send my good wishes to the Sahitya Parishad Sammelan which is being held soon in Ahmedabad.<sup>165</sup> The Sahitya Parishad has a distinguished history and record of work in the Gujarati language.

I am very happy that our important languages in India are making good progress now and adding to their richness and scope. I have always felt that the progress made by any one language in India helps the other languages also. Behind different scripts or external forms, the languages of India have the same background of thought and ideology. Indeed even in external forms, there are many similarities.

163. A.L. Fletcher, Chairman, Dandakaranya Development Authority.

164. Message, 16 October 1959. Also forwarded to Chinubhai Chimanbhai, Gujarat Vidyasabha, Ahmedabad. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

165. The 20th session of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad was held in Ahmedabad on 23 October 1959.

(i) Judiciary

**97. To M.C. Chagla: Indian for International Court<sup>166</sup>**

October 1, 1959

My dear Chagla,

I have just received your letter of the 28th September about the International Court and the vacancy that is likely to arise there in February 1961. It seems rather a far off date. But since you have written to me, we shall certainly give this matter early consideration. I am inclined to think that an Indian should stand for this vacancy in the International Court. I shall, however, soon consult others here and let you know later.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**98. To G.B. Pant: Indian Commission of Jurists on Kerala<sup>167</sup>**

October 6, 1959

My dear Pantji,

You must have received a letter from N.H. Bhagwati on behalf of the Indian Commission of Jurists. They propose to enquire into conditions in Kerala and the alleged subversion of the rule of law, etc. there.<sup>168</sup>

I do not like these Committees. Of course, they can go to Kerala if they so choose. A similar committee has been appointed by them for Tibet, and I made it clear to them that they can expect no help at all from us.

I should like your advice in this matter.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

166. Letter to M.C. Chagla, Ambassador of India to the USA.

167. Letter.

168. The Indian Commission of Jurists appointed a Kerala Inquiry Committee under Justice N.H. Bhagwati on 2 September 1959 with M.P. Amin, former Advocate-General of Bombay, and M.K. Nambiar, Senior Advocate of Supreme Court as members. Its report claimed that "in between 5 April 1957 and 31 July 1959 when the Communist Ministry was in office in Kerala, terrorism was unleashed on a State-wide scale against the parties in opposition." See *The Times of India*, 9 September 1959.



## 99. To N.H. Bhagwati: GOI to steer clear of Jurists' Kerala Commission<sup>169</sup>

October 15, 1959

Dear Shri Bhagwati,

I received your letter of the 5th October a few days ago. Soon after, I went on a tour to South India. I returned yesterday.

The proposal you have made is somewhat unusual. Obviously Government cannot associate itself with a Committee of this kind appointed to carry on some investigations in Kerala. At one time the Government of India considered carefully this question of having some Commission of Enquiry for Kerala. We decided against it. Since then, of course, much has happened, and the President has issued a proclamation taking over the government of Kerala.<sup>170</sup> In any event, it could be very unusual for official help in any form to be given to such a non-official committee. Such a precedent would be quoted against us in future and we would be put in a very embarrassing position. So far as I know, it has not been the practice or policy of Government to place official unpublished documents before a non-official organisation. Requests in the past for such papers have invariably been turned down.

As a matter of fact, many memoranda regarding Kerala which were addressed to Government by different organisations and parties have already been published by them. There are also judgments of the High Court and other courts and proceedings of the State legislature and Parliament which are all published documents. These, no doubt, are available to you. But I regret that we cannot place any papers before your Committee which have not thus far been published, or in any other way associate Government with the investigations of the committee.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

169. Letter to N.H. Bhagwati, Former Judge of Supreme Court.

170. See item 1, fn 5.

**100. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: No Confidential Papers for Jurists' Kerala Commission<sup>171</sup>**

October 30, 1959

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

The Indian Commission of Jurists has apparently appointed a Committee to inquire into Kerala affairs during the administration of the last Government. They wrote to us on the subject and asked for our help. We told them that we could not be associated directly or indirectly with any such inquiry, but they could get public documents or any other documents which were not confidential. Thereafter, Shri Bhagwati (who was Judge of the Supreme Court some little time ago) wrote to me a letter on the 23rd October, which I enclose in original. I also enclose a copy of my reply to him.

I am writing to you so that you may know what attitude we have taken in this matter. It is not for the State Government, on their own initiative, to determine what relevant documents are to be shown to them or copies issued. Of course, no confidential papers can be shown to them but, if they apply for any document or for inspection, the normal facilities should be given.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**101. To N.H. Bhagwati: Access to Documents for Kerala Jurists' Commission<sup>172</sup>**

October 30, 1959

Dear Shri Bhagwati,

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd October.

I have enquired into this matter. Each State Government has its own rule for inspection of public documents and for issuing certified copies on an application being made on this behalf and the payment of prescribed fee. The Inquiry Committee appointed by the Indian Commission of Jurists is as much entitled to apply for inspection or certified copies of public documents as any member of the public. If your Committee or someone authorised by your Committee applies for inspection or certified copies of specific public

171. Letter.

172. Letter.



documents, I have no doubt that the State Government would consider the application in the light of its rules on the subject.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(j) Media

## 102. Subscription of Periodicals<sup>173</sup>

I have read the notes in this file and have looked through the list of periodicals which we subscribe. This list has surprised me. Apart from the "Link", to which reference has been made in the notes, I do not understand why we should subscribe to as many as 650 copies of the "Hindu Weekly Review" or 750 copies of the "Overseas Hindustan Times". Both certainly should be subscribed, but why hundreds of copies? Where are these sent to? Do we distribute them free in the various parts of the world? I should have imagined that one number for each of our Missions and libraries was adequate.

Then there is the "Illustrated Weekly" of which 300 copies are subscribed. I really do not understand this extravagance in numbers. To a somewhat lesser degree, it applies to many other periodicals mentioned in the list. Take the "Asian Recorder". I do not know what this is, but why should we subscribe to 351 copies? I need not mention a number of others which also appear to me to be oversubscribed. "Marg" and "Rooplekha" are both good, but again where do hundreds of copies go to? So also "Saptahik Hindustan," "India Quarterly," "Islamic Culture," and "United Asia".

I suppose "Goan Tribune" and "Gomant Bharati" are meant for wide distribution but I rather doubt if this type of distribution does much good.

"Shankar's Children's Art Number" is good and should be encouraged. But why 2000 copies?

As for "Link", 200 copies are again far too many. "Link" does not represent our policy and is often very critical of Government. But it is a readable periodical and sometimes gives useful information. I often find it readable. I think, therefore, that we should not cut it off completely. We might reduce 200 to, say, 50.

"Blitz" and "Current" are both highly sensational periodicals and should not be encouraged at all. The "New Age" represents the point of view of the

173. Note, 5 October 1959.

Indian Communist Party. It might be worthwhile to send this to some of our Missions in Communist countries to keep them informed. "Vigil" and "Janata" have no standing or circulation in India. I do not mind a very few copies being taken.

"Thought"—I find that there are 33 copies taken. Why, I do not know. This is also not only consistently critical of Government, but also mischievous. It is a highly subsidised paper. I do not see why we should encourage it at all.

I have given some of my initial reactions to this list. I think that the list should be wholly revised and cut down. I should like to see the revised list. It seems to me that we have been wasting a lot of money over these papers and that we can reduce this sum very considerably.

I see from Shri Goray's<sup>174</sup> letter to S.G. that he has drawn attention to his own paper "The New Socialist". I have not myself seen this, but there is no harm in our subscribing to a few copies and seeing what it is like.

### 103. To B.V. Keskar<sup>175</sup>

October 15, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,

Thank you for your letter of October 9 about S. P. Khanna, the engineer working in the All India Radio at Lucknow. You will, of course, deal with this matter as you think best, but I confess I do not quite understand why opportunity should not be given to a person who wishes to better himself and without putting any financial burden on Government. Why should not a person try to do so and for this purpose make enquiries? Obviously he could only accept that with permission of Government.

I agree with you that Government cannot be held responsible for any payment, and more especially foreign exchange. The main thing, it appears to me, is that a person wants leave without pay for a period and will look after himself during that period, and further undertakes to come back and serve Government for a period. Normally any person who wants this should be given the opportunity. It shows enterprise which should be encouraged.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

174. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Poona, Bombay State.

175. Letter to B.V. Keskar, Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting.



### III. DEVELOPMENT

#### (a) Economy

#### 104. Poor Opinion of Report on Cooperative Farming<sup>1</sup>

This report on Cooperative Farming, the result of a study undertaken by a seminar of IAS officers, has been with me for some time past. Unfortunately I could not read it because I could not find the time for it. I brought this with me to read during my Andhra tour. It so happened that as I was actually reading it, the file containing notes by the Finance Minister and the Home Minister reached me. The report is, therefore, fresh in my mind.

2. I am not at all impressed by this report and I take a stronger view about it than the one taken by the Home Minister. It seems to me a rather superficial document even factually. References to foreign countries are limited and brief and I do not think they convey a correct picture. Thus, the reference to what has been done in Israel is singularly incorrect. Merely to dispose of the famous and very successful cooperative farming experiments in Israel by saying that the Jewish population holds only 6.7% of the land is surely a very inadequate way of dealing with a movement which has attracted worldwide attention.

3. The pages dealing with foreign countries are very scrappy. If a subject like this is tackled by a seminar, one expects greater knowledge and greater thoroughness. Neither is evident in this report and one gets the impression that the whole subject was approached with a certain bias of mind and little bits of information were culled from odd books or papers.

4. There is also a certain confusion and overlapping in dealing with cooperative farming and collectives. Most people know of the lack of success of the collective experiments in some of the East European countries and the way governments had to change their policy there.

5. Then we have repeated attempts to emphasise the obvious as well as a somewhat ridiculous and pompous attitude adopted in some parts of the report which is unbecoming in an objective survey. In fact, the whole impression after reading this report is that it is not the result of a dispassionate study of the problem but rather an attempt to coordinate certain basic assumptions with the necessity of not rejecting completely the policy of government in this matter. A sentence at page 18 of the report (paragraph 12) refers to what is directly hinted

1. Note [not clear to whom], 11 October 1959. Also copied to the Union Finance Minister, Home Minister, Food & Agriculture Minister, and Minister of Cooperation. File No. 31 (93)/59-70-PMS.

at as "the basic motive behind the proposal" in favour of cooperative farming. The report goes on to say, "if this observation is correct, it would appear that the trotting out of the economic objectives listed above is virtually a facade." This kind of writing is not only unbecoming in such a report but discloses a state of mind which is not to be commended.

6. We have also a good deal of good advice given to us about democracy and that nothing should be done which might impair in the slightest the pure milk of democracy. The greatest stress is laid on what is considered to be the democratic framework and grandiloquently the conclusion is reached: "Much more is at stage in the current debate on cooperative farming than many participants in the debate realise—not only the growth of agricultural output but the freedom and dignity of the peasant, the relationship between the peasantry and the city gentry, social stability, the future of our nascent democracy and the vital rural roots of our culture and civilisation." This sounds well and no doubt has truth in it though perhaps that truth is not the one which the writers of the report had in mind. Anyhow, this kind of writing displays an emotional approach to the question which must blur an objective consideration.

7. There is so much in this report which can be criticized that if I endeavour to deal with it thoroughly I would have to write a very long note. I do not propose to do so. But I must express my complete disappointment at this report. One would not expect from a report of this kind the light that illumines or the fire that kindles. Nevertheless, it need not have been quite so pedestrian and casual as it is. It is clear from a reading of it that the writers do not at all like the idea of cooperative farming. All the world knows that the peasant is traditional minded and it is difficult to get him out of the ruts, more especially in India. Most intelligent people should know, however, that the major problem of India is to get the peasants out of those ruts and traditional habits and to make agriculture conform more and more to modern scientific approaches. I am referring here only to a certain definite approach of mind which no doubt will come to Indian agriculture as it will come to other phases of life if India has to survive. Repeatedly service cooperatives are compared with cooperative farming. Not it is obvious that cooperative farming includes or should include everything the service cooperatives stand for plus something else. Certainly service cooperatives bring many benefits but do not bring that particular benefit in social outlook as well as in practical results which joint cultivation will bring. Therefore, the proposals made should have been that there should be concentration on service cooperatives and gradually it is hoped that these might lead to joint cultivation also. This will depend on the consent of the people concerned. It may be that in the main service cooperatives continue while at the same time cooperative farming comes into the field. It will only spread if it



justifies itself in the minds of the peasants.

8. The authors of this report appear to have no social outlook at all. That is unfortunate because for an IAS official lack of social outlook detracts him from the quality of his work.

### **105. To H.V.R. Iengar: Cooperative Movement in Kashmir<sup>2</sup>**

October 16, 1959

My dear HVR,

Thank you for your letter of 14th October with which you have sent me a report of your Deputy Governor, Venkatappiah, on the cooperative movement in Kashmir. I am very glad to read this report. From time to time I have heard rather depressing accounts about happenings in the Jammu & Kashmir State. Venkatappiah's report gives a cheerful account and it is welcome.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **106. To R.N. Naik: Training for Cooperatives<sup>3</sup>**

October 18, 1959

Dear Prof. Naik,

Thank you for your letter of the 16th October. I have read the paper you have sent.

You may remember that the Congress resolution lays stress on service cooperatives in every village in India. The question of joint farming is more or less a next step and will naturally be taken with the consent of the people concerned. In order to encourage cooperatives, it is essential for people to be properly trained for this purpose. Considerable stress has, been laid on this. Meanwhile if some farmers want to have cooperative farming, they are welcome to do so.

It is certainly necessary to have more detailed knowledge of village potentials. Some effort to that end is being made. I rather doubt, however, if

2. Letter to H.V.R. Iengar, Governor, Reserve Bank of India, Bombay.

3. Letter to R.N. Naik, a resident of Bombay.

this can be done effectively through the Mamlatdar. I am sending your letter to our Community Development Ministry.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 107. To K.B. Sahay: Planning, Not Confusion<sup>4</sup>

October 18, 1959

My dear Krishna Ballabh,

I received your letter of the 3rd October some time ago. I have read the report of your speech at the A.I.C.C. It is more or less on the lines of my own recollection of that speech. I think that your approach is a very confused one and is not likely to help. The whole conception of a socialist pattern of society, as you give it, is a very limited and superficial one. It is difficult for me to discuss this complicated matter in the course of a brief letter. Our Planning Commission and especially the Perspective Planning Division have produced hundreds of papers dealing with various aspects of this subject in a closely reasoned way and basing their calculations on statistical material as well as the essentials of planning so that a country might be in a position to "take off" from a state of under-development and poverty to a dynamic, growing economy.

As for cooperative farming, I am, of course, in favour of it. But the initial step must be widespread distribution of service cooperatives. This is for two reasons. One, because it is the natural step and secondly because a large number of trained people are required. It would be most unfortunate if we started on an experiment without training and failed. The proper approach always is to concentrate on an important step and then take the necessary steps afterwards. Of course, this does not mean discouraging cooperative farming where it is feasible and is accepted. Cooperative farming is a continuation of service cooperatives and is not opposed to them.

You can certainly meet me here when you come to Delhi sometime in November.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Letter to Krishna Ballabh Sahay, President, District Congress Committee, Hazaribagh, Bihar.



## 108. To Swaran Singh: Perspective Planning<sup>5</sup>

October 20, 1959

My dear Swaran Singh,<sup>6</sup>

I am writing to you about the promised Soviet loan and how it should be utilised by us in India. I have been discussing this matter broadly with our Perspective Planning Division in the Planning Commission. They pointed out that all the schemes included in the list which was placed before the Cabinet are good, but there was some danger of this loan being rather frittered away in many small schemes which could be undertaken in other ways, such as fertilizers or power schemes. It might be better to concentrate to the Soviet loan on some major schemes and more particularly those which can be dealt with more effectively by the Soviet Union. Thus, in our big machine-building schemes as well as electronics these are broadly integrated schemes. Normally, in other countries, they are spread out and are not integrated. Therefore, if other countries undertook these, it would be in this spread out way. It is desirable that such an integrated scheme should be dealt with by the Russians. This, of course, is proposed in the list prepared.

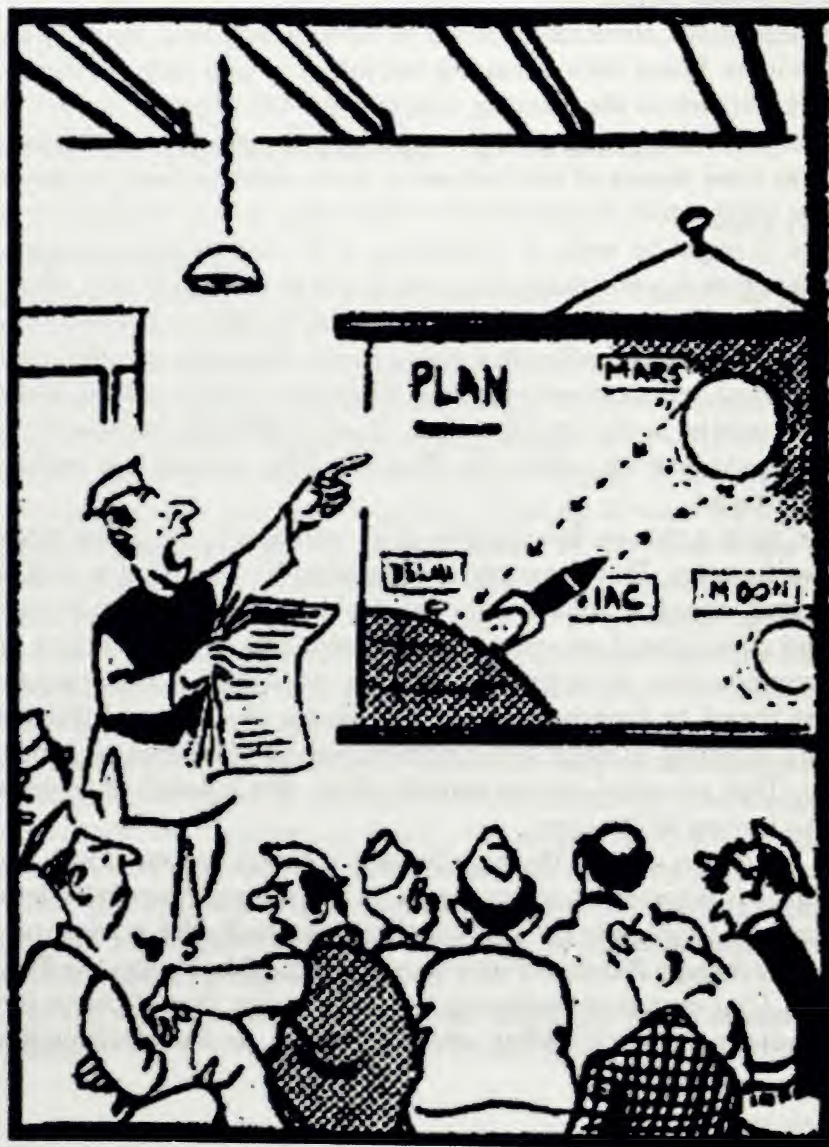
The point is that we have to look more and more to the distant results of what we do today. That is perspective planning. We are trying to look about fifteen years ahead. If we had followed this method of approach in our First Plan and concentrated on some basic schemes like steel production or big machine production, we might have been in a much more satisfactory position today in regard to foreign exchange etc. We are thus to avoid this type of difficulty occurring in future and concentrate in our Third Plan on these basic projects. That, of course, we are actually doing. But it would be advisable to keep this in view all the time.

As the Perspective Planning Division is mainly concerned with looking ahead and has prepared numerous papers on this subject, it would be desirable to consult this Division to get their reactions when such a list is prepared. This can be done through Pitambar Pant who is in charge of the Perspective Planning Division. After matters are settled by Cabinet decision, then of course there is no particular point in consulting others. However, no final decision has yet

5. Letter to Sardar Swaran Singh, Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel. Also copied to Manubhai Shah, Cabinet Secretary. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
6. Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

# You Said It

By LAXMAN



*We should have asked him to stick to long-term plans  
but not very long-term plans!*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 30 SEPTEMBER 1959)



been made, and I hope this Perspective Planning Division will therefore be kept in the picture.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 109. At NCAER, New Delhi: Research at NCAER<sup>7</sup>

Mr. Chairman<sup>8</sup> and friends,

I have a weight in my mind, I must make a confession. I arrived here ten minutes late, and the reason, a totally unjustifiable one. I thought I ought to celebrate this Deepavali afternoon in a special way, I went to sleep, (laughter) and I just slept on and on and woke up with a shock to find it was nearly five, and I ran here, more or less, as fast as I could. So I am sorry. I was guilty of this discourtesy to all of you by being ten minutes late.

I am not quite sure what I can say on this occasion except to congratulate this organisation on its functioning, and ourselves on the organisation being there, because it is obvious that in any country, certainly in India at the present day, when we are grappling with so many problems, such an organisation fulfils a tremendous need.

First of all may I say that a remark that our President was pleased to make has not proved to be quite justified, when he said, as quoted by Dr. Lokanathan,<sup>9</sup> that research consciousness in India is new. I would have perhaps ventured to vary that, that the opportunities for the research consciousness to function in India had been lacking. I think the consciousness has been there, very much so, the desire for it to function, and indeed I would say that in some ways the Indian mind is peculiarly conscious of some type of research, certainly in certain particular domains, philosophical, mathematical and rather theoretical, and also, I think, practical domains, given the opportunity. And so I am not surprised at the fact that when this organisation started, work came to it in the shape of requests and projects from state governments and others far more than they had expected. There is a multitude of problems which require deep thought, removed from what I would call, the rather limited party approach to a problem and also

7. Speech at the National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER), 31 October 1959, New Delhi. AIR tapes, NMML.

8. V.T. Krishnamachari.

9. P.S. Lokanathan, Director-General, NCAER.

removed from, to some extent, the approach of the purely government department. Government departments do good work, no doubt, but all departments tend to move in certain ruts of their own making, the thinking goes on. And so it becomes necessary, really, to have some organisation apart, some independent organisation to consider a problem, just as there should be an independent audit of performance of government and other departments, because one can never judge of oneself as to what one is doing. Some independent body has to do it. So the need for such an organisation was obvious. It is surprising that it did not start sooner, earlier.

It was fortunate, when it started, to have some of our best men associated with it, to have Dr. Lokanathan as the Director General, to have as its Chairman Dr. John Matthai, and my distinguished colleagues to my right and left, Chairman Mr. Krishnamachari, Mr. Deshmukh. So it started under the best of auspices and it is not surprising that it has done good work. After all an organisation of this kind depends almost entirely on the quality of people who are doing the work, who are directing it and the others. As this organisation started off in a good way by associating some of our most distinguished people with it, it is not at all to be surprised at that it has succeeded during these two or three years that it has been in existence, and the beginning having been good, it is likely to go on and entrench itself further, if I may say so, in the various types of work and inquiry and research which are arising from day to day in India. May I, in this connection, also add my own words, my own hopes that Dr. Matthai might recover from his grievous illness. We can ill spare persons and minds like his.

And so I have really little to say, except to commend the labours of this organisation and wish it success, and hope that it will maintain the high quality of its work with which it has started. I hope I have saved the ten minutes I lost. (Laughter)



**(b) Food, Agriculture and Irrigation****110. To Sampurnanand: Assorted Matters<sup>10</sup>**

October 7, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

Your letter of October 3. I think that, on the whole, it will be desirable for Uttar Pradesh to participate in the International Agricultural Conference.<sup>11</sup> Not to do so would be odd, as you yourself point out. Also a certain political tinge has been given to this conference by the Chinese Government withdrawing from it. We should, therefore try our best to make it as good a conference as possible.

I shall certainly try to come to Varanasi some time or other. Just at present it is rather difficult to fix a date. One reason for my not being keen on going to Banaras in recent months has been the state of the Hindu University. I understand that conditions have improved. But still I was waiting for a better opportunity, perhaps when the new Vice-Chancellor took charge.<sup>12</sup>

I forgot to suggest to you that you might show Asoke Sen's note about Kamalapati Tripathi's case to your Governor. Also, of course, to your colleagues in your Cabinet. It is a good thing to keep in close contact with Cabinet colleagues on almost every matter and to give them the sensation of being consulted and not being left in the cold.

You will remember the Mubarakpur cases. You had indicated that these cases would be withdrawn. I hope this has been done.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**111. To Panjabrao S. Deshmukh: Give Up Other Posts<sup>13</sup>**

14th October, 1959

My dear Panjabrao,

Your letter of October 13th. I am not at all happy about your continuing as Chairman of the National Agricultural Cooperative Marketing Federation. At

10. Letter.

11. In fact, it was Agricultural exhibition held From 11 December 1959 to 14 February 1960 in New Delhi.

12. N.H. Bhagwati replaced V.S. Jha as Vice-Chancellor of BHU on 16 April 1960.

13. Letter to Panjabrao Deshmukh, Union Minister of State for Cooperation.

your insistence, I have agreed that you need not give up this Chairmanship immediately. But I am quite clear that it is not proper for a Minister to be connected as an office bearer with such like organisations. A Minister can advise but to hold executive office is quite another matter. I hope, therefore, that you will find another Chairman in the near future.

As for your proposal to start a National Farmers' Cooperative Bank, this is too technical a matter for me to give an opinion without full consideration by our Department of Economic Affairs, etc. Prima facie it may be a good idea but as you will realise that is not quite enough.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 112. To S.K. Patil: Boshi Sen's Agricultural Research<sup>14</sup>

October 17, 1959

My dear S.K.,

I should like you to meet Dr. Boshi Sen<sup>15</sup> who is here in Delhi for two or three days. He is an eminent scientist and has done extraordinary good work in improving food grain seeds. He runs a laboratory in Almora and he has been in intimate touch with our Food and Agriculture Ministry. In particular, he has produced a very fine variety of maize, with heavy yield. There is a proposal, I think, of setting up some big organisation to deal with this matter. He thinks, and I agree with him, that it would be far more effective and efficient if it is done in a decentralised way and not to put up a big organisation. Anyhow, I should like you to meet him. He stays at Lala Shri Ram's place—22, Curzon Road, phone No. 47605.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. Letter. File No. 31 (70)/58-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

15. An eminent botanist, and founder Director, Vivekananda Laboratory, Almora, Uttar Pradesh, who created a small experimental farm for high altitude grain production.



**113. To S.K. Patil: State Trading in Surplus Areas<sup>16</sup>**

October 19, 1959

My dear S.K.,

Because of the arguments going on about the zonal system and other connected matters, the whole question of State Trading has gone into the background. In fact, there is hardly any State Trading now. We always seem to have considered this matter in the larger context of State Trading all over India and we got into difficulties. We started this business by making the wholesalers as our agents for State Trading. This, of course, was hardly a satisfactory arrangement as they were not interested in the success of this experiment.

In Bengal, which is very much a deficit area, the attempts at State Trading and various kinds of control have collapsed. That, of course, was the last place where this was likely to succeed. It seems to me that we should look upon this question in a more limited, but concentrated way. That is to say, that we should have State Trading in selected surplus areas or even parts of them and concentrate on them. The right way to concentrate would be to expedite the formation of cooperatives there. It is, of course, our policy to have cooperatives all over. But I suggest that apart from this general approach, we should concentrate on these particular selected areas and build up cooperatives for this purpose immediately or as soon as possible. Thus, an area like the Chhattisgarh District, which is highly surplus, can be taken in hand and similar areas elsewhere. There cooperatives will be established with speed and entrusted with this State Trading.

In regard to sugar, broadly speaking, the position should not be a difficult one. There is at most a marginal deficit and it should not be beyond our capacity to deal with this situation through State Trading and cooperatives. Cooperatives for particular purposes should not take too long to be established. There have been bases where, such as in UP some years back, the sugar question was tackled with speed and with success.

I should like you to consider these matters.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

16. Letter. File No. 31 (85)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

# You Said It

By LAXMAN



..... Our food position is satisfactory and so is our sugar position.  
We hope to rectify both very soon.

(FROM *THE TIMES OF INDIA*, 17 SEPTEMBER 1959)



#### **114. To the All India Cooperative Week Celebration Committee: A Higher Form of Social Organisation<sup>17</sup>**

Nearly a quarter of a century ago a Royal commission on Agriculture appointed by the British Government in India said that there was no future for agriculture in India except through cooperatives.<sup>18</sup> I entirely agree with that statement. It seems to be obvious that the cooperative approach is the right approach not only in agriculture, but in many other activities also. The cooperative movement in other countries, whether they are capitalist, socialist or communist, has made great progress. I think that the time has come when in India every effort should be made to encourage and further this movement.

As the very name implies, cooperation is a voluntary effort. Introduction of compulsion takes away from the real cooperative character of it.

Apart from the obvious advantages which this movement brings to its members, it is a higher form of social organisation.

I send my good wishes to the seminar that is being organised in West Bengal.

#### **(c) Industry and Labour**

#### **115. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Union of Defence Employees<sup>19</sup>**

Raj Bhavan

Bombay

October 4, 1959

My dear Gulzarilal,

S.M. Joshi<sup>20</sup> came to see me today here in Bombay. He spoke of the Defence Employees Union with which he is connected and from which Dr. Maitreyee<sup>21</sup> resigned recently. He said that a rival union has been started by INTUC under the presidentship of Dr. Melkote.<sup>22</sup> This is unfortunate as this is likely to create trouble among the Defence civil employees. Whatever might happen in other

17. Message to J.C. Gupta, Chairman, All India Cooperative Week Celebration Committee, Calcutta, 28 October 1959. File No. 9/2/59-PMS.

18. See item 6 and fn 19 in this volume.

19. Letter.

20. General Secretary, All-India Defence Employees' Federation.

21. Maitreyee Bose, President of Defence Workers' Federation.

22. G.S. Melkote, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Raichur, Mysore State.

industries, it is desirable to keep the Defence employees free from these internal troubles.

Apparently it was thought that Defence Employees Union was controlled by Communists. Shri Joshi said that this was not true, nor was he himself a Communist or near-Communist. He merely associated himself with them in connection with the Samyukta Maharashtra agitation.

He said that the Defence Employees Union was having their annual function at Bangalore at the end of November or beginning of December. He would very much like you to go there and inaugurate it and give them proper advice which he hoped to follow.

I am passing this on to you as there seems to be something worth consideration in what Shri Joshi said about the undesirability of two Unions among the Defence civil employees.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 116. To Manubhai M. Shah: Making Swiss Watches<sup>23</sup>

October 15, 1959

My dear Manubhai,

I have received a rather curious report. This is about some agreement arrived at by the Government of India in regard to the manufacture of watches or clocks in India. Apparently, the person concerned is named Gilbert Etienne<sup>24</sup> who is a Swiss but has been sponsored by the French Embassy. Gilbert Etienne is well known in Bombay and is not supposed to have a very good reputation. He speaks Hindi very well indeed.

I gather that one Henri Favre of the Favre Louba Watch Company has been trying to get some arrangement with the Government of India, presumably about making watches in India, but that he has not succeeded, while Gilbert Etienne has met with some success although Etienne has not had much to do with watch making. I gather also that the Swiss Ambassador<sup>25</sup> is not too happy about these developments.

23. Letter to Manubhai M. Shah, Union Minister of State for Industry.

24. Economist at the School of International Studies at the Institute of Development Studies, Geneva.

25. C.A. Rezzonico.



I am passing on this information as I have received it. I know nothing more about it. But I should like to know how matters stand.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**117. To Swaran Singh: Steel Shortage in Madras<sup>26</sup>**

October 15, 1959

My dear Swaran Singh,

I enclose, in original, a letter from Kamaraj, Chief Minister of Madras. The Madras Government have been complaining repeatedly about the acute shortage of steel in their state. I hope something can be done for them. I was under the impression that the steel position was much better now. Kamaraj's appeal is almost a desperate one and it should be attended to.<sup>27</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**118. To K.N. Katju: Ramsingh Bhai Varma, INTUC, and the Police<sup>28</sup>**

October 17, 1959

My dear Kailas Nath,

Ramsingh Bhai Varma came to see me today.<sup>29</sup> You know him, of course. He is one of the leaders of the INTUC movement and has done very good work in Indore in the trade unions there. He is a Member of Parliament who is thought of highly in the Congress Party here.

26. Letter to Swaran Singh, Union Minister Steel, Mines and Fuel. File No. 17 (318)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

27. On 27 October 1959, Swaran Singh replied to Nehru about sending 5,000 tons of steel to Madras, assuring him of normalcy in six months.

28. Letter.

29. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Nimad, Madhya Pradesh; Vice President of the INTUC, and the President of the Madhya Pradesh branch of INTUC.

He gave me a long story of recent events, more especially in Bhopal. This was in relation to the Industrial Relations Bill which your government has put forward. He and the INTUC are completely in favour of this Bill even though some communists and others oppose it. When some communists wanted to demonstrate against this Bill, he decided to organise demonstrations in a big way in favour of the Bill. He avoided, however, the dates of the communists' demonstrations so that there might not be any possibility of conflict. According to him, the communist demonstrations were very feeble. His own INTUC demonstration became a very big one and large numbers of industrial workers belonging to INTUC came to Bhopal at their own cost. He had informed the police of it. On the very last day, when these people had arrived or were arriving in Bhopal, Section 144 was applied against their processions and, perhaps, meeting, even though the communist processions had been permitted. He said that he was put in a great difficulty because of these thousands of persons who had arrived there. He informed the local authorities about this, but they insisted on the prohibition. He had a difficult decision to make. He ultimately decided to take out the procession, because not to do so would have meant great disappointment to the large numbers of people who had especially come for it and would have also meant a surrender to the communist opposition to the Bill. The procession, therefore, was taken out, but he as leader was beaten by the police. However, the procession went on and they held a big meeting.

He said that it was very extraordinary that those people who wanted to help Government and support their legislative measures, were prevented from doing so, while the small communist opposition had liberty of functioning. As a matter of fact, the Government should seek the cooperation of those who were supporting them, more especially the organised labour in connection with an Industrial Relations Bill. It may be that the police were apprehensive of trouble. This apprehension was completely unjustified in the circumstances. But, even so, the action in banning the procession at the last moment was very wrong and created a very bad impression. He added that the Provincial Congress Committee of Madhya Pradesh was completely quiescent and did nothing at all in this matter.

These are the facts which Ramsingh Bhai gave me and they do appear to me very odd. Presuming that they are more or less correct, I can only come to the conclusion that the police and other local authorities have no grip of the situation and function in a way which is totally unsuited at the present time. I got that idea of the Bhopal police even during the last communal troubles there. First of all, they are afraid of things happening, then they take wrong steps, and then throw their weight about a great deal. I gather that a number of these INTUC people have been arrested also in this connection.



Unfortunately, the Congress in Bhopal hardly functions, but the INTUC is a strong organisation which has shown extraordinary discipline. To treat it as a kind of enemy force exhibits a mentality on the part of police, which is singularly inappropriate. If there is any risk of trouble, it is up to them to protect a proper demonstration of this kind for a governmental measure and not to ban it. Shaukat Ali<sup>30</sup> and handful communists in Bhopal have apparently given the police cold feet.

This kind of thing must injure the credit of Government. In any event, the local authorities do not come out well from this picture.

After I had written the above, I have seen your letter of October 15th which deals with these very incidents. I have read the papers you have sent me. Thank you for sending them. The whole account is based on the police reports received by you and others. No doubt, these reports should be given due importance. It might also be true that Ramsingh Bhai is apt to get excited and lose his temper. Nevertheless, I feel unhappy about all this, and I am afraid I do not always accept police reports for what they are. Inevitably, they try to defend their own action. Such a situation should never be allowed to arise. In fact, governmental authorities should have kept in the closest touch with the INTUC leaders throughout not only on the occasion of these incidents, but generally in regard to the Industrial Relations Bill. A Government cannot function in the air and must have public support. To suppress public support for itself lest it might annoy somebody, is taking things a bit far. The fact that Ramsingh Bhai broke Section 144 order is unfortunate.<sup>31</sup> And yet I am not quite sure what I would have done in the circumstances if I was faced with a contingency at the last moment. What were the Congress M.L.As doing and what, indeed, had they done previously in support of the Bill in the public?

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawahar]

30. Khan Bahadur Diwan Shaukat Ali.

31. When demonstrating in support of the INTUC against the State Government's Labour Bills, he was arrested on 21 October on 28 September 1959. See *The Times of India*, 22 September 1959 and *The Hindustan Times*, 22 October 1959. See also item 123 in this section.

## 119. To Manubhai M. Shah: Small Car Manufacture<sup>32</sup>

October 18, 1959

My dear Manubhai,

Two or three days ago I saw a note in the press to the effect that an interim report of the committee appointed by the Government of India to consider the possibilities of manufacturing a small cheap car will be placed before Parliament when it meets next month.<sup>33</sup> I was wondering whether it was desirable to place these interim reports before Parliament straightaway without Government considering them and coming to some conclusions. Of course, in an interim report no conclusions can be reached, and I have no idea of what the interim report will be like. But, broadly speaking, it may not be desirable to place such a report before Parliament before we have given full consideration to it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 120. To Swaran Singh: The Inspectorate of Mines<sup>34</sup>

19th October 1959

My dear Swaran Singh,

You wrote to me on September 15, 1959 about the proposal to transfer the Inspectorate of Mines from the Labour Ministry to the Ministry of Steel, Mines & Fuel. I acknowledged your letter of October 1 and suggested that you, Nandaji<sup>35</sup> and I might meet one day to consider this matter. Unfortunately this meeting has not taken place.

I have, however, gone through the papers again and given further thought to this question.

The question you have raised is that too much meticulous observation of safety regulations and often an unimaginative approach to this question comes

32. Letter. File No. 17 (407)/60-67-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

33. The *Statesman* of 16 October 1959 announced the interim report of a committee for a scheme to produce a "small, cheap car" which would be both available on installment payments of Rs 150-200 a month in less than three years and would not be "a potential competitor to the existing medium sized models." L. K. Jha, Additional Secretary in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, was the chairman of the committee.

34. Letter.

35. Gulzarilal Nanda.



in the way of production. Production is, of course, of high importance, and we must encourage it in every way. At the same time, the necessary safety measures have also to be given effect to. It would be dangerous for us to relax them and endanger human lives even to increase production. In this matter the proprietors of coalmines etc. are not the best judges, and only an independent technical authority should be made responsible for the proper carrying out of safety measures. Every accident in a coal mine is likely to have serious consequences and there is, naturally and rightly, a public outcry. We cannot, therefore, take even a small risk in such matters.

Of course, there need necessarily be no conflict between production and safety measures. Production always depends upon the quality of work put in by the workers. If they work with enthusiasm then production will go up greatly. If they are reluctant or sullen, production will go down. The most important factor is the worker. Any measures that make him think that his safety is not being properly looked after will reduce his quality and quantity of work and produce a feeling of discontent. Apart from the worker, the public also insists on full protection of workers. I agree with this proposition. We cannot relax that protection on any account and, in this matter, the owners or proprietors or managers of coal mines are no adequate judges.

At the same time it may well be that technical inspectors throw their weight about and pay no regard to the question of production. That is improper. How then are we to strike a golden mean between these two positions? I am inclined to think that it would be not in your Ministry's interest to be put in charge of the Inspectorate of Mines. If I was in your position, I would not take it. A single accident would adversely affect the reputation of the Ministry and it will then be said with force that the transfer of the Inspectorate has led to such consequences. I would, therefore, leave the Inspectorate with the Labour Ministry. But it is not enough to do that, and some procedure should be evolved to avoid the kind of conflicts that have arisen. First of all, the rules, etc. for inspection should be carefully considered by both the Ministries concerned as well as, by others, if necessary. The formulation of those rules need not be left merely to the Labour Ministry although, of course, their views will be important. Having framed those general rules, the next question is that of implementation. An inter-Ministerial Committee should be in general charge of this matter, although the actual implementation will be done by the normal officers concerned. But any appeal or any complaint should be referred to this committee. What the personnel of such a committee might be should not be difficult to determine.

If this procedure is followed, the responsibility of the Labour Ministry will continue, the safety rules framed will be joint, and the implementation will be

subject to the guidance of the committee. Gradually this will lead to a proper training of implementing staff too who must not proceed in a harsh or unimaginative way.

The Committee, I suggest, need not have any statutory authority. It will be a coordinating committee and I see no reason why Nandaji should object to such a committee.

In some of the papers reference has been made to the practice in the U.K. I find that the Royal Commission on Safety in Coal Mines a set up in the U.K. in 1938 considered this question and made the following remarks:-

“Whatever may be reasons for the absence during this period of any material improvement in the accident and disease rates, we have no evidence that the association of the protective work with other matters (connected with trade and production) has been one of the reasons, and, while in some respects there may appear to be advantages in putting the protective work under separate ministerial direction, we do not wish to suggest a reversal of the policy which created the present arrangement. Nevertheless, there are weighty reasons, in our opinion, why it is important that the health and safety side of the Department’s administrative duties ought to be so far independent of any other interests that the connection should not extend below the ministerial head of the department. We recommend, therefore, that the permanent staff engaged on health and safety measures should not, so far at least as those matters are directly concerned, be subject to control by any member of the permanent staff responsible for the administration of other interests such as trade and production.”

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



## 121. To H.J. Bhabha: Fuel Elements from Canada<sup>36</sup>

October 20, 1959

My dear Homi,

I have just received your letter of October 8th from Vienna.<sup>37</sup> In this you refer to your talks with Gray<sup>38</sup> about an understanding of the conditions attached to the supply of fuel elements by Canada.

I think that the line you have taken is the right one. If you can get some changes made in the draft, well and good. Otherwise, you can accept it as it is.

Yours,

Jawaharlal Nehru

## 122. To Madras State Electricity Board: Kundah Project<sup>39</sup>

I am glad to know that the work of the Kundah Hydro-Electric Project in Madras State has progressed satisfactorily and that one of the Power Houses will start functioning in January 1960.<sup>40</sup> Power is the very foundation of industrial progress in India or elsewhere. Indeed we can measure the progress of India by this test. Madras State has done well in regard to the use of electric power and this new addition to its resources will no doubt accelerate its industrial progress. I send my good wishes on the occasion of the opening of its Power House No. 1.

36. Letter to Homi Bhabha, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission of India, and Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, Government of India. File No. 17(52)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

37. See Appendix 6, pp. 552-554.

38. J.L. Gray, President of Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd.

39. Message to W.R.S. Sathianathan, Chairman, Madras State Electricity Board, Madras. 25 October 1959. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

40. The first power station under the Kundah Hydro-electric Project at Nilgiri District, Madras State, began operations in March 1960 and the second station in October, 1960.

### 123. To K.N. Katju: Objecting to Arrest of Labour Leader<sup>41</sup>

29th October 1959

My dear Kailas Nath,

I wrote to you rather a long letter a few days ago about Ramsingh Bhai Varma and certain incidents that had taken place in Bhopal.<sup>42</sup> Later, I discovered, much to my surprise, that Ramsingh Bhai had been arrested in Indore, carried to Bhopal and put in prison for some days. Apparently, he is still there, though today's date has been fixed for some kind of a hearing.

All this has made me very unhappy. I do not challenge the right of punishing a person who deliberately offends against the law. But there is something very wrong about the administrative and police apparatus of Bhopal if a man like Ramsingh Bhai is treated in this way. He should be one of our principal advisers and counsellors, especially in labour matters.

I enclose two letters I have received. One is from Ram Singh Bhai Varma from the Central Jail, Bhopal, and the other is from the Secretary of the Rashtriya Mazdoor Congress of Indore.

In Ramsingh Bhai's letter, mention is made about some scheme that they are starting at the Hukam Chand Mills at Indore for workers' participation in the management. I think I wrote to you about this. If this is possible, I should like to participate in it.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(d) Education

### 124. To S. Dutt: No Communism in Sahitya Akademi Book<sup>43</sup>

Please see the attached note from the Secretary of the Sahitya Akademi<sup>44</sup> as well as the book "Nainsingh ki Diary".<sup>45</sup> I have not had the time to read the

41. Letter. File No. 26/4/59-H, Sr. No. 46-A. Also available in JN Collection.

42. See item 118 in this section.

43. Note, 4 October 1959.

44. Krishna Kripalani.

45. Pandit Nain Singh Rawat, first of the trans-Himalayan explorers.



introduction by Rahul Sankrityayan.<sup>46</sup> I should like it to be read carefully because Rahulji is more or less a Communist and it would not be desirable for a Communist interpretation to be put forward in a book published by the Sahitya Akademi.

The rest of the book, that is, the Diary, should also be read. It is not a long document. I should like this book back after it has been considered and comments made.

#### **125. To Vishnu Sahay: Education Ministry for Child Welfare<sup>47</sup>**

I agree with your suggestions.<sup>48</sup> The Ministry of Education should be asked to undertake the administrative responsibility for child welfare. For coordination, a committee should be set up consisting of the representatives of the Ministries concerned, the Planning Commission and the Central Social Welfare Board. This committee should be under the Cabinet Secretariat.

2. I do not think a Cabinet Committee need be set up at this stage. If necessary, we can do this later.

3. I suggest that you might address the State Governments on this subject and suggest to them to take similar steps.

#### **126. To Education Ministry: Postpone Setting up a Children's Museum<sup>49</sup>**

I have read this note. I have long been anxious for a proper Children's Museum to be set up here. Years have passed since this proposal was made, and as we go on considering it, the scope of this museum becomes bigger and bigger and the expense involved more and more. We seem to have lost the capacity of doing anything on a relatively small and inexpensive scale. The examples in our mind are always those of rich and affluent countries.

2. While I realise that in a city like Delhi such a Children's Museum should be something worth-while, still I cannot help thinking that our approach

46. Prolific writer, thinker and traveler.

47. Note, 6 October 1959. File No. 40 (187)/59-66-PMS.

48. See Appendix 5, pp. 551-552.

49. Note, 8 October 1959.

to all such questions has gone wrong. I should have liked large numbers of Children's Museums all over the country, including in rural areas. Obviously such a scheme can only be thought of in terms of simple and inexpensive museums. If we go on spending large sums of money over one or two big city museums, nothing is left over for other places. I think that it should be possible for us to think on simpler lines and forget for a while what is being done in England, America, Germany or somewhere else.

3. If this is to be the approach, then the question of engaging a foreign expert does not arise even though his expenses might be paid by T.C.M. or some other foreign authority. I am inclined to think that in view of our difficult financial situation and the many demands made upon it, it is better to postpone indefinitely the idea of this Children's Museum.

## **127. To Foreign Students' Association, Delhi: Developing Friendly Contacts<sup>50</sup>**

Mr. President and friends,

It was an excellent idea a year or two ago, I do not quite know when this cultural evening was started. But why speeches should be considered part of culture I do not understand. It is a bad habit. I hope our young friends from abroad will not acquire this habit in India because it is a bad habit in India. Here we are invited sometimes to a reception, to a party, wherever you go, you find it is really a kind of a meeting to deliver speeches. It is extraordinary. The idea of enjoyment that the people have in India is most extraordinary, to deliver speeches and listen to them. So I do not see why I should take away from your pleasure in seeing and listening to the song and dance which you are going to have, except to say that I think it is a very good thing from every point or view for young men and women students to come here to our universities, good for us, good for them. It widens our horizons, helps a little I hope in rubbing our rough corners off, and in the future that is taking shape in the world it will be very important, these contacts that are built up now. So I am happy at this. I am happy more specially, it is important, that when foreign students come here they should not merely live among themselves but have friendly contacts with students here of India and have some experience of our lives, our homes, etc. For the rest, I thank you for inviting me here. And now we shall proceed to the real cultural programme. [Applause]

50. Speech, Delhi, 8 October 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.



## 128. To University Students: Education first, Politics Later<sup>51</sup>

I have been glad to learn of the work of the National Council of University Students of India. Their approach to the problem of students appears to me to be a correct one. Our students are, I believe, excellent material, and it is a pity that they should waste their energy in wrong directions and get entangled in political quarters. Nobody wishes to deny politics to our young men. They will have plenty of time to take part in it at a later stage. But the primary need for a student anywhere is to take advantage of this special period of his life to train himself in body and mind and character so that he could play an effective role in life afterwards. To waste this period is to lose something which he will not have again.

We are engaged in a very difficult but at the same time exciting adventure of building up India. I cannot imagine anything else which could be more exciting than this. But it is obvious that this building up can only be done by people of quality. Education is supposed to give this quality to our young men and young women.

I understand that the General Council of the National Council of University Students of India is going to meet in Delhi soon and that this meeting is going to be inaugurated by Dr. C.D. Deshmukh.<sup>52</sup> No better person could be chosen to give the right advice to our young men and women. I wish this meeting success.

## 129. To K.L. Shrimali: Financial Enquiry on Aligarh Muslim University<sup>53</sup>

October 18, 1959

My dear Shrimali,

I have looked through the papers about the Aligarh Muslim University that you gave me. I am returning them.

51. Message forwarded to K.N. Sharma, General Secretary, National Council of University Students of India, Delhi, 9 October 1959. File No. 8 (158)/60-PMS.

52. Chairman of the University Grants Commission; he inaugurated the meeting at Delhi University on 23 October 1959.

53. Letter to K.L. Shrimali, Union Minister of Education.

I entirely agree with you that there should be a thorough financial enquiry into the affairs of this University.<sup>54</sup> So far as the other matters are concerned, they should, I think, be dealt with separately.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 130. To Humayun Kabir: Accommodation for a Scholar<sup>55</sup>

19th October, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Dr. Kalidas Nag<sup>56</sup> came to see me today and showed me the proofs of the second volume of the work he has undertaken. The first volume named "The Discovery of Asia" came out a year or two ago. The second volume which he is now completing is called "Greater India".<sup>57</sup> After this, he will go on to the third volume which will deal with science and culture, especially in the Orient.

He said that he found it very difficult to carry on his work in Calcutta as much of the material was in Delhi. Apparently, he preferred the Delhi climate too and said that he was getting on in age etc. He, therefore, wanted very much to have a small place to live in Delhi where he could carry on this work, and he begged me to provide him with such a place to stay in Delhi. Further he wanted a typist to help him (just an English-knowing typist who need not know shorthand).

I told him that I would enquire if anything could be done. I could not, of course, promise or make a commitment.

Can we do anything in this matter? We have all kinds of rules and regulations about flats and houses in Delhi. I think we should be able to help well-known writers and scholars to do their work. Perhaps when the international centre has been established in Delhi, that will afford such a refuge. Meanwhile, we should be able to do something. We could get over any rule if the accommodation

54. The Aligarh Muslim University Enquiry Committee was appointed in early 1960 to inquire into the University's finances from 1951-52 to 1958-59. It reported in 1961.

55. Letter.

56. Founder of the Greater India Society.

57. Kalidas Nag's books were published as: *Discovery of Asia* (Calcutta: Institute of Asian African Relations, 1957); and *Greater India* (Calcutta: Institute of Asian African Relations, 1960).



is available. I imagine the actual accommodation required will not be very much, though I do not quite know. Perhaps a small flat or a couple of rooms in the Western Court might be enough. You might get in touch with Dr. Kalidas Nag and discuss this matter with him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 131. To the World Assembly of Youth: Development<sup>58</sup>

The subject of the seminar of the World Assembly of Youth is an appropriate one. The most important problem facing many countries in Asia is that of social and economic development. This has first to be understood in all its implications and then to be implemented. We in India have been giving a great deal of thought to this problem for the last many years and our Second Five Year Plan was a result of this thinking. Now we are considering the Third Plan. It is important that the youth of this country should understand this and not lose themselves in a few slogans. Even more important is the part youth play in its implementation. This applies to the other countries of Asia also. Conditions may and do differ in different countries and it is never a safe policy merely to copy what another country is doing. But there are certain broad principles which apply to underdeveloped countries seeking social and economic progress. For this we can learn from the experience of others.

I send my good wishes to the Seminar.

#### 132. To George Mathai: Indian Students in England<sup>59</sup>

October 26, 1959

Dear Shri Mathai,

I have received your letter of the 23rd October. My attention was drawn to the article in question and I sent it on to the Education Ministry. There is no doubt that some Indian students do not behave properly in England. But my own

58. Message to World Assembly of Youth at its Asian Seminar at St. Xavier's College, Ahmedabad, Gujarat, 22 October 1959. Also forwarded to Ramkrishna Bajaj, WAY Asian Seminar, St. Xavier's College, Ahmedabad. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

59. Letter to George Mathai, Sharon House, Puthenangady, Kottayam, Kerala.

impression, both from personal knowledge and reports, is that the great majority of them are doing well. Much of the trouble in England is caused not by students but by other Indians or Pakistanis who go there for some kind of petty business. We have tried to check their going very much. In spite of this, there have been forgery of passports, etc.

We must remember also that people in England cannot distinguish normally between Pakistanis and Indians. We are much stricter in this matter than the Pakistan Government.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 133. Foreword to Manubehn Gandhi's Book<sup>60</sup>

Much has been written about Gandhiji, and no doubt learned people will continue to write about this great man and the great deeds that he performed. He became the symbol of an age, representing in himself the past, the present and, to some extent, the future of India. Even those who were privileged to come in close contact with him could only understand some aspects of his many sided nature, and marvel at this simple man of the people rising to levels which appeared to be beyond human reach. No one who saw him could forget him, no one who came in contact with him could fail to carry that impress all his life.

These little anecdotes collected by Manubehn Gandhi from her own experience of her grandfather have a peculiar value. They bring out in simple language simple deeds, simple gestures and simple approaches to the day-to-day problems of life and yet they have a profound meaning as almost everything that Gandhiji did had a meaning. Grown up people can learn much from them; but more particularly they are meant for children, who may, by these simple stories, get some glimpses of a person whom they have not seen but who is always with them in the very fabric of India which he fashioned.

I am glad this little book is coming out in translations thus enabling more people to read it.<sup>61</sup>

60. Note [not clear to whom], 27 October 1959.

61. Published as, Manubehn Gandhi, *My Memorable Moments with Bapu* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1960).



### 134. To Inter-University Festival: Festivals Good for Interaction<sup>62</sup>

The Inter-University Youth Festival has thus far taken place in Delhi and has been much appreciated by those who participated in it and those who saw it. I am glad that on this occasion it is taking place in South India.<sup>63</sup> It is desirable to hold it in different parts of India.

Sometimes criticisms have been made of this festival in the past. Those criticisms will, no doubt, be studied and improvements made wherever possible. But the main thing is that the idea of the festival is a good one and it has, I think, achieved substantial results. For our young students from different universities to come together in this festival, to get to know each other and to cooperate together in various matters is itself desirable and helpful in producing that sense of all-India unity which is so necessary. It is these young men and young women, who will, no doubt, play an important part in the new India that is being built up. They have to be trained for that great responsibility, and as a part of that training. This meeting together and widening their outlook is important.

I wish this festival success.

### 135. To the Primary Teachers' Conference: Education Spreading Rapidly<sup>64</sup>

I send my good wishes to the Fifth All India Primary Teachers' Conference. Much criticism is directed towards education in India and much of that criticism has some substance in it. And yet, the fact remains that education is spreading with remarkable speed. I am told that there are 30 million students in the Elementary Schools in India now. It is hoped that by the end of the Third Five Year Plan, this figure would be doubled.

The teachers in these schools play a vital part in preparing children for their future life. There can be no more responsible task. I send the conference my good wishes.

62. Message to J.B. Mallradhya, Chairman, Sixth Inter-University Youth Festival Committee, Mysore, 28 October 1959. File No. 9/2/59-PMS.

63. From 27 October to 5 November 1959 in Mysore.

64. Message, 28 October 1959, Bombay. Also forwarded to M.V. Donde, MLC, Bombay. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

### 136. Shafique Memorial Construction<sup>65</sup>

It is not clear to me what the state of this present building is now. From the photograph attached and indeed from Prof. Mujeeb's letter,<sup>66</sup> it appears that the building is without roof and is otherwise also not completed. It is unfortunate that a partially built structure should stand like this.

2. It does appear that the Adult Education Association, in its enthusiasm, has gone further ahead than was warranted by the assurances to it. Perhaps they might have been misled to some extent.

3. I do not know what to suggest, but to leave things as they are is obviously undesirable, and creates a bad impression on everybody who sees it or hears about it. Whatever has already been spent upon it is an utter waste. Of course, the building is not being used. Something has to be done to find a way out of the impasse. I would suggest that the Education Minister might consider these aspects and, in consultation with the Adult Education Association and the Finance Ministry, try to get out of this deadlock. I suppose it is hardly possible for the Association to find all this money though they might find some more. Can the structure be completed on a lesser estimate?

4. It would hardly be desirable to hand over this structure which is a memorial to a lovable personality, who was devoted to education and national work, for some other work or for Government offices.<sup>67</sup> It may, however, be specified that the building or the hall can be used for certain other purposes if Government so requires it.

### 137. To Humayun Kabir: Hostel for Indian Students in Paris<sup>68</sup>

Yesterday I saw a file about the proposed construction by India of a hostel for students in the Cité Universitaire in Paris. I noted on that file and sent it back.

65. Note [not clear to whom], 29 October 1959.

66. Muhammed Mujeeb, historian and Vice Chancellor, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi.

67. The person Nehru is referring to here is Shafiqur Rehman Kidwai, a freedom fighter, the founder and director of Idara Talim-O-Taraqqi (Department of Education and progress), established by Jamia Millia Islamia in 1938. See the official website of Jamia Millia Islamia: <http://jmi.ac.in/aboutjamia/schools/balak-mata-centres/introduction> (accessed on 22 February 2013).

68. Note, 30 October 1959. Also copied to the Union Ministry of Finance, SG, and FS.



2. As there was a Cabinet Meeting today, I mentioned this matter there. The Finance Minister said that during his visit to Paris this question had been raised there and he expressed his opinion that we should go ahead with the proposal though on a smaller scale. The Cabinet generally approved of this.

3. We might, therefore, proceed on the lines indicated in my note in the appropriate file yesterday. This was to the effect:

- (1) No new estimates should be asked for from the French architects.
- (2) We should proceed on the basis of a hostel for 100 students and plans should be made accordingly. But the actual construction work to be taken in hand should be on a smaller size, that is, for 50 students. This can be added to later. Naturally, this will have to be done in a way so that the 50-men hostel is itself a complete structure though it can be enlarged according to plan later.
- (3) The estimates given in the noting on the file were, as far as I remember, about 30 to 35 lakhs of rupees for a 100-men hostel and probably about 16 lakhs of rupees for 50. These figures seemed to me rather considerable but I realised that building costs in France are higher.
4. The whole question of drawing up specifications for the building should now be entrusted to competent Indian engineers.
5. Will you please, therefore, now process this matter further through the Finance Ministry and others concerned?

### 138. To Rathindranath Tagore: Tagore Centenary<sup>69</sup>

October 30, 1959

My dear Rathi Babu,

Thank you for your letter of October 29th which I have just received.<sup>70</sup> I have been anxious myself about Rabindra Sadan and have written about it on several occasions to the Vice-Chancellor.<sup>71</sup> But unhappily progress has been very slow chiefly because it was said that enough money had not been collected for the Centenary Fund. I assured the Vice-Chancellor that this should not come in the way and I believe some steps are being taken very soon.

69. Letter to Rathindranath Tagore, the eldest son of Rabindranath Tagore and the first Upacharya (Vice-Chancellor) of Visva-Bharati University. Rabindrabhavan, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan. Also available in JN Collection.

70. See Appendix 12, p. 562.

71. Kshitishchandra Chaudhuri.

It is expected that Shri S.R. Das who recently gave up the Chief Justiceship of India may be elected the next Vice-Chancellor. I spoke to him on this subject also and impressed on him the need for speed. He entirely agreed with me. So I hope that something will be done soon. I shall certainly try to follow this matter up.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 139. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Helping a Promising Student<sup>72</sup>

October 31, 1959

My dear Mohanlal,

Among the large number of Diwali greetings that I got was the enclosed letter from a young man from Jaipur. I do not know him. He says that he has had a first class career, presumably meaning that he has done well in his college. I wonder if you could be good enough to find out privately about him and how well he has done in college. If he has been really a good student, I should not like him to suffer in further education for lack of money, and I might be able to help him a little.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(e) Culture

### 140. To S. Dutt: Indian Frontiers in History<sup>73</sup>

As soon as you issue printed copies of my last letter to Premier Chou En-lai, you might send them to all the Chief Ministers in India. Of course, you will send them to the President, Vice-President, etc.

2. I am making a further suggestion to you which, though hardly relevant at present, has still some historical significance. I should like our Historical

72. Letter.

73. Note, 1 October 1959.



Division to prepare a general and fairly brief note of all these frontier areas in history. What I mean is in the broad context of India's history for the last 2000 years or so, some indication might be given of this big frontier from the extreme north to the north-east. Perhaps a beginning might be made from the Mauryan Empire, then the Kushan Empire, and so on. No exact lines are necessary; just the broad features of what has happened to these areas in the long past.

3. An interesting aspect of this survey would be references in past Indian literature, even in the Epics.

#### 141. To the Bharatiya Lok Kala Mandal: Folk Art<sup>74</sup>

Recently at Nagaur, I saw folk dances performed by a troupe from the Bharatiya Lok-Kala Mandal of Udaipur.<sup>75</sup> Previously I had seen their performances in Delhi also, and liked them. I understand that they are having a Festival of Puppets and Dummy Dancers next month at Udaipur. I am, glad to notice this revival of puppetry and folk dances in our country. I send my good wishes to this Festival.

#### 142. To Amiya Chakravarty: Pasternak<sup>76</sup>

October 14, 1959

My dear Amiya,

Thank you for your letter of October 2 and for the copy of the letter from Boris Pasternak.<sup>77</sup> Also the book of poems by Pasternak. I welcome this book very much, and I am sure I shall enjoy it.

I am grateful to Pasternak for his good opinion and kind sentiments about me. I have done little to deserve them.

When you come to India, I hope we shall meet.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

74. Message, 14 October 1959.

75. On 2 October 1959.

76. Letter to Amiya Chakravarty, Professor of Comparative Oriental Religions and Literature at Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts, USA. File No. S.A. 83E, Tagore Centenary Abroad-General, 1959, Sahitya Akademi Records.

77. See Appendix 2, pp. 542-543.

**143. To Mohan Lal Saksena: Helping Deserving Persons<sup>78</sup>**

October 17, 1959

My dear Mohan Lal,

Your letter of October 15 about S.P. Bhattacharjie's case. I agree with you that he deserves sympathy and help. But I do not know what I can do about him. Every possible appointment that comes up before me comes through the U.P.S.C. and Bhattacharjie is over-aged for that. I have no pull with any newspapers or journals and, in any event, I do not like to make recommendations to them for appointments.<sup>79</sup> The most I can do is to help somewhat in the education of his son who you say is in the fourth year in the College of Technology. If you will let me know as to how much this would mean, I shall try to meet your wishes.

As for Dr. Murarilal, he is a very old and respected friend of all of us. But how can I get the law changed about the Life Insurance Corporation, however desirable that change might be? I can send some money directly to him or through you (my name need not be mentioned). Please let me know if he would accept any such assistance.

I am sorry to learn of Nandu's<sup>80</sup> illness. I am glad that he has largely recovered from it.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

78. Letter.

79. Bhattacharjie later published the reference works, see S.P. Bhattacharjie, ed., *Fighters for Freedom: Who's Who* (Lucknow: Information Department, 1963) and another of the same title in 1964.

80. Mohan Lal Saksena's son.



#### 144. To R. R. Diwakar: Admiration for Buddha<sup>81</sup>

October 18, 1959

My dear Diwakar,

Thank you for your letter of the 16th October.<sup>82</sup>

I am glad you have written about Buddha and I should be happy to read the book when it comes out.<sup>83</sup> But you must forgive me for not writing the foreword. This is not merely a question of time but the difficulty of the subject. As you perhaps know, I am a tremendous admirer of Gautama Buddha. This itself makes it difficult for me to write about him casually. Whatever is written should be worthwhile and after deep thought. So please forgive me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 145. To National Council of Women: Women's Education and Public Role<sup>84</sup>

I send my good wishes on the occasion of the Conference of the National Council of Women in India which is to be held in Lucknow next month. One of the pleasing and significant developments in India has been in regard to the increasing role of women in our public activities. I have often said that gradually a revolutionary change in the Indian situation is being brought about by the spread of Education among women. This not only affects the persons concerned, but has much wider implications on the home and on national life generally. I, therefore, welcome it. I am glad that the subject for discussion chosen by the National Council is the Role of Women's Voluntary Organisations in Women's Education.

81. Letter to R.R. Diwakar, founder and trustee of Loka Shikshana Trust, Hubli, Bangalore. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

82. Diwakar asked Nehru to write a forward to his book titled *Bhagawan Buddha*. See R. R. Diwakar Papers, NMML.

83. Published without a foreword by Nehru, see Ranganath Ramachandra Diwakar, *Bhagawan Buddha* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1960).

84. Message to Saraladevi Sarabhai, the Retreat, Shahibag, Ahmedabad, Gujarat, 18 October 1959. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

(f) Health

**146. To K. Ram: Ensure Higher Returns from Drugs<sup>85</sup>**

Please reply to this letter from the Hindustan Antibiotics Ltd.<sup>86</sup> and express my appreciation of the good work being done there and the progress made. There is one matter, however, which I have already referred to the Ministry. I have asked them why it was considered necessary to reduce prices rapidly and considerably within a short space of time. It might have been advisable to have larger surpluses left over. We are aiming at surpluses from our national undertakings not only for the enlargement of the plants etc. but for our other work.

**147. To Moral and Social Hygiene Conference<sup>87</sup>**

I send my good wishes to the Conference on Moral and Social hygiene. In dealing with such matters, the greatest importance should be attached to the manner of approach which should be friendly and cooperative. Social evils exist because of many reasons, one of them is economic. That has to be tackled on the economic plane. Whatever the reasons, the approach has to be friendly so as to win over the persons concerned and get their cooperation.<sup>88</sup>

85. Note, 1 October 1959. File No. 17/272/57-64-PMS.

86. See SWJN/SS/52/p. 152.

87. Message, 7 October 1959. PIB files.

88. The seventh All India Conference on Moral and Social Hygiene met on 8-10 October 1959 and Chandigarh and passed a resolution recommending that the Central Government amend the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act of 1956 so as to declare prostitution in all its forms illegal. See *The Hindustan Times*, 11 October 1959.



**148. To G.B. Pant: Duraiswami and AIIMS<sup>89</sup>**

October 17, 1959

My dear Pantji,

I am writing to you about Professor Duraiswami<sup>90</sup> who, as you know, has been working in the All India Institute of Medical Sciences.<sup>91</sup> You know all about his case and the difficulties he has had with the Director and Governing Body of the Institute. As you are interested in this case and as something has to be done about it, I am writing to you about the present position.

Unfortunately, right from the beginning there has been friction between the Institute authorities and Duraiswami. At one time they actually started a rumour that Duraiswami had some bogus qualifications to which he was not entitled. I enquired into this matter and found the charge to be completely false. Nevertheless, they have continued giving him trouble and encouraging his own subordinate, Dr. Sankaran,<sup>92</sup> to commit acts of indiscipline.<sup>93</sup> This matter came to a head last year, I think, or early this year.<sup>94</sup> It so happened that Sir Harry Platt,<sup>95</sup> a very eminent surgeon under whom, both Duraiswami and Sankaran had worked, came to India. He was asked to look into the complaints made in regard to Duraiswami and Sankaran, and he went into this matter fairly thoroughly. He gave a report and he saw me also. He told me that Duraiswami and Sankaran were known to him very well. Duraiswami was a brilliant person in his special Department and should be given every encouragement. As for Sankaran, he said that he was fairly good, but not good enough at this stage to be placed in a really responsible position. He felt that Sankaran had not been acting properly at all towards his superior, but he was prepared to advise that Sankaran should be given another chance to see how he behaved. I think that Sankaran expressed his regret.

Harry Platt went away. Soon after, to my great surprise, Jivraj Mehta<sup>96</sup> came to me and complained that Duraiswami had not placed all the papers before Sir Harry Platt and he had done something or other in that connection

89. Letter. File No. 2 (280)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

90. Orthopaedic Surgeon, Safdarjung Hospital, New Delhi.

91. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 360.

92. Assistant Professor, AIIMS.

93. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 359.

94. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 133-135.

95. President of the International Federation of Surgical Colleges, USA.

96. Minister in the Government of Bombay and Member of the Governing Body of the AIIMS.

which Jivraj thought was not proper. I could not at all understand this and I repeated to him what Platt had said. My recollection is that it was decided that Sankaran should continue working under Duraiswami and that he should not be confirmed for the present. Duraiswami agreed to this reluctantly.

Soon after, however, Sankaran was confirmed and this was done retrospectively. Naturally Duraiswami was much put out. This was a direct hit at him, and no department can function if indiscipline is encouraged by the authorities.

Duraiswami was also asked to make a choice, within a very short period, as to whether he will give up Government service and continue in the All India Institute or give up the Institute. Normally he would have chosen for the Institute, but in view of the circumstances there and his feeling that he would not be treated properly, he hesitated to cut himself off from Government service. I told Jivraj Mehta that the best course would be to continue the present arrangement for two years or, at least, one year, that is, Duraiswami's services will be seconded by Government to the Institute. Unfortunately this was not done and he was asked to make his choice.

Meanwhile Duraiswami has received a singular honour. He has been asked to deliver the Hunterian Lecture at the Royal College of Surgeons in London which means that he is appointed Hunterian Professor for this purpose, although he only delivers one lecture there. This is supposed to be a high honour for a surgeon. But the Institute is coming in his way. Then again, there are some travelling Fellowships or Scholarships given by the Rockefeller Foundation, and it was the desire of T.C.M. that Duraiswami should be invited to accept this, but this could only be done if the Institute where he served recommended it. The Institute stated clearly that he would not be permitted to accept this scholarship under some rules or other. As a matter of fact, some other members of the Institute had been permitted to accept it.

The whole point of all this long story is that it is becoming very difficult for Duraiswami to continue at the Institute. I imagine that all this is being deliberately done to drive him out of it. As we cannot or should not, I think, take any drastic action in regard to the Institute at present, the only other course is for Duraiswami to leave it and to some other work.

Yesterday Dr. Radhakrishnan mentioned this case to me and suggested that Duraiswami might be appointed Principal of the Maulana Azad Medical College as the present Principal, Col. Taneja,<sup>97</sup> was being withdrawn by the

97. B.L. Taneja.



Army. Duraiswami would have plenty of scope for his research work in Orthopaedic Surgery at the Maulana Azad College. That will enable him also to accept the Hunterian Professorship for a while.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 149. To Dhanvanthi Rama Rao: Family Planning<sup>98</sup>

October 18, 1959

[Dear Dhanvanthi Rama Rao],

I received your letter of the 4th October some days ago together with the questionnaire attached to it. I am afraid I have neither the competence nor the time to deal with this questionnaire.

You know that I am wholly in favour of family planning. Certainly one of its principal objects is to lessen the rate of population increase. This is very important. But there are other aspects also. To give a fuller life to the family and more particularly to the mother and the children. The standard of living, education, etc. in a large family is likely to be lower than that in a somewhat smaller family. I think that there should be facilities for sterilization.

Any marked success in this movement will depend on two factors: (1) a widespread approach to our rural population and, (2) simple and cheap methods. We have heard much of oral contraceptives. Undoubtedly, if these are effective, they would go a long way to provide a suitable method.

If we have to approach the rural population, this means (1) a fairly widespread propaganda to create a background of acceptance, and (2) large numbers of clinics or centres where such information can be given. It would hardly be feasible to have separate family planning centres all over the country. This work will have to be coordinated, therefore, with other centres for maternity, child and various types of medical and health services.

In everything that we do in India, it must be remembered that the organisational structure should not be top-heavy and expensive. Otherwise it is limited in scope.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

98. Letter to Dhanvanthi Rama Rao, Chairman, Family Planning, Third Five Year Plan Committee, Directorate General of Health Services, New Delhi. File No. 28/ (50)/58-60-PMS.

**150. To K.C. Reddy: WHO Regional Office Building<sup>99</sup>**

19th October, 1959

My dear Reddy,

The Regional Director of the World Health Organisation, Dr. C. Mani, came to see me this afternoon. He said that while he was grateful that all the sanctions required for the new building of his Regional Office in Delhi had been given, actually work on the building had not started yet. Indeed, even the ground had not been leveled although the sanction for this had been given by Government in January last.

Now there is a fixed limitation in regard to date. The World Health Assembly has been invited to meet in Delhi in February 1961. This is a huge organisation consisting of 88 countries. Obviously, it is quite essential for this Regional Office of WHO in New Delhi to be completely ready and functioning by that date. At the rate things have proceeded upto now, this appears unlikely unless some special steps are taken. The building is a big one and I understand that it will have six storeys. It will belong to our Government after construction and will be let out on a nominal rent to the WHO. The Central P.W.D. is in charge of making it. Necessary foreign exchange is being provided by the WHO.

Will you kindly look into this matter and have everything connected with it expedited so that the building might be ready by the end of 1960?<sup>100</sup> As I have pointed out above, there is a fixed limit from the point of view of time.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

99. Letter to K.C. Reddy, Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply. File No. 42 (26)/58-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

100. K.C. Reddy replied on 22 October regretting that the building would not be ready by the end of 1960. In any case, this Regional Office was too small for the WHO conference and only the Vigyan Bhavan would do. He warned that haste would lead to poor work, as had happened with Vigyan Bhavan, "as you may be aware yourself." The construction was delayed owing to discussions about the standard to be adopted. The Finance Ministry wanted the austere standards of Government buildings like Udyog Bhavan, but the Health Ministry pushed for higher quality suitable for the WHO. The matter had just been settled and expenditure sanctioned.



## 151. At the Indian Medical Association: Imitating the West<sup>101</sup>

“Scientific Approach: Nehru’s Advice to Medical Men”

Meerut

October 24, 1959

Prime Minister Nehru today stressed the prime need of developing scientific approach in all fields of activity.

Mr. Nehru who was inaugurating here the Silver Jubilee session of Uttar Pradesh branch of Indian Medical Association said “this scientific approach must govern all our constructive activity, our professions, our trade and industry. We cannot mix this approach with the religious one which should be confined to religious domain. In the sphere of medical science also, we have to test our ancient system of Ayurveda and Unani medicine on the basis of scientific approach. These systems are repositories of great ancient knowledge deserving our respect but all this has to be put to scientific test”.

Mr. Nehru said that merely saying that the Ayurveda and Unani systems should be inter-related to Allopathic system would not do. Every system had to pass the test of scientific approach.

Mr. Nehru said that India was passing through a stage of industrial revolution and it became very important to keep an integrated picture before one’s mind. “The real problems of India are not in cities but in villages. Every politician, every industrialist, who does not have in his eyes the picture of the village has not understood India. Every person in India, who seeks real education, must have this picture of the Indian village before him,” he adds.

### TENDENCY TO IMITATE WEST DEPLORED

The Prime Minister said that the ultimate aim was, of course, to have free medical aid for all people. But this was not possible in present conditions with the limited resources of the country. The fundamental thing, however, was to learn to understand the pattern of things in India and not to imitate or ape patterns in Western countries. “This unfortunately has not happened in India and under the British influence, a selected few imitated the ways of life of the Europeans, drew high salaries and lived in a world of their own, which was far

101. Report of speech at the silver jubilee of the UP branch of IMA, Meerut, 24 October 1959. From *The Hindu*, 26 October 1959.

removed from the world of the common man. This pattern could not be easily changed in India as it had entrenched itself here”.

In contrast to this, Mr. Nehru gave the instance of Japan where even highly qualified people worked hard, but drew a fourth of the salaries of their counterparts in India. This was the position in Japan, which was highly industrialised and prosperous. So the outlook of the people had to be changed and a new pattern established where conditions in India set pace of things and not a mere aping of conditions in European countries.

“Our standards in Government and elsewhere tend to imitate rich and prosperous countries in Europe and America. This is a legacy of the British rule. The British kept these standards here and some Indians imitated them. How can we now imitate Europe or America within our present resources? This thing does not fit in with our conditions”, Mr. Nehru added.

Mr. Nehru said that development work in India had to take Indian conditions into view all the time. It was no use putting up grand buildings for hospitals in a few cities. “It is my firm opinion that we should have small hospitals in villages with 10 or 20 beds. They need not have expensive equipment but should meet primary needs of the people. The complicated cases could be sent to bigger hospitals in the district towns”.

Mr. Nehru emphasised the need of young medical graduates working in villages for specified periods. “I am of the firm opinion that young medical graduates should be made to work for some years in villages. This should be done through legislation or through the efforts of the Indian Medical Association. Some system should also be evolved for training assistants to the fully qualified doctors who could take charge of dispensaries and small hospitals in villages.”

## 152. To G.B. Pant: Maulana Azad Medical College<sup>102</sup>

October 25, 1959

My dear Pantji,

Thank you for your letter of October 21 about Duraiswami and the All India Medical Institute. I mentioned the Principalship of the Maulana Azad Medical College as I was told that Taneja is likely to leave it.<sup>103</sup> He will probably be promoted to the rank of Major-General and when this happens, Army Headquarters will call him back.

102. Letter. File No. 2 (280)/58-66-PMS. Also see items 202 and 203.

103. See item 148 in this section.



### III. DEVELOPMENT

I gather that there are 160 beds in the Irwin Hospital in their Orthopaedic Section. This would enable Duraiswami to do his research work.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 153. To D.P. Karmarkar: Duraiswami and the AIIMS<sup>104</sup>

26th October, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,

I think I wrote to you some days ago to enquire what was proposed to be done about Dr. Duraiswami. It seems clear that there is not much scope for him left in the All India Institute. Good work cannot be done in an atmosphere of conflict.

There was also the question of his accepting the invitation to deliver the Hunterian address in London which is a considerable honour for the surgeon. I gathered that the Institute people were putting some difficulties in the way of his going. I should therefore like to know what the position is.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 154. To Lakshmi N. Menon: AIIMS<sup>105</sup>

October 27, 1959

My dear Lakshmi,

Your letter of October 27. It is rather difficult to advise you in this matter as I know nothing about it. I am not very happy at the way things have happened in our Health Ministry, nor am I happy about the way the All India Institute of Medical Sciences have carried on.<sup>106</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

104. Letter D.P. Karmarkar, Union Minister of Health. File No. 2 (280)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

105. Letter to the Deputy Minister, MEA.

106. See item 148 in this section.

**155. To D. P. Karmarkar: Sterilisation<sup>107</sup>**

October 29, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,

Your letter of the 29th October about the legal implications of sterilization. I do not think it is at all necessary for you to inform the State Governments about this legal position. As you yourself say, no one has yet taken objection to this and presumably no one will as it is done at the request of the person concerned. I suggest, therefore, that you need not take any action on this either by informing the State Governments or, of course, by definitely asking Government hospitals to perform these surgical operations.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**(g) Science and Technology**

**156. To Shri Ranjan: Allahabad Visit<sup>108</sup>**

October 27, 1959

My dear Shri Ranjan,

Your letter of 26th October. It is true that I have promised to go to Allahabad for the Mathematical Science Conference, but I have yet no idea of how long I shall be able to stay there. Probably I shall spend two days. A good part of one day will be spent in going to the rural areas of the district. Then there is likely to be a public meeting in Allahabad. Such time as is left over, I shall place at your disposal.

For the present, I should not like to tie myself about a meal though it is very good of you to invite me. After a heavy day I do not like to go out in the evening.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

107. Letter. File No. 28 (50)/50-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

108. Letter to Shri Ranjan, Vice Chancellor, University of Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh.



## (h) Town Planning

**157. To Seminar on Town and Country Planning:  
Expensive Construction<sup>109</sup>**

The Seminar on Town and Country Planning which is going to be held in Bombay soon, faces a problem of increasing importance in India.<sup>110</sup> There can be no doubt that the progressive industrialisation of India is leading to a rapid increase of urban population. This increase usually takes place in a haphazard way and results in the creation of slums and unhealthy conditions. It is bad enough for us to have old slums, and we have to do our utmost to remove them, but to add to them is surely almost a crime. Therefore, this question of planning of cities is of the utmost importance.

In a different sense, but equally important, is the planning of our villages and the building of cheap and desirable houses there with local materials. Indeed, I think far greater stress should be laid everywhere on the use of local materials.

I feel also that we have probably got into some ruts in our thinking in regard to public constructions. We apply standards and methods laid down long ago, and these may not be applicable under modern conditions. Thought therefore should be given to a revision of these old standards. We have to build hundreds of thousands of schools in our rural areas. If some expensive standard design is to be adhered to, then this building process will be delayed. As a matter of fact, these old designs for school buildings have no merit whatever. They are neither good to look at nor to work in, and they are expensive. They may be solid, but that is no particular virtue.

In foreign countries, great progress has been made in architectural designs and town planning. Gradually the idea of a city beautiful is taking possession of people's minds. Beauty or artistic merit need not necessarily, be expensive. There is beauty in simplicity. In India, we have to lay special stress, therefore, on simplicity and inexpensiveness.

I send my good wishes to the Seminar on Town and Country Planning.

109. Message, 15 October 1959. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

110. The seminar began on 19 October 1959.

### **158. To the Indian Road Congress: Expensive Construction<sup>111</sup>**

I send my good wishes to the Indian Roads Congress on the occasion of its completing twenty five years of its activities. Roads are of high importance in India and, therefore, the science and practice of road-building should be studied carefully. New methods are being evolved in other parts of the world and perhaps we are a little backward in utilising them. We cannot always copy the expensive methods of rich countries. We have to devise our own ways of doing things more cheaply and yet effectively.

### **159. To D.P. Karmarkar: The Delhi Master Plan<sup>112</sup>**

26th October, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,

I have had long letters from Albert Mayer, the town planning expert, who has been connected with our Delhi Master Plan etc. He came here for a brief period last month and has gone back to America. Mayer has laid great stress in his letters on the implementation of the plans that are being prepared. Obviously, this is a matter of high importance. There is no point in preparing a plan and accepting it without implementing it.

Such implementation will naturally have to be in stages, but it has to commence as soon as possible. In the matter of town planning the first thing to do is to avoid speculation in land values. Already there is a charge of some news having leaked out which has led to speculation. In this matter there will have to be joint action by several ministries and departments of Government of India as well as the Corporation of Delhi and plans to that end should be made. I understand that the Master Plan report will be out fairly soon. When is it likely to be published?

Then there is the question of what might be called continued planning for Delhi. The preparation of a report does not end planning. This leads to the continuation of such a planning establishment. Naturally, it need not be on the past scale. What then is going to be the continuing role of the Delhi Town Planning Organisation? Even when the plan is accepted, precise studies will

111. Message to A.J. D'Costa, Secretary, Indian Roads Congress, New Delhi, 25 October 1959.

112. Letter. File No. 28 (67)/59-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.



have to be made and detailed solutions arrived at. It seems to me therefore obvious that the planning organisation has to continue.

Mayer writes to me that some of the good men in the Delhi Town Planning Organisation have already left and he is much distressed at this because, as he points out, the whole kernel of planning are the trained men.

I enclose the latest of Mayer's letters to me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 160. To Chief Ministers: Planning Commission and Assessment of Building Projects<sup>113</sup>

29 October, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

In a number of my letters to you, I have pointed out the importance of reducing costs in construction. In every major or minor project, a substantial part of the expenditure incurred is in construction. If the total expenditure in our Five Year Plans is analysed, I am sure that a big part of it will be for construction. I have myself, rather uncharitably, criticised the Public Works Departments. The criticism was not so much of individuals, but rather of the old-fashioned standards and designs that they followed. Any substantial reduction in the cost of construction would make a very considerable difference to our plan outlay.

2. Some time ago, the Planning Commission produced a note on this subject which pointed out a number of ways of reducing cost and achieving economy consistent with efficiency. Later, the Committee on Plan Projects appointed a team for the Evaluation of Buildings Projects. The leader of this team was Shri S.K. Patil, Minister of Food and Agriculture. The other members were experts and engineers. The report of this team is a very interesting document. The team found that the traditional view of economy, namely, by reduction of staff strength, was outmoded and that most of the codes and practices still in use were rooted in the traditions of the nineteenth century.

113. Letter, reproduced from G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 314-318. Also available in JN Collection.

Real economy would come from a modernisation of construction practices and techniques.

3. Among the major buildings examined by this team were:

- 1) Grain Godowns,
- 2) Multi-storeyed buildings,
- 3) Factory buildings,
- 4) Slum clearance schemes,
- 5) Residential buildings, and
- 6) Small storage structures.

Later two additions were made to this list:

- 7) National water supply and sanitation schemes and
- 8) Bridges

4. I do not propose to write at any length about this team's report but, even within the short space of time at their disposal, the team achieved significant success in reducing building costs in the projects examined by it to the extent of Rs.6.5 crores. Further, there was saving of steel to the extent of 79,000 tons which meant a saving in foreign exchange.

5. (1) Grain storage structures. Previously the roofing of the grain storage structures, as adopted by the Central P.W.D., consisted of the orthodox type of steel trusses with G.I. sheeting. The work of the team showed that shell-type roofing would prove cheaper and lead to a saving of 56,000 tons of steel and Rs.1.8 crores in cost. This was accepted by the Central Ministries of Food and Agriculture and Works, Housing and Supply.

6. (2) Multi-storeyed buildings. Here it was found that there was great difference between various types of such structures. Apart from somewhat unnecessary expenditure in framework, external cladding and finishing, space utilisation was often unsatisfactory and the range per square foot of useful carpet area varied from Rs.22 to Rs.63. The team's recommendations for multi-storeyed buildings are expected to lead to ten to fifteen per cent saving in the total cost of the building.

7. (3) Factory buildings. In regard to the industrial estates which are being planned and are growing up all over the country, there was much room for economy and for the saving of structural steel. In the Nangal Fertilizer Factory, some suggested changes will result in a saving of Rs.11 lakhs as well as lesser quantity of steel being used. In the Heavy Electrical Project at Bhopal, the team found that the proposed use of steel was excessive. According to the design prepared by the team, 8,000 tons of steel would be saved and economy in cost would be of the order of Rs.80 to 90 lakhs out of a total cost of Rs.4crores.

Among other factory projects that are being examined by the team are the Rourkela Fertilizer Project, the Foundry Forge Project at Ranchi and the Optical



Glass Factory at Durgapur. It will be seen that the team has already achieved considerable success. This is due to the introduction of new techniques of analysis of an advanced nature which substitute previous practices, now outmoded, in factory construction.

8. (4) Slum Clearance Schemes are of high importance and a great deal depends upon the cost. The team found that progress had been unsatisfactory because of (a) absence of proper organisation; (b) absence of a clear enunciation of policy on the schemes; and (c) lack of advanced planning. Cheap roofing is an important element in the cost. The doubly curved shell roof, developed by the C.S.I.R., has been adopted by many engineers. This was used with success in a major scheme of housing for the army at Ambala.

9. (5) Residential buildings. The outlay of such buildings is very considerable. In the second Five Year Plan, about Rs.200 crores are to be spent on residential houses. The team has said that it should not be difficult to effect an economy of about ten percent.

10. The team has so far studied the working of the Central P.W.D., the Engineering Department of the Railways and the Public Works Departments of West Bengal and Bombay. Their study will be extended to other States, notably Madras, Mysore and the Punjab. The members of the team felt that project authorities were not realising the importance of the proportion of expenditure on buildings in the total cost of projects. Thus, enough attention was not paid to the design and economy in buildings. Foreign designs were adopted without consideration for Indian conditions. Dependence on foreign consultants has not proved satisfactory as they are not fully acquainted with Indian conditions.

11. The team has suggested that there should be a continuous examination of the construction of civil works by an extra-departmental agency. In a departmental system, the experts tend to become an integral part of the decision and thus cannot, by the very nature of the task, take an objective view.

12. I have given above a very brief account of the work of the team for the Evaluation of Buildings Projects and the success achieved by them already. They are continuing their work and I have no doubt this will further result in considerable economy. You will, I hope, draw the attention of your Public Works Department to these new and encouraging procedures that are being adopted. They can get in touch with the Planning Commission or our Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply to get further information.

13. There is another matter to which I should like to draw your particular attention. This is the planning of cities. Our urban population is growing fast and our cities are expanding, usually without any order or method. This is already producing grave problems in these cities in addition to those that already existed, such as, slums. In fact, new slums are being constantly created. It is of

great importance to prevent this at its very inception and to have a well thought out plan of the city as it should be in the next ten or fifteen years. If this plan is there, every step taken should be to implement that plan. Delay is harmful.

14. In every great city, there is tendency for speculation in land. The right course is for the State or the Corporation to buy up a good deal of land and thus control the speculation as the city grows. This will also help in planning later. This, of course, is not enough. There should be an approach to this problem by expert town planners and this planning will have to be a continuous process. That is to say, a plan when made, should not be considered as the end of planning. The implementation of it is also part of that planning and new problems constantly arise. In a great and growing city, there has to be this continuous planning. The cost of such planning is recovered many times over by the savings made.

15. In Delhi, we have approached this question of planning in a big way and a Delhi Planning Authority has been functioning for several years, aided by some high-powered experts from the United States which the Ford Foundation has provided. They are now approaching the end of this initial planning period and their report is, I believe, in the press. They have looked far ahead and it will no doubt take many long years before we can give effect to all their recommendations. We intend keeping this planning body functioning to help in implementing the Plan.

This highly trained team can be utilised later by other cities, in addition to their own town planning staff.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



## IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

### (a) Pakistan

#### 161. To M.J. Desai: East Pakistan<sup>1</sup>

I think this letter of our High Commissioner<sup>2</sup> should be shown to the Home Minister and Sardar Swaran Singh.

I shall not participate at this conference in Delhi<sup>3</sup> but if I am in Delhi on those days, I shall of course meet General Shaikh<sup>4</sup> and possibly other Pakistani representatives.

There is reference in this letter to a package deal. While this appears attractive, provided the deal is not unfavourable to us, we must always remember that the question is not one of a patch of territory this way or that way, but of human beings transferring their allegiance from one country to another. There is very strong feeling in Bengal on this issue. Very often people who had come away from East Pakistan to Bengal or Assam are involved. Thus, having once migrated to India, they might be put in the very difficult position of finding themselves again in Pakistan.

1. Note, 8 October 1959.

2. See Appendix 4, pp. 545-550.

3. The reference is to a Minister level conference held both in Delhi and Dacca from 15 to 22 October 1959. The Indian delegation for a ministerial level talk was headed by Sardar Swaran Singh, M.J. Desai, Lt. Gen. J.P.P. Thorat, GOC-in-C, Eastern Command; K.P. Lukose, Director, Pakistan Division of the Ministry of External Affairs; S.N. Roy, Chief Secretary, West Bengal; F.K. Dutta, Chief Secretary, Assam; Patnaik, Chief Commissioner, Tripura. On 17 October 1959 the leaders of Indo-Pak delegation expressed the hope that "practical and reasonable solution would be formed to the many problems and disputes in this area, which have bedevilled relations between the two countries since partition." They confirmed that the military group appointed by the conference had framed rules to prevent untoward firing across the borders. The rules would ensure that peaceful conditions prevailed and help in removing the causes of bitterness and misunderstanding.

4. General K.M. Shaikh, Pakistan's Interior Minister and acting Foreign Minister.

## 162. To Swaran Singh: Interaction with General Shaikh<sup>5</sup>

I had nearly an hour's talk today with General Shaikh. Apart from mutually complimentary references and the expression of our desire for settling the Eastern border problems, not much was said about these problems. We both agreed that everything should be done to get to grips with this subject and to get out of past grooves which had prevented settlements.

2. I told General Shaikh that I had been happy to meet President Ayub Khan during his halt at Palam and I appreciated his initiative which had led to this present conference.<sup>6</sup> I further referred to General Ayub Khan's suggestion for joint defence. I said that I hoped that my reply to this would not be taken to mean any lack of appreciation on my part. My reply was really governed by the basic policies in international affairs that we pursue. General Shaikh said that President Ayub did not in any way wish to take advantage of our difficulties in making that suggestion. (Presumably he referred to the difficulties with China). His main purpose was to show that in any crisis that might arise, he was with us.

3. I told General Shaikh that I did not doubt the good motive behind President Ayub's suggestion, but that we had, for long years, and even before independence, taken great interest in international affairs and developed certain policies in regard to them. Later, these policies took the shape of nonalignment with military blocs and non-participation in military alliances. At the same time, we actively pursued the policy of friendship with all countries. We had very close relations with the United States of America, and we were very friendly also with the Soviet Union. In fact, our relations were friendly with all countries except, for the moment, with China. Our international policy was evolved not only because of our old thinking but because of our appraisal of the world situation. We felt that we could not serve the cause of peace in the world or, for the matter of that, give greater assurance to ourselves except by following a policy of non-alignment. Any question of joint defence with Pakistan would have meant departing from that policy and lining up with power blocs. It was for this basic reason that we could not accept any such change in our basic policy.

5. Note, 15 October 1959. File No. 7 (2)-Pak-111/59, Vol. I, pp. 28-29/Note. Also copied to SG, FS, and CS.

6. The two delegations to the Indo-Pakistan conference on eastern border issues met again in Dacca; its communiqué was issued on 20 October 1959.



4. I talked to General Shaikh for some time about recent international developments and the visit of Mr. Khrushchev to President Eisenhower etc. I said all this represented a major development which we welcomed and which we hoped would lead to substantial results in the way of peace. In particular, we hoped that the cold war would end. I was sure that the Soviet Union wanted that. I was not so sure about China. We did not wish to take any step, therefore, which would be in the nature of encouraging cold war attitudes.

5. We discussed for a while our border troubles with China. I told him that I had no fear or apprehension of any major conflict there in the foreseeable future, but the aggressive attitude of China was certainly very irritating to us. This was probably due to their resentment at our reaction to events in Tibet. While this was so in the present, it was true nevertheless that China was likely to grow fast in strength, as it was also growing very fast in population, and this would bring fresh problems. It seemed to us that even the Soviet Union was concerned with the future in this respect and was anxious to settle with the United States and other Western countries in the near future. This, of course, was also due to the development of new and terrible weapons of warfare.

6. General Shaikh asked me about my visit to Afghanistan. What was my opinion about Russian influence there? I told him I could give no accurate answer, but my own impression certainly was that the Afghans were in no way controlled by the Russians. The Afghans could well look after themselves whatever happened. The Russians had come there chiefly to prevent their rivals, the Americans, spreading out too much in Afghanistan. General Shaikh talked about strategic roads from Russia to Afghanistan and the fact of modern arms being given to the Afghans by the Soviet Government. I said this was probably correct. But I did not think that Russia had any designs for expansion in that direction. The Soviet Union was territorially a satisfied power. In the context of the cold war, however, these moves were made by different countries against each other.

(b) China

**163. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Researching Maps at the India Office<sup>7</sup>**

October 6, 1959

My dear High Commissioner,

I have your letter of October 1. We have also received a report from the Deputy High Commissioner, about this incident of the map. The story depends on K.L. Madan's account. I presume that you consider him reliable in this respect. There is no reason why he should make up a story of this kind, and therefore, *prima facie*, we should accept it.

This incident must put us on our guard, both in London and in Delhi. I am glad that some steps have been taken to this end in India House. There is one aspect of this question which is not clear to me. How could any outsider get to know that a person from India House was going to India Office for a map? It is hardly likely that this news leaked out from India Office as there was not much time for this. The presumption, therefore, is that it leaked out from India House. I take it that you are enquiring into this matter. Such an enquiry should not be very difficult as only a few persons apparently knew about this.

It is our intention to send one of our senior officers from our Historical Division to London, so that he can personally look through all the papers in India Office connected with the tripartite conference between India, China and Tibet in 1912 and later.<sup>8</sup> Also any other relevant papers in this connection. Probably Dr. Gopal, the Head of the Historical Division will himself go.<sup>9</sup> He is, as you perhaps know, Dr. Radhakrishnan's son.

[Yours sincerely],  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Letter to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, India's High Commissioner to the UK.

8. See SWJN/SS/52/item 94.

9. Sarvepalli Gopal, Director, Historical Division, MEA, New Delhi.



## 164. To MEA: Strategic Analysis<sup>10</sup>

This is a very interesting record of what Field Marshal Montgomery<sup>11</sup> said. He looks ahead and, on the whole, I am inclined to agree with him, though not on some details.

2. One of the basic facts of the situation today is the emergence of China as a great power. She is not strong enough perhaps today to function in opposition to the other great powers. But there can be no doubt that she will grow in strength. She is already past the stage when she can be suppressed. With her tremendous population and the rapidity of her industrial advance, she may well become, in course of time, the strongest power in the world. We have also to keep in mind that the Chinese have always tended to be expansive and even aggressive.

3. It is quite conceivable that the leaders of the Soviet Union see this picture emerging in the future and, for all their friendship and alliance with China, are rather apprehensive of it. Because of this as well as because of the dangers of war in the near future, they will strive their utmost to settle their issues in dispute with the Western nations. The immediate fear, however, of the Soviet Union continues to be a united Germany opposed to them. If the Western countries go on insisting on this, the immediate fear will overcome the distant fear.

4. It is, on the whole, likely that the Soviet and the U.S.A. will come a little nearer to each other in the course of the next few years. What effect this will have on China, I do not know. But it will be a check. As a matter of fact, the rapid pace of advance in modern weapons and fighting power is such that it might upset all calculations. There really is no choice left in the world but of a firm peace and disarmament or moving fairly rapidly to vast wars and destruction.

5. Looking at this picture, it seems to me that the policy we have thus far pursued has not only been right in the past and the present, but will be even more so in the future. We must not be swept away by momentary passions or public excitement into any adventurist line of action. We must, at the same time, strengthen ourselves, and that really means industrial strength which can be reflected in the defence forces. I hope we shall never have to use those defence forces in war, and if there is a real widespread disarmament, we should welcome it and abide by it. But I fear that a mere desire for peace is not adequate for maintaining it or even preserving our independence and integrity. While,

10. Note to SG and FS, 14 October 1959.

11. Commander-in-Chief of the British Zone of Occupation, Germany.

therefore, we should quietly and without fuss strengthen India industrially and otherwise, we should, at the same time, strictly adhere to a policy of peace and friendliness with other countries. We cannot surrender in any sense to Chinese claims or threats. But we must also remember that China is our permanent neighbour and to invite trouble from China is wisdom neither in the present nor in the future. Even in the strictest practical sense, that is the only course we can follow.

**165. To M. Mohammed Ismail: How to Negotiate with China<sup>12</sup>**

October 18, 1959

Dear Mr. Mohammed Ismail,

Thank you for your letter of the 17th October which I have just received.

I do not think there is any particular connection between events in Kerala and Chinese aggression. Anyhow we cannot connect the two in determining our policy on the frontier. Actually, the recent aggression by the Chinese is over a small village, Longju, which in just three or four miles on our side of the border.<sup>13</sup> The Chinese maintain that this is in their territory. Any withdrawal from this village is not a complicated affair, and it cannot be dragged on for long. Either the Chinese withdraw or they remain there. The policy we have enunciated is that while we are prepared to discuss minor points in dispute in regard to the border, we cannot discuss the major issues raised by their maps. Even the minor points in dispute can only be discussed by us after they had withdrawn from Longju.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. Letter to M. Mohammed Ismail, Rajya Sabha MP from Madras.

13. See SWJN/SS/51/item 197.



### 166. To Krishna Menon: Chinese Attack in Eastern Ladakh<sup>14</sup>

There has been a clash between an Indian police party and Chinese troops on the eastern Ladakh border. Two constables were sent on reconnaissance patrol. As they failed to return, small police party went in search on October 20th but returned without any information. On 21st morning a somewhat larger police force was sent in search of this patrol. This party was attacked by Chinese forces entrenched on a hill top. Fifteen of Indian personnel and two officers were killed and a number received serious injuries.<sup>15</sup> The survivors returned to their check-post a few miles away. All this occurred well within our territory according to our maps.

While we were waiting for fuller particulars, we received yesterday protest from Chinese Govt about intrusion into their territory. We are replying to it giving the facts as we know them and protesting strongly against their intrusion into our territory, arrest of our men and unprovoked firing on Indian personnel. We had a discussion on this incident with the Chiefs of the Army and Air Staff and others this morning. Information about this incident is being released to the press tonight.

### 167. To Lalji Mehrotra: No Mediation<sup>16</sup>

My dear Lalji,

I have just received your letter of the 21st October.

I really do not understand or appreciate this desire of some good people to make me embrace Chou En-lai somewhere. We do not want any help in our dealings with China or, at any rate, the kind of help that is suggested. I have no intention whatever to seek a meeting with Premier Chou En-lai and certainly I shall not go to any other country for this purpose. I hope, therefore, that U Nu will not take any further action in this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. Telegram, 23 October 1959.

15. According to *The Hindustan Times* of 21 October 1959 the MEA said only 9 Indians died in this attack.

16. Letter to Lalji Mehrotra, Ambassador of India to Rangoon, (n.d.). Probably 23 October 1959.

## 168. To Krishna Menon: Attacks on India-China Border <sup>17</sup>

Your telegram 242 October 23rd.<sup>18</sup> Developments in Eastern Ladakh took place rather suddenly without any previous hint. Except at Chushul we have no army men at any check post in Ladakh. The other checkposts are held by border force which has been functioning directly under Intelligence. When Army was asked to take charge of entire border with Tibet-China, Thimayya asked Intelligence men to continue in these checkposts except Chushul as he could not make adequate arrangements for Army to take them over soon. The incident that took place, was some distance away from Chushul, probably about fifty miles. Police outpost had been established at a place there, and they sent two constables with some ponies to reconnoitre. As these did not return, a small section was sent to look for them. They returned soon after without any information. This was on 22nd October. On 23rd morning, larger section of police forces was sent in two batches to search for the two constables. In all, probably they numbered between sixty and seventy. After covering some miles, these people saw Chinese entrenched on a hill-top. As our men reached base of hill-top, they were fired at by the Chinese troops apparently rather suddenly. Mortars and hand grenades were used by the Chinese. Seventeen men on our side were killed (including an officer) and four seriously wounded. Thereafter, the remaining police party returned to their base.

2. We have not received any clear account yet of what happened. Chinese account says that Indian forces entered their territory and attacked them and Chinese forces fired in self-defence. They admit taking some as prisoners and also say that their forces suffered some casualties, though number is not mentioned.

3. According to all our maps and our general information, Chinese entered about forty miles from what we consider our border. Chinese maps however have claimed large part of this area as theirs, but, some months ago, one of our patrol parties went across this area right up to our border and there were no Chinese posts then. It would appear, therefore, that Chinese entered this area fairly recently and established their post.

4. It must be remembered that this area is about 17,000 ft. altitude and very sparsely populated in summer, some people coming for grazing purposes. No trees exist at that altitude and it is all hard bare ground and exceedingly cold at night.

17. Telegram, 24 October 1959.

18. See Appendix 10, p. 560.



5. Our Army authorities have been asked to take full charge of all this area on the Ladakh border. That means that our police border forces there will receive directions from the Army and report to them.

6. There is no particular significance in Bakhshi taking over Ladakh as his special charge.<sup>19</sup> This was done some time ago. It is difficult to form a clear idea of what happened and what lies behind it. Probably there was no particular intention at present of invasion as such, but there has been a definite move forward by Chinese forces to occupy parts of Eastern Ladakh. Chinese maps give varying lines of their border with Ladakh. We learn from our Embassy in Peking that Chinese Government have withdrawn their old maps of this area.

7. You will remember that Chinese had agreed to take a big part in our Agricultural Exhibition in December in Delhi.<sup>20</sup> Later they suddenly informed us that they could not participate in it. This was much criticised everywhere. Today we had a message from our Ambassador in Peking that the Chinese Government have now again changed their opinion and are prepared to take part in this Exhibition.

8. Conference with Pakistan on Eastern border issues ended yesterday morning satisfactorily.<sup>21</sup> Broadly speaking, all these issues of Eastern border have been settled and elaborate ground rules laid down to prevent any possible conflict. It has been suggested that a similar conference should be held sometime in December to consider border with Western Pakistan.<sup>22</sup>

## 169. To Ghulam Mohammad Bakhshi: Killing of Indian Soldiers<sup>23</sup>

October 25, 1959

My dear Bakhshi,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have addressed to the Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh and Punjab and the Lieutenant-Governor of Himachal Pradesh.<sup>24</sup>

I spoke to General Thimayya today about your two companies of Ladakhis who, you suggested, could be used in the border regions of Ladakh. Thimayya

19. He was the Prime Minister of the Jammu and Kashmir since 1953.

20. See item 110 in this volume.

21. From 15 to 22 October 1959.

22. It was held in Lahore on 5-6 December 1959.

23. Letter.

24. See the next item.

PINPRICKS



*India has sent another protest note to China regarding border violations.*

*(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 13 SEPTEMBER 1959)*



said he knew about them fully and intended using them. In fact he had had them in mind all the time. He was not quite sure that the training thus far given them was quite adequate for the purpose but this could be added to.

We have received a long telegram from Peking conveying the answer of the Chinese Government to our protest note. They have taken up a strong line in it to justify what has happened and cast the blame on our own people. In this telegram it is mentioned that the Chinese frontier guards captured seven Indian personnel and there were corpses of nine Indians. This indicates that perhaps the number of people who died in this conflict was not seventeen as we imagined and that some of them were captured by the Chinese. In effect, the Chinese say that they have got ten Indian personnel captured by them, that is, three previously and seven later. They have offered to release them and also to allow us to take back the bodies of the nine Indians who were killed.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### **170. To Chief Ministers and Others: Army in Conflict Areas<sup>25</sup>**

The recent serious and tragic incident in Ladakh which resulted in a conflict between some of our border police forces and the Chinese forces, has brought our border situation rather to a head. About two months ago, when we had trouble on the NEFA border, we decided to place the responsibility for the protection of the entire Northern and North-Eastern border on our army. The army thereafter took over the NEFA border and roundabout. As regards some of the areas, they decided to leave them for the present as they were, but it is clear that there should be the closest coordination and the general directions of the army authorities should be carried out.

In Ladakh our outposts were in charge of our border police force. It was in fact difficult for the army to take direct charge in the near future. It is seldom realised how difficult of access these places are in our Himalayan borders. For instance, the place of the recent conflict in Ladakh is about three to four weeks march from Leh over very difficult terrain.

25. Note to Chief Ministers of UP, Punjab, Lieutenant-Governor of Himachal Pradesh, 25 October 1959. Also copied to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

However difficult of access these places might be, we have undoubtedly to take effective steps to guard them. Those steps have to be carefully thought out. We cannot function in an excited way as some people and some newspapers advise us and get badly entangled in the high mountain regions without being able to support them properly.

Anyhow all these matters have to be carefully worked out and coordinated. It seems to me essential that full effect should be given now to our decision taken in August last, that is, that the army should be made fully responsible for all these frontier areas and their direction should be carried out, subject to some local variations, such as the army authorities might agree to. There should be uniformity in our policy in all these areas and in regard to receipt of information. Any action involving any kind of operation must necessarily be dealt with by the army authorities who can take a broad picture of the situation and decide accordingly.

This involves not only the frontier in NEFA and Sikkim, but also the frontier areas of Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Ladakh. Thus far, in U.P., Himachal Pradesh and Punjab, the State Governments have been responsible. This final responsibility should now be transferred to the army but, of course, the army authorities would like to have the fullest cooperation of the State authorities concerned and to function in consultation with them. The manner of functioning in a particular area will presumably be decided after consultation by representatives of the army and the State Government.

I am sure you will agree that this is a matter which requires urgent handling and the closest coordination and the only way to do this effectively and properly is to put the army in charge.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



**171. Public Meeting, Meerut: Survey of Options<sup>26</sup>**

“Nehru in Favour of Pursuing Cautious Policy: Effective Steps to check  
Further Incursions”

New Delhi,  
Oct. 25.

“What next on the Himalayan front?” is the problem engaging the serious attention of the Central Government. Although Prime Minister Nehru, speaking at a public meeting in Meerut last night, gave the impression of seeking to ridicule those who wanted firm action against China, he was in reality asking the Indian people “to ponder over the situation so that any step that is taken is so done after foreseeing its full implications and not in anger or passion”.

In fact, this is what Mr. Nehru himself and other leaders are now doing. They are aware of the national humiliation caused by the series of setbacks on the Himalayan front and they realise that some striking step must be taken to sustain national morale.

The Chinese offered a long-existing status quo on the border. But they are actually advancing all the time and occupying areas where there is no resistance. At Longju, on the north-east frontier, an Indian outpost was overrun and it suffered casualties at the hands of the Chinese forces. In spite of repeated demands, China has not vacated Longju. The Chinese have violated the Sino-Indian agreement by denying facilities to Indian official trade agencies and Indian nationals to pursue their normal functions. But the Chinese trade agencies and nationals in India are enjoying all facilities guaranteed to them under the agreement.

Even as correspondence was in progress between the two countries, superior Chinese forces overwhelmed, using mortar and machine-gun fire, an Indian police patrol party and inflicted heavy casualties. This happened in southern Ladakh which is indisputably Indian territory. But the Chinese occupation of Aksai Chin area in north-east Ladakh and a number of mountain passes on the border have been the subject matter of numerous protests. Discourteous and aggressive language which the Chinese have been using without any provocation has evoked numerous protests.

Against this long list of Chinese commissions, all that India has done is to vacate the Tamadem outpost in the NEFA area on a unilateral consideration that it is situated north of the MacMahon Line.

26. The abridged version of Nehru's speech made at Meerut on 24 October was reported on 25 October 1959. From *The Hindu*, 26 October 1959.

## Security of Country at Stake

Apart from the fact that these incidents make a steady inroad into India's prestige, there is a more vital question to which an answer is still in the process of analysis and that question is "Should India proceed on the assumption that China is a potential friend or enemy?" At the moment, leaders do not have a precise answer to this question. While undoubtedly there is apprehension as to the Chinese intention, the leaders are fighting the idea that China may prove a perpetual hostile neighbour. An affirmative conclusion would involve a reappraisal not only of India's foreign policy but defence and other national policies covering a wide field with far-reaching implications. It is the absence of a clear-cut view on the subject that inhibits any firm action even on minor issues. One step which suggests immediately is to ask the Chinese to close down their trade agency at least in Kalimpong which is a centre of considerable anti-Indian propaganda. But it is pointed out that even this step, however much it may be welcomed by the Indian people as an indication of the Government's resolve to be firm, involved a decision on the major issue as to the nature of the relationship to be maintained with China. It is felt that any action is bound to have a chain of reaction. It is realised however, that it is not the success of the foreign policy that is at stake, but the future security of the country itself. Viewed in this context, the conflict within the Communist Party, however interesting from the point of view of internal politics, pales into insignificance.

Attention is now concentrated on the prevention of further Chinese infiltration. It is noted that on the MacMahon Line there has been no violation by the Chinese ever since. Mr. Nehru took a firm stand and handed over defence of the border to the armed forces. Equal firmness has not been adequately shown in regard to the Ladakh frontier. Even yesterday, at Meerut, Mr. Nehru said that the area was a mountainous and uninhabited area. He even rebuked those who suggested that the army should guard the area and said. "It is easy for people to say so because they know that they do not have to go themselves to those barren border areas 17,000 feet above sea level where not even a blade of grass grows". Apparently, the Chinese have interpreted Mr. Nehru's attitude as a license to extend their operations in this sector. The tragic incidents of last week occurred in this region.

Activity in New Delhi gives the impression that Chinese penetration in Ladakh is soon to be effectively checked. Ladakh is now practically under the control of the Central Government and only technically it is a part of the Kashmir State. An experienced officer from the NEFA area had been appointed District Magistrate at Leh to deal with years of inefficiency and corrupt handling of road construction and other development works. Two other obstacles still remain



to be overcome. One is the absence of trained personnel familiar with warfare in high altitude mountainous areas. The second is finance, and here a major decision is yet to be taken to divert substantial resources from development schemes to the defence sector. Also, there is the question of priority as to which primary importance is attached to the MacMahon Line. Then comes the boundary adjoining the northern States of the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. Ladakh which is physically a couple of hundred miles way across almost impenetrable mountains comes last. No one, whether a Minister or a soldier thinks that there will be anything like a major invasion by the Chinese and therefore no military preparations to meet such an eventuality are being thought of at all.

Defence as well as civil authorities realise that the magnitude even of the limited task of preventing further penetration by the Chinese is stupendous. Few consider the question of throwing back the Chinese by force as coming within practical politics. Strategically the Chinese hold advantage as they were the first to advance, the hilltops all along the 2,500 mile front. Nor are the Chinese likely to retire from any of the positions they now occupied. It is in these circumstances that the question arises whether Chinese stabilisation on the existing positions could be regarded as consistent with dignity and equality. Fuller expression of public opinion, bearing in mind all the essential factors of the situation, would help the Government also to finalise its conclusions.

## **172. To S. Dutt: Chinese Propaganda in Kalimpong<sup>27</sup>**

In our entanglement with our border developments, perhaps we have forgotten the activities of the Chinese in Kalimpong.<sup>28</sup> I think we should give thought to these and consider how far we should limit them. I am referring chiefly to their propagandist activities and the papers, leaflets etc. that they distribute there.

27. Note to FS, 27 October 1959.

28. See SWJN/SS/47/pp. 476-479; SWJN/SS/48/pp. 223-224; SWJN/SS/49/pp. 322-324 & 545-555; SWJN/SS/50/item 158; SWJN/SS/51/items 187 and 194.

### 173. To Krishna Menon: Tension in Eastern Ladakh<sup>29</sup>

October 27, 1959

My dear Krishna,

I wanted to write to you at some length about this recent incident in Eastern Ladakh, but really there is not too much to say, apart from what I have said in my telegram to you.<sup>30</sup> It appears now that the actual casualties on our side were nine dead and one missing, and the Chinese took ten of our men as prisoners. They have offered to hand back, these prisoners as well as the dead bodies to us, and we are trying to arrange this.

We are still trying to get more facts from our check-post people.

One thing is clear that during the last summer, the Chinese have gradually crept up in various places in Eastern Ladakh and tried to establish themselves. The most dangerous place from our point of view is near Chushul airfield. They are just four or five miles away from it, and almost overlook the airfield.

I am, however, writing to you now more particularly to suggest that you should return here as soon as possible. There is very great excitement among our people and all kinds of suggestions are made as a result of this excitement. Even the Communist Party is in a bad way, and Dange has refused to attend their Central Committee meeting. I do not suppose that anything extraordinary is going to happen in the next few days or weeks on our border, but the fact is that the temperature of the people is very high. In this state of affairs, I do not think it is right for you to remain in New York. This kind of thing has a very irritating effect on people generally and they say that whatever danger threatens India we are casual about it and do not care.

I suggest to you, therefore, to come back as soon as possible. In such circumstances, the Minister of Defence should be here even though the situation may not be a war-like one.

Parliament is meeting on the 16th of November, but I think you should come here sooner than that and not wait till the last day before it begins. Even the Congress Party in Parliament is much agitated and there is likely to be a meeting of it long before Parliament meets.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

29. Letter.

30. See item 166 in this section.



**174. To Chou En-lai: Radhakrishnan Will Not Visit China<sup>31</sup>**

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I thank you for your letter of October 19th which your Ambassador in Delhi forwarded to me on the 24th October.<sup>32</sup> In this letter you have been pleased to invite our Vice President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, to pay a visit to China. I have consulted the Vice President in this matter. He appreciates your kind thought but states that he is fully engaged till the middle of next year. He also added that in view of recent developments involving a strain in the relations between India and China and the mood of the two countries, such a visit might not be desirable in the near future.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**175. To U.C. Patnaik: Ladakh Conflict<sup>33</sup>**

October 29, 1959

My dear Uma Charanji,

Thank you for your letter of October 25th. We are all naturally concerned at these unfortunate developments on our border and it is incumbent on us to take the fullest measures possible for its protection.

You suggest to reclaim lands on the border and establish settlements there. That is hardly feasible as these border lands consist of very high and difficult terrains. In Ladakh, for instance, the average altitude is from 14,000 to 17,000 feet. Only the toughest of mountaineers can stand it. There are practically no means of production of food and water is often lacking. It is for this reason that these areas are very sparsely populated. The place where the conflict occurred

31. Telegram sent through G. Parthasarathi, 29 October 1959.

32. The letter said: "We have always held His Excellency Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of the Republic of India, in esteem. In 1957, we had the honour of receiving him as an emissary of our great neighbour India on a friendly visit to China. His noble personality and his fervent sentiments for Sino-Indian friendship have left with the Chinese people a very deep impression. We would welcome him to China for a second friendly visit. If His Excellency Vice-President Radhakrishnan deems it convenient for him to visit China in the near future, the Chinese Government intends to extend to him a formal invitation."

33. Letter to U.C. Patnaik, Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Ganjam, Orissa.

in Ladakh recently<sup>34</sup> is two to three weeks' march from Leh. In fact, even the troops we use there have to be specially selected from mountain folk.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**176. To Panjabrao S. Deshmukh: Be Restrained With China<sup>35</sup>**

October 30, 1959

My dear Panjabrao,

You sent to our Ministry today two letters, one addressed to Premier Chou En-lai and the other to the Minister of Agriculture of the Chinese Government.<sup>36</sup>

As you know, our relations with the Chinese Government are very tense. Still, if they wish to join the World Agricultural Fair, they can do so and we shall welcome them. But in view of the tension existing between the two countries, I think that we should not be too effusive in our letters or communications to them. Also I do not think you need to write to Premier Chou En-lai. I suggest, therefore, that you should send only one letter to the Minister of Agriculture, and that should be far less effusive than your present letter. You may say that you are glad to learn that they have reconsidered their previous decision and agreed to participate in the World Agricultural Fair. This will certainly make the Fair fuller and add to its utility. The necessary visas to the members of the Chinese Exhibition team would be issued and facilities would be given to the Chinese Delegation to set up their Exhibition in the Fair.

I think that is quite enough. I am, therefore, returning to you the two letters you had sent to our Ministry.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

34. On 6 October 1959.

35. Letter. File No. 31/94/59-70-PMS.

36. Liao Luyen.



## (c) Tibet

**177. To S. Dutt: Tibet at the UN<sup>37</sup>**

I have received Shri Krishna Menon's telegram No. 228 of October 10<sup>38</sup> and your note on it. Also Parthasarathi's telegram 220 of October 10.<sup>39</sup> I do not attach much importance to Pandit Kunzru's views in this matter.<sup>40</sup> But, on the whole, I think it would be better for us to abstain from voting on the question of inscription. I give below reply to Krishna Menon which please send.

2. As for Parthasarathi's telegram, you should inform him that while we welcome this apparent change in Chinese attitude, we propose to go slow in this matter. We shall not take any step on our side till some approach is made to us by Chinese Government. Meanwhile we shall endeavour to avoid public controversy.

3. On my return to Delhi, we shall discuss this matter further.

**178. To Krishna Menon: Tibet at the UN<sup>41</sup>**

I have received your telegram 228 of October 10 at Hyderabad and have given earnest consideration to what you have said.<sup>42</sup> I agree that there is some force in what Russian Delegation says, but primary consideration for us is reactions in India to any step that we might take. Question of Tibet has got tied up here now with border issues which have aroused strong feeling. As it is, I am being criticised for following weak policy on border issues and trying to appease China. I feel that if we vote against inscription this will be strongly criticised in India and give rise to considerable controversy here which will do no good to us or indeed to wider issues. The best course therefore appears to me for us not to vote on question of inscription. We may do so without any public explanation

37. Telephonic message, 11 October 1959.

38. See Appendix 7, pp. 554-555.

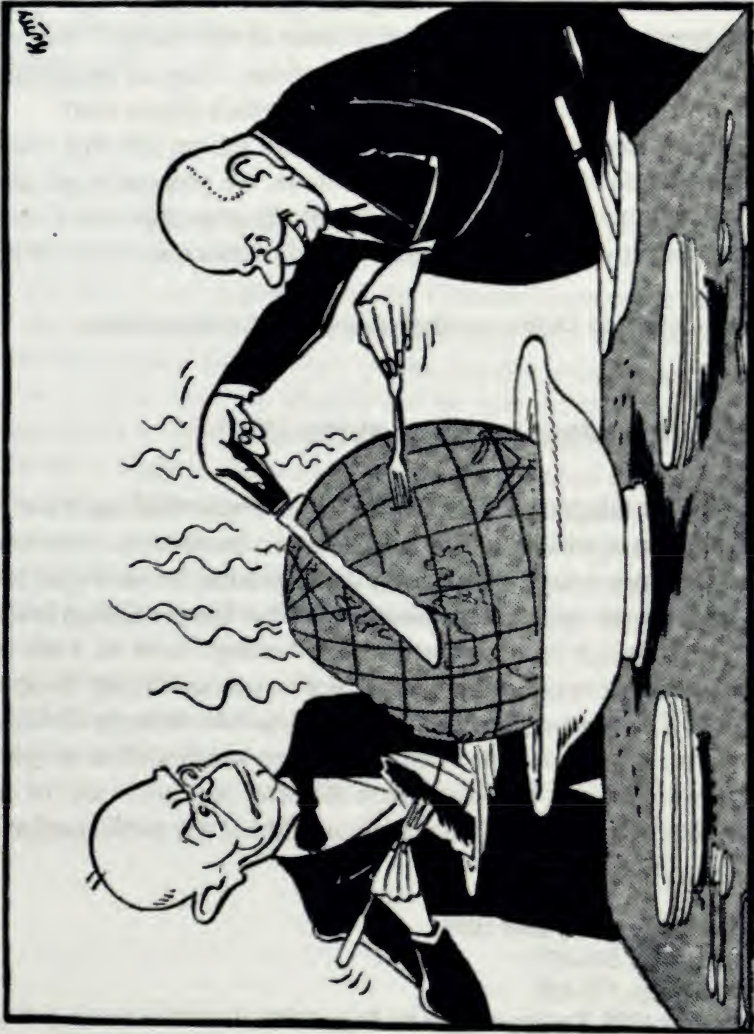
39. See Appendix 8, pp. 556-558.

40. On 10 September 1959, Kunzru stated in the Rajya Sabha that Indian foreign policy was in the melting pot. He also referred to non-alignment and to panchsheel being a slogan and an opiate. In response to his statement Nehru replied that "Kunzru had failed to appreciate—he may disagree, but he had failed to appreciate—the basic reasons for our foreign policy."

41. Telegram, 12 October 1959.

42. See Appendix 7, pp. 554-555.

*'To Each According To Need'*



*Khrushchev said the second round of talks with Eisenhower at Camp David would bring the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union closer to agreement.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 27 SEPTEMBER 1959)



or by brief statement explaining our attitude as you think best.

As for resolution itself, our attitude should depend on text of resolution. We may then either abstain again from voting or even oppose resolution if we consider it highly objectionable. For us to vote against inscription and then abstain on resolution itself would be rather illogical.

Privately we should explain to other delegates that while we agree that a discussion of these items will not serve any useful purpose, in view of special position we are place in, we have decided to abstain on this issue. Those countries that seek our advice might be told that they can oppose inscription if they so choose or abstain. We have no desire to come in their way in opposing inscription if they want to do so.

I had long talk in Delhi two days ago with Mukhitdinov and Soviet Ambassador. Former had met Khrushchev after return from America and had also spoken to him on telephone after Khrushchev's visit to Peking.<sup>43</sup> I was given full and detailed account of Khrushchev's talks with Eisenhower and general impressions of visit to America which were favourable. But no mention was made to me about China or our border problems.

Our Ambassador in Peking reports a certain favourable change in general attitude of Chinese Ministers to him and apparent desire to deal with problems through diplomatic channels, but nothing definite has emerged.

I shall return to Delhi on 14th October afternoon.

### 179. To P. Subbarayan: Border Roads<sup>44</sup>

October 16, 1959

My dear Subbarayan,

The position of some of our border areas with Tibet has always been rather bad because of lack of communications and roads. Owing to developments in Tibet, this position has become much worse as all trade with Tibet has stopped and the people living on our side of the border are suffering greatly. I think we have to push roads there. What is the programme of your Ministry in regard to this?<sup>45</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

43. He went to Peking on 29 September 1959 to attend China's 10th anniversary celebration, held on 1 October 1959.

44. Letter, File No. 2 (242)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

45. Subbarayan replied on 21 October 1959 with details of work in progress and an estimated cost of Rs 15.66 crore.

**180. To A. Krishnaswami: Tibet and the UN<sup>46</sup>**

October 20, 1959

Dear Krishnaswami,

Thank you for your letter of 20th October.<sup>47</sup>

We have given a great deal of thought to this question of Tibet being raised in the United Nations. I made it clear in the Lok Sabha as well as in press conferences what our views were and that we were not in favour of this question being raised in the United Nations. It was entirely in accordance with our views and our directions that our Delegation took up the attitude it did recently.

Having taken up that attitude, it would be illogical for us now to take up a contrary attitude when the matter is discussed more fully in the United Nations. I shall not go into the various reasons for it. But I might tell you that we discussed this matter at one time with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.<sup>48</sup> He entirely agreed with our approach to this question in so far as the U.N. is concerned. Indeed he was especially of opinion that the question of Human Rights should not be raised in this context. Apart from the fact that China has not signed the Charter and is not represented in the U.N., it is very difficult to discuss this matter without reliable evidence. Nearly all the evidence that is supposed to be collected is from refugees who left Tibet before the recent troubles took place.

Your suggestion that some kind of a panel of experts should be appointed does not take us any further.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

46. Letter to A. Krishnaswami, Independent, MP from Chengleput, Madras State.

47. See Appendix 9, pp. 558-559.

48. Dag Hammarskjöld.



**181. To R.G. Menzies: Tibetan Refugees<sup>49</sup>**

October 23, 1959

My dear Prime Minister,

I have received your letter of October 8 from your High Commissioner. Thank you very much for it. My colleagues and I greatly appreciate your Government's offer of such generous financial assistance for the rehabilitation of the Tibetan refugees in India. There are about 13,000 refugees now. Their reception, accommodation and feeding have imposed a rather heavy strain on our exchequer, but we are even more concerned about their future rehabilitation. There is very little hope of any appreciable number of them either going back to their country or finding homes in other countries. For various reasons, it will not be easy to rehabilitate them. We are now engaged in drawing up schemes for this purpose. The problem of rehabilitating these persons who do not know our language and are not familiar with the ways of life in our country, will present particular difficulty and any scheme is bound to be extremely costly. It will involve training them for occupation and setting up small industries for them. Our intention is to utilise your very generous assistance in implementing some of the rehabilitation schemes. As soon as details have been worked out, we shall let your High Commissioner know. We do not need the money immediately.

Thanking you again and with kind regard,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**(d) Nepal****182. To MEA: Nepal and China<sup>50</sup>**

Some three or four days ago, I received a telegram from our Ambassador in Kathmandu<sup>51</sup> saying that Shri Subarna Shamsheer<sup>52</sup> was going to Calcutta and that the Prime Minister of Nepal would like him to meet me in Delhi if this was

49. Letter to R.G. Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia.

50. Note to SG and FS, 17 October 1959.

51. Bhagwan Sahay.

52. Deputy Prime Minister, Nepal.

possible. I replied that he could certainly come here to meet me. Both these telegrams were, I think, marked personal, and hence may not have been circulated to you.

2. Today Shri Subarna Shamsheer reached Delhi and he came to see me this evening. He gave me the attached letter from Prime Minister B.P. Koirala. We had about an hour's talk. I did not discuss with him the subjects enumerated in Shri B.P. Koirala's letter except briefly the question of opening of Chinese Embassy in Kathmandu and of diplomatic relations between Nepal and Pakistan. In regard to both these matters, I agreed with what I was told was the policy of the Nepalese Government, that is, not to encourage the opening of a Chinese Embassy in Kathmandu for the time being and, as regards Pakistan, also not to encourage the establishment of diplomatic relations.

3. Most of my talk was concerned with the broad world situation as a background to what was happening in China, between China and the U.S.S.R., and the border troubles India has had with China. I told him that our attitude was to be firm with China and not to give in at all on any major point and, at the same time, to keep the door open for discussions about minor points relating to the border. In fact, our position was clearly stated in my last letter to Premier Chou En-lai, and we proposed to adhere to it. We had taken some precautions on our border and strengthened our check-posts, etc., but we had no intention of getting excited over this matter or to send large numbers of troops there to get caught up in the mountains. For normal protection, our present arrangements were adequate. Any abnormal attack on India would raise far deeper issues and indeed might lead to war, and that would have to be met in a different way. We did not expect any such major development for a variety of reasons. If it did take place, then we were not afraid of dealing with it. If the mountains and forests on our side of the border were difficult for us, they were even more difficult for any armed forces committing aggression.

4. Shri Subarna Shamsheer told me that people in Nepal were rather panicky about their border situation as they had heard of the massing of Chinese troops on the other side. I told him that there was no reason for them to be panicky and, indeed, anyhow this did no good. They should be prepared to guard their frontiers from minor incursions and, if necessary, they should strengthen their check-posts, etc. If there was any major attempt by the Chinese forces that would again raise far reaching issues affecting not only Nepal but India and later, perhaps, even other parts of the world. We in India could not remain idle spectators of any such event. In effect, therefore, such an attempted invasion would bring the risk of a large scale war which might turn into a world war. I did not think the Chinese authorities would take this risk, more especially as the Soviet Union was dead opposed to it.



5. I pointed out to Shri Subarna Shamsher what our relationship and responsibilities were in regard to Bhutan. Bhutan was protected from any invasion not by any large troops, either Bhutanese or Indian, but by the fact that any invasion would ultimately result in war with India with all the other consequences that might flow from this.

6. For all these reasons, I did not expect any real conflict on our borders or on Nepal's borders with Tibet-China. But Chinese policy looked ahead and it seemed that they would try to isolate Nepal as well as Bhutan, insofar as possible, from India. The Chinese authorities might well appear to be friendly and lenient towards Nepal so as to produce friendly reactions in Nepal and thereby try to weaken the bond between India and Nepal. Later, when the time comes, they might take advantage of this. Therefore, it was desirable to be vigilant in such matters. Of course, it would be a good thing if the Nepal Government could settle their problems with the Chinese Government, border or other. But the only way to deal with the Chinese Government was with firmness as well as friendliness. The moment there was an appearance of fright or weakness, this would do harm.

7. In this connection, I told him that we were a little surprised at the precipitate nature of the acceptance of the Chinese Government's invitation to the Nepal Government recently to send a delegation for their National Day.<sup>53</sup> There was no harm in sending a delegation, but the haste that was shown in accepting this invitation at the last moment appeared to me not only undignified but likely to produce an undesirable impression in Chinese minds. Shri Subarna Shamsher agreed with me that there had been rather undue haste in this matter. He had no knowledge of what this delegation had done in Peking. During the first few days they had no occasion to talk as the Chinese authorities were busy with their celebrations. What happened afterwards had not been reported to him yet. The delegation was due to return to Kathmandu today.

8. I told Shri Subarna Shamsher that he might discuss the various points mentioned in Prime Minister B.P. Koirala's letter with our Foreign Secretary. They have, of course, been discussed previously, but should he so wish it, he can discuss them further with the Foreign Secretary. He agreed to do so. I suggest that foreign Secretary might get into touch with him and invite him for a talk.

53. A Nepali delegation led by Tulsi Giri, Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Nepal to attended the tenth anniversary celebrations in Peking on 1 October 1959.

(e) **Burma**

### **183. To MEA: Burma's Relations with China<sup>54</sup>**

In the course of the last two days, I had several talks with General Ne Win, Prime Minister of Burma. These talks were on a very informal level, and most of the talk was in fact done by General Ne Win. It was not my purpose to put forward any particular problems relating to Indians in Burma. I did mention, however, briefly two such problems. One was about Rs.50/- poll tax on all foreigners.<sup>55</sup> I pointed out that this was a very heavy burden on the poorer people and that whatever the richer persons might be made to pay, this burden should be removed or lightened from the poorer classes. General Ne Win said that he appreciated what I had said and would look into it.

2. The second matter I mentioned was that facilities might be given to Indians who were made to leave Burma, to bring their assets with them. He replied that in such cases it seemed to him only right that these people should bring their assets even though some of them had misbehaved in the past. In the last ten years hardly any income-tax had been realised. The fault was largely that of the Burmese Government, that is, the previous Governments, and incompetence and laxity of the Burmese administration. But the fact remained that they had not paid income-tax and thus had saved a lot of money. He mentioned also that in the safe deposit vaults in banks it had been found that some of these persons had large sums of money actually in hard cash varying from twenty to fifty lakhs. However, he said that people who were sent away should be allowed to bring their assets.

3. Both these matters were rather casually mentioned by me and I did not argue about them. Our talks consisted chiefly of Burma's relations with China and their border questions. Also, General Ne Win told me of some recent incidents of two or three members of Russian and Chinese Missions at Rangoon seeking asylum with the U.S. Embassy there. This had created some problems for them. One of these cases was still pending. This related to a Chinese.

4. He was anxious to know if in my opinion the Soviet Government was backing up China in its recent rather aggressive policy and how far there was a rift between the Soviet Union and China. He said that his own impression was that there was a difference of opinion between the two, but that there was always the possibility of this being on the surface only and behind the scenes the Soviet

54. Note to SG, FS and CS, 9 October 1959.

55. This refers to a Foreigner's Registration Certificate.



Government encouraging the Chinese Government. If the Chinese bluff came off, well and good. If not, then the Soviet could play the part of a mediator. In either event, the Soviet would stand to gain. I told him that so far as I could judge the situation, everything pointed to the Soviet Government not approving of China's recent policies internally or externally and that the Soviet had apparently exercised restraining influence on China. This fitted in with the Soviet's extreme desire now for peace. We discussed this matter at some length.

5. At General Ne Win's request, I told him of our border situation. So far as the Sino-Burmese border was concerned, he told me that he could not blame the Chinese Government for delay in settling it. Part at least of the fault lay with the Burmese Government. When U Nu had gone to Peking, some kind of a settlement had been suggested. This involved transfer of three villages etc. to the Chinese Government. Later, however, the people in the Shan States concerned with these villages had raised objections and so the matter could not be pursued any further. The Chinese Government had also accepted the MacMahon Line in so far as it applied to Burmese frontier. They had not gone back on this. General Ne Win, however, said that the Chinese Government objected very strongly to this being called the MacMahon Line and therefore the Burmese Government were avoiding using that name.

6. General Ne Win said that he had at last got the Shan States people to agree to the transfer of those three villages to China and he wanted to finalise an agreement on the border question before the elections in Burma. He was apprehensive that if this was not done before a new Government came in, political pressures in Burma might come in the way of such a settlement. Therefore he was anxious to bring about this agreement and he was prepared to go to Peking for this purpose. There was a good chance of his going there.

7. General Ne Win was full of suspicion about the Chinese attitude generally and more especially as to what they would do in the future. But, in regard to this border matter, he said quite clearly that the Chinese Government had not been to blame in recent period for any delay and that they had not gone back on their acceptance of the MacMahon Line border in Burma.

8. (I think that we should give up talking about the MacMahon Line in future. It is not necessary to do so. We should just refer to our frontier or the traditional frontier or by some other description.)

9. General Ne Win talked to me at some length about the difficulties he had had to face in Burma in regard to internal matters and how previous Governments, and more especially U Nu's Government, had been weak in dealing with situations that had arisen. He referred particularly to the gross indiscipline of students and the corruption of the administration. In regard to the students, he said especially that U Nu had been amazingly lax with them

and every demand put forward by the students after a demonstration was always agreed to. Once when an examination paper had leaked out and published in the press before the examination, the examination was postponed. There was agitation among the students and, as a result, U Nu issued instructions that every candidate should be considered to have passed the examination. The result of all this was a tremendous lowering of the quality of the administration. In fact, many of the junior clerks and others were hardly literate or, at any rate, could not write anything correctly.

10. General Ne Win also referred to some contracts made by U Nu's Government with British firms which were very harmful to Burmese interests. No care had been taken to scrutinise those contracts and legally they were bound by them in spite of their very injurious character. He referred especially to some contract about the making of trucks by the Evans group in the U.K.

11. General Ne Win's attitude generally to India, and more especially to me, was very friendly. He said that he looked up to India naturally because we were much more experienced and, as for me, he said that they considered me as a kind of father who had helped them and advised them ever since the time of Aung San.<sup>56</sup> Relations of the two countries had been close since then and he wanted them to continue to be close and in fact to be closer.

12. I was much impressed by General Ne Win. He seemed to me a straightforward and sincere man trying to do his best in difficult circumstances. I think that it might be said that our talks were definitely as between friends and could be relied upon and had no element of formality in them. In fact General Ne Win said that he could not talk in this way to people in other countries but, in my case, he felt he could be quite frank.

56. President, Anti-fascist People's Freedom League, was assassinated on 19 July 1947.



## (f) Laos

**184. To Pham Van Dong: Neo Lao Haksat**<sup>57</sup>

I suggest that the following reply be sent by you to Meneses.

"Your telegram No. 142 dated 22nd October.<sup>58</sup> Please reply to the D. R.V.N.<sup>59</sup> authorities in appropriate language on the following lines:

'We regret greatly the internal political conflicts in Laos which have led to the present complications. We have endeavoured in the past and shall do so in the future to help to the extent we can in peaceful solutions of these conflicts. We have avoided, however, in accordance with our policy of non-interference, interfering in the internal affairs of a sovereign country. It will be difficult for us, therefore, more especially when we have no reliable information as to the factual position, to intercede on behalf of the leaders of the Neo Lao Haksat party. From reports we have received, it appears that the trial will be before a judge and a jury and the accused will be given necessary facilities for defence.'

**185. To M.J. Desai: Neo Lao Haksat**<sup>60</sup>

I shall gladly see the Polish Ambassador, if he so wishes.<sup>61</sup> But I am afraid the next two days are fully occupied with the Governors' Conference and other engagements.<sup>62</sup> I suggest, therefore, that he might see me at 10.30 a.m. on the 29th October.

2. You might inform the Soviet Ambassador that so far as we are concerned, we shall be happy if proceedings started against Prince Souphanouvong and other Neo Lao Haksat leaders are dropped although we

57. Note to CS, 23 October 1959. File No. 170 (1)-SD/59, Vol. X, p. 4/notes, MEA.

58. The telegram said: "DRVN authorities consider the proposed trial to be a serious violation of the Geneva and Vientiane Agreement. The world now seeks a détente in Indo-China but if this trial is pursued it will create further greater trouble. The DRVN authorities request Government of India to use its influence and effort to get this trial waived off and to see that the Neo Lao Haksat leaders now jail are set at liberty so that the situation in Laos may not worsen."

59. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

60. Note to CS, 26 October 1959. File No. 1701 (1)-SD/59, Vol. X, pp. 7-8/notes, MEA.

61. Juliusz Katz-suchy.

62. On 27 to 28 October 1959.

can express no opinion about the matter as we do not know the charges. Still, in the interest of general goodwill and amity, it is always desirable to avoid any step which adds to friction and ill will. For the Soviet Government to have approached the other Co-Chairman in this matter under Article 15 of the Agreement was entirely a question for the Soviet Government to determine.<sup>63</sup> So far as the International Commission in Laos is concerned, it is not functioning and for us to ask for it to function is embarrassing because we ourselves are the Chairman. We expressed our views on this subject frequently in the past.

3. For the Government of India to press for a withdrawal of the proceedings against Prince Souphanouvong and other leaders of the Neo Haksat Party will probably bring the response that we are interfering in the internal affairs of Laos. This would embarrass us and it will do little good to any party. You may add that, according to our information, the Laos Government have stated that they should have a fair trial with full opportunities for the defence.

## 186. To Selwyn Lloyd: Neo Lao Haksat<sup>64</sup>

Since we last exchanged messages on Laos in the beginning of August,<sup>65</sup> the Security Council Fact-Finding Mission has been in Laos for some weeks and the latest development is the decision of the Government of Laos to take legal action against the Neo Lao Haksat leaders, who have been under detention since the last week of July. We have no authentic information as to the exact charges. It is understood, however, that the charges will be collusion with a foreign power and attempt to endanger the State's external and internal security.

2. During the last week, we have had approaches from the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Poland and the U.S.S.R. requesting us to do what we can to stop this trial and get the Opposition leaders set at liberty as a prolonged trial, after the detention of over three months that they have

63. In a note to Nehru dated 26 October 1959, M.J. Desai quoted the Soviet Ambassador as saying that "the Soviet Government had approached the U.K. Co-Chairman with a request that the two Co-Chairmen should appeal to the Government of Laos to drop the proceedings against Prince Souphanouvong and the other leaders of the Neo Lao Haksat Party and ask the International Commission on Laos to look into these charges and give their appreciation of the case. The charges made come within Article 15 of the Geneva Agreement on Laos and hence this request."

64. Telegram to Selwyn Lloyd, British Foreign Secretary, 30 October 1959. File No. 1701 (1)-SD/59, Vol. X, pp. 53-54/corr., MEA.

65. See SWJN/SS/51/items 214-226.



already undergone, will further increase the tension and conflict between the Government groups and the Opposition and seriously prejudice the prospects of a negotiated settlement. The U.S.S.R. Ambassador has also informed us that they have made a similar approach to the United Kingdom.

3. We have no desire to interfere in any way in the internal affairs of Laos and have said so to all who spoke to us on this subject. Nevertheless, we feel seriously concerned at these developments. Whatever the merits of the case, it is clear that this trial, after detention of over three months, is bound to worsen the political atmosphere and seriously prejudice the fulfilment of our common objective to ease tension and conflict and to restore normal peaceful conditions in Laos.

4. You informed me in June that you had made special efforts to impress on the Laotian authorities the need for restraint and moderation. These efforts, I was glad to learn, had been successful. The surveillance of the Neo Lao Haksat leaders had been lifted and the Laotian Government had declared that the Neo Lao Haksat Party will be allowed to continue their activities freely within the limits of the Laotian Constitution.

5. The developments which have occurred since last July, however, have reversed this process and the trial of these opposition leaders now will make things worse. Apart from the further deterioration in the political situation of Laos that this trial must entail, I feel seriously concerned at this survival of extreme and vindictive measures against the Opposition leaders. I feel that the best guarantee of political stability is freedom of political activity. Attempts at bottling up the opposition political leaders under detention and a banning opposition parties could hardly promote political stability. I trust that you will be able to use your influence with the Laotian authorities and persuade them not to fallow a policy which would cause further deterioration in the internal situation and seriously prejudice the efforts being made to restore normal peaceful conditions in Laos.

Kind regards,

Jawaharlal Nehru

(g) USA

**187. To Ellsworth Bunker: Thanks for Flood Relief Support<sup>66</sup>**

8th October 1959

My dear Ambassador,

Thank you for your letter of October 8. I am very grateful to you and to the United States Government for the contributions for flood relief in India. I should like to thank you specially for the personal contribution from yourself and Mrs. Bunker.<sup>67</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(h) USSR

**188. To MEA: Report on Khrushchev's US Visit<sup>68</sup>**

After dinner tonight I had a talk with Mr. Mukhitdinov.<sup>69</sup> The only other persons present were the Soviet Ambassador, his interpreter and Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

2. Mr. Mukhitdinov told me that after Mr. Khrushchev's return from U.S.A. he had met him in Moscow and discussed his visit before he left for China. Yesterday he had a telephone conversation with Mr. Khrushchev. Presumably this was from Tashkent. Mr. Khrushchev has sent his very warm and cordial regards and good wishes to me and to my daughter.

3. Mr. Mukhitdinov said that during his journey to India he had noted down the substance of his conversation with Mr. Khrushchev and this had been translated by his interpreter into English. This translation was then read out by the interpreter. It was a long document and it took about half an hour to read

66. Letter to Ellsworth Bunker, US Ambassador in India.

67. *The Hindustan Times* of 9 October 1959 reported that Bunker had forwarded the US Government's contribution of Rs. 25, 000 to the PM's National Relief Fund. He also made a personal contribution of Rs. 10,000.

68. Note to SG, FS, and CS, 9 October 1959.

69. Chairman of the Foreign Relations Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, arrived in Delhi on 7 October 1959.



out. I shall not try to repeat all that as it is late and I am tired. On the whole, there was nothing very new in it and the reports that had appeared in the press were broadly confirmed. It was evident, however, that Mr. Khrushchev was pleased with his visit and thought that some results had been obtained. The main subjects of his conversation with President Eisenhower were Disarmament and Berlin and Germany. As far as I could make out, no definite understanding was arrived at in regard to either of these subjects. So far as Disarmament was concerned, the American Secretary of State<sup>70</sup> had said that the new Soviet plan would be examined with all care. As for Berlin and Germany, it was decided to hold a conference as early as possible, preceding the Summit Conference. This conference would presumably be on the Foreign Ministers' level, though this was not clear, and probably the other countries concerned would be represented, that is, the two Germanies and possibly others.

4. At one time, President Eisenhower said that he would like to discuss the situation in Iran. Mr. Khrushchev agreed but this was not subsequently mentioned.

5. As for President Eisenhower's visit to the Soviet Union, this is likely to take place early in Spring next year.

6. I was informed that the attitude of the leading people in India as well as the press in regard to Mr. Khrushchev's visit to the U.S.A. was much appreciated in the Soviet Union.

7. No mention was made in the course of our talks to China or to our border differences with China.

8. Mr. Mukhitdinov will be returning from Indonesia probably about the 22nd of this month and he will have to stop at Delhi for refuelling. I told him that he would be welcome here and I hoped we would be informed of the time of his arrival.

9. Mr. Mukhitdinov also spoke of the success being achieved in implementing the Seven Year Plan in the Soviet Union. This had already exceeded the targets laid down. He had to return to Moscow soon to discuss the detailed plans for 1960. For the first time these plans were going to be discussed by the Supreme Soviet. This kind of thing had not been done previously.

10. I might mention one thing more. Mr. Khrushchev expressed his anxiety to Mr. Eisenhower in regard to the situation in West Berlin and said that this was an abnormal one and should be decided soon. Mr. Eisenhower agreed that it was abnormal and that the sooner it was decided, the better, but he would not agree to any definite date for the conference to consider this.

70. Christian Herter.

### 189. To Humayun Kabir: Visit to the USSR<sup>71</sup>

October 14, 1959

My dear Humayun,

I have now read your report on your visit to the Soviet Union.<sup>72</sup> It is an interesting and informative report and it is worthwhile circulating it to our colleagues. I suggest that you might send copies of it to:

1. President
2. Vice-President
3. Cabinet Ministers and Ministers of State of the Central Government
4. Members of Planning Commission
5. Cabinet Secretary, and
6. Chief Ministers of States.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 190. For Soviet Russia: Survey of International Relations<sup>73</sup>

I have received a request from Rassadin, Foreign Editor of journal "Soviet Russia" asking me to give my appraisal of international situation. I give below my answer to him.<sup>74</sup> If you think it worthwhile, you can pass it on to him.

Recent developments in the international sphere have certainly helped in lessening international tension and raising hopes that cold war will gradually be eliminated. These developments have come to a head by the visit of Mr. Khrushchev to the United States and the proposed visit of President Eisenhower to the Soviet Union. While no definite agreement has yet emerged, there can be no doubt that the world atmosphere is not so surcharged as it has been in the

71. Letter. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

72. See Appendix 1, pp. 540-542.

73. Telegram to K. P. S. Menon, Ambassador of India in Moscow, 20 October 1959.

74. The telegram said: "On the first of January 1959 journal 'Soviet Russia' had advantage publish your statement concerning most important problems which face the world. Latest events and proposals made by Prime Minister of the USSR in UNO have much in common with what you have said. We would be very grateful if you agree in these days once more express opinion and estimate international situation, prospects of eliminating cold war of calling summit conference and real lessening international tension."



past and that vast numbers of people in every country look forward confidently to progress, being made towards settlement. This improvement chiefly applies to European and especially German problems.

I think that the conviction has grown among people everywhere that the cold war is no solution and in fact comes in the way of a solution which ultimately has to be based on large-scale disarmament. Therefore, disarmament itself is being taken more seriously now than in the past. Mr. Khrushchev's proposals made in the United Nations for complete disarmament indicate an objective we should certainly aim at. But it may be that a partial fulfilment of that objective to begin with might be more feasible at present. But the aim I think should be full disarmament and putting an end to all ideas of war. Recent scientific developments and more especially the great advance made by Soviet science in space travel have fired people's imaginations everywhere. They have also indicated the extreme folly of thinking in terms of wars.

The chances of a summit conference being held appear favourable. The new developments can only be dealt with satisfactorily at the highest level.

On the whole, therefore, I think that in spite of a number of setbacks in various parts of the world, the general international atmosphere has improved and the prospect for effective steps for the ending of cold war and lessening of international tensions are brighter than they have been for many years.

## 191. To the Soviet Union: Greetings<sup>75</sup>

On the occasion of the National Festival of the Soviet Union, I send my greetings and good wishes to the people of this great country.<sup>76</sup> During the past few months, two events particularly stand out and have a historic significance. One is the wonderful and epoch-making achievement of Soviet science in reaching the Moon through Lunik II. This opens out a new era for science and humanity and the scientists of the Soviet Union deserve the admiration and congratulations of all people.

The other outstanding event is the lessening of world tension and the progress being made towards a Summit Conference which, it is hoped, will lead to a considerable advance in the settlement of some vital problems and in disarmament. In these matters, the Soviet Union, and more particularly Mr.

75. Message on the occasion of the National Festival of Soviet Union, 31 October 1959. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

76. People's unity day, November 4.

Khrushchev, have played a very important part and our good wishes go out to them for further success in this work of peace.

It has been a great satisfaction to us that the firm basis of Indo-Soviet friendship and cooperation has been progressively strengthened. I believe that this is not only to the advantage of both India and the Soviet Union, but is also advantageous in the great cause of world peace. We are grateful for the help given by the Soviet Union in our building up many industrial plants. The great Bhilai Steel Works have begun producing steel and are a symbol of Indo-Soviet co-operation. I look forward to the cooperation and friendship of India and the Soviet Union.

(i) Other Countries

**192. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Visits to Afghanistan and Iran<sup>77</sup>**

1st October, 1959

[My dear High Commissioner,]

I have just received your letter of the 28th September. I am writing briefly in reply as I am leaving tomorrow morning for Rajasthan and from there to Bombay. I shall spend nearly two days in Bombay. These are, as usual, full up with engagements but I shall certainly see Tara and have a talk with her.

Our visit to Kabul and Tehran was certainly refreshing in a way and I liked it. Surprisingly, I found both Kabul and Tehran very warm and almost as bad as Delhi. At the same time, there were no fans which made it worse. In both these places, there was a popular welcome to me, apart from the welcome given by Government. The Afghans are not a demonstrative people but I liked them and they give one a sense of toughness. I cannot imagine any invading hordes crushing them, however strong it might be. It is very difficult to subdue a people of this kind who will fight individually on every hill and valley. I do not mean to say that there is any chance of invasion. I do not think there is any fear of this at all. The stories that the Russians are all over the place there are exaggerated. Certainly the Russians have helped and are helping them. To a lesser extent, the Americans are also doing so. But the Afghan Government is very much on

77. Letter.



its feet and it is not likely to be swept away by any external agency or internal trouble. They are making rather slow progress but it is definite progress.

It is true that for the first time the Afghan ladies came to our dinner parties. They came and told me that they wanted to remove this purdah gradually but they could not forget what happened in the twenties when Amanullah tried to crush them. I liked the King. His Cabinet consisted of members of the royal family.

In spite of the British influence having been exercised in Afghanistan for many decades past, the foreign language best known by the upper classes is French. But English is gradually creeping in.

Tehran is a big city with impressive buildings and beautiful avenues. There is an abundance of automobiles there. I was told that there were 80,000 cars in Tehran city. But hardly anywhere else have I felt that the distance between the few rich and the many poor was so great as in Iran. The big landlord system still persists there, although there are vague talks of this being replaced. The Cabinet practically consists of these big landlords. French is the language most used in top circles and they rather take pride in their Parisian French. Of course they are proud of their own language. I was also surprised to find that to a little extent I could follow the Persian speeches.

The fashionable ladies of Tehran are supposed to get all their clothes from Paris. They all wear European dress.

I paid a visit to Shiraz, the city of poets, where Hafiz and Saadi were born. It was an attractive city. From there I went to the ruins of Persepolis which was the capital of Darius and the other old Persian emperors, who was ultimately swept away by Alexander. The ruins were very impressive even in their bettered state.

One thing I must tell you. I have never had anywhere such wonderful fruits as in Afghanistan. There was an abundance of very fine grapes of many kinds. There were lovely peaches and pears. But above all, there were the melons from north Afghanistan. We call them sardas but in Afghanistan they are called kharbujas. They were really heavenly. I was told that the pomegranates were equally good but that this was not the season for them.

Pantji has gone to Srinagar for a week or ten days. I hope this change will do him good after his long confinement in his own house.

The AICC meeting at Chandigarh was on the whole rather good.

I received a letter from the Leader of the Congress Party in the Delhi Corporation. Perhaps you know that the Mayor and a number of others from the Corporation were invited by the Moscow. They went there on an official visit. After that, they went to one or two places in Europe and to London. I gather that the Lord Mayor invited them to a lunch. They complain that they

were not treated at all properly or given any facilities in London by our High Commission. They make the same complaint about Moscow.<sup>78</sup> I do not know what happened but it is unfortunate that such impressions should be brought back because they talk to others. I have personally expressed my regret to the Mayor and told him that we are enquiring. I think that our Ministry has written to India House about it to find out what actually happened.

[Yours sincerely]  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 193. To Indira Gandhi: Restraint for Algeria Day<sup>79</sup>

The A.I.C.C. office, Foreign Relations Department, sent me a note about observing Algeria Day.<sup>80</sup> I referred this matter to our Foreign Secretary. Please see his note. I agree with it generally. This is not a very suitable time to carry on a major agitation when talks for a settlement may be taking place privately.

2. At the same time, we have gone too far, I suppose, not to do something on that day. Therefore, meetings might be held, but processions should be avoided, in particular, any demonstrations in front of French Consulates etc. The language used in the speeches should be moderate and should appeal for a settlement based on full freedom for the Algerian people.

3. There may be properly worded resolutions, but I do not particularly fancy the slogans suggested. If slogans are to be suggested, there may be (1) Peace and full freedom for Algerian people; (2) No atomic explosion in Africa; and (3) no partition of Algeria.

4. The tone of the speeches should be to welcome the effort to change the situation in Algeria, put an end to the war there and to aim at full freedom. The hope should be expressed that a settlement would be arrived at in accordance with the wishes of the Algerian people.

78. *The Statesman* of 22 September 1959 reported that members of the Delhi Corporation delegation complained that while in Russia, the Indian Embassy staff was "most unhelpful" to the delegation. They alleged that the Embassy staff did not even get their telegrams and letters.

79. Note, 20 October 1959.

80. Algeria observes 1 November as national holiday, also known as "Revolution Day," commemorating the day in 1954 where Algerians began their revolution against the French.



## V. MISCELLANEOUS

### 194. Czech Philharmonic Orchestra<sup>1</sup>

I welcome the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra on their first visit to Delhi<sup>2</sup> and I appreciate their offer to give a performance in aid of the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund.<sup>3</sup> For a long time past, Czechoslovakia has been a centre of European music, and the performances of the Czech Orchestra, under the distinguished direction of Mr. Karel Ancerl,<sup>4</sup> have widely appreciated in many countries.

In India, we have been rightly encouraging all branches of Indian music. Unfortunately, however, Western music tends rather to fade out from our ken. Perhaps, only in two cities of Calcutta and Bombay are votaries of Western music to be found in any considerable numbers. I think that it is desirable and even necessary for Western music to have a definite place in India. Not only would this be an encouragement of some of the highest development in music, but it would be helpful, I think, in its reactions on Indian Music.

I send my good wishes to the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra.

1. Note, 1 October 1959. File No. 40(182)/59-60-PMS.
2. The Orchestra, consisting of 121 persons, arrived in New Delhi on 3 December; the concert was at Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, on 5 December 1959.
3. Set up in 1948 to assist displaced persons from Pakistan.
4. Principal conductor, the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra.

# You Said It

By LAXMAN



*Won't you like to contribute something to the fund, Sir?*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 9 OCTOBER 1959)



**195. To Morarji Desai: Oxbridge, Drought, and Floods<sup>5</sup>**

October 1, 1959

My dear Morarji,

I sent you a letter yesterday acknowledging two letters of yours. Today I have received your long letter of the 26th September from London. I am grateful to you for writing to me at some length and giving me an account of your activities and your impressions.

This is a brief acknowledgment as I am leaving tomorrow morning for Rajasthan, Bombay and Poona.

I am glad that you have been impressed by Cambridge. I agree with you that it still has more of an academic atmosphere than Oxford now has. Even so, both Oxford and Cambridge have changed very greatly since I was there fifty years ago. In those days there were very few automobiles about Cambridge and we used to go about either on bicycles or on the old horse-drawn hansoms. On the whole things are quiet here. Unfortunately, large areas of Bihar and Eastern U.P. are suffering from a drought. As you must know, there were tremendous floods in Surat and elsewhere some time ago.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**196. To M.K. Vellodi: Appointment to Berne<sup>6</sup>**

October 6, 1959

My dear Vellodi,

I have just received your letter of October 1st.

I know how much concerned you must necessarily be about your son's health. Indeed it was partly for this reason that we asked you to go to our Mission in Berne. I would very much like to be of help to you, but you will appreciate that it is rather difficult for us to say now what should be done eight or nine months later. All kinds of considerations arise which cannot be ignored

5. Letter.

6. Letter to the Ambassador of India to Switzerland.

and there is always Parliament sitting over us. But I shall certainly keep what you have written in mind.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 197. To K.S. Thimayya: Montgomery's Delhi Visit<sup>7</sup>

October 6, 1959

My dear Thimayya,

Field Marshal Montgomery has decided to pay me a visit. He wrote to me and said that he was making a study of various types leadership and so apparently he wanted to study me at close quarters! He will be coming to Delhi on the 5th January and staying, I think, till the 8th. He will stay in my house.

He has specially said that he does not want to get mixed up in any kind of entertainment. His chief purpose apparently in coming here is to have talks with me and a few other people. He has indicated, however, that he would like to spend one morning or afternoon at Army Headquarters and to meet you there. He has said something about a Regiment. I do not understand which Regiment he can be referring to.

He has also expressed a wish that a young Army Officer might be attached to me as A.D.C. during his visit. Of course, this will be done.

I shall be writing to him about his programme. Meanwhile I suggest that you might write to him also expressing your pleasure at the prospect of his visit to India and enquiring from him how you can be of assistance to him during his stay here.

Our High Commissioner in London has written to me about a moving little ceremony in India House a week ago. Miss Evangeline Ingram, great granddaughter of James Skinner, founder of the Skinner's Horse in 1803 in India, handed his sword to be presented to the Regiment. The sword is very beautiful. The steel is Byzantine and the scabbard of heavy gold work with enamel handle and tip. The British Museum was willing to pay a fantastic sum for this sword, and Christi's offered to sell it promising Miss Ingram a very big figure. Miss Ingram, however, was not interested in this money. She is, I am told, a very simple, good woman who has devoted her entire life to welfare work among the families of Army men in India. She did not want any publicity

7. Letter.



for this presentation. She intends coming back to India to continue her work here. Previously, I believe, she lived in Mussoorie.

I have heard, of course, of Skinner's Horse, but I imagine that particular Regiment no longer exists.

Will you come and see me tomorrow, 7th October, at 9-30 P.M.?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 198. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Evangeline Ingram's Proposed India Visit<sup>8</sup>

October 6, 1959

[Nan dear,]

I have your letter of September 30 about Miss Evangeline Ingram.<sup>9</sup> We are, of course, grateful to her for her gift of Col. Skinner's sword. But it is not clear to me to what Regiment this sword should be given. I am not sure, but I have an idea that Skinner's Horse no longer exists. I shall, however, find out.

Miss Ingram can certainly come back to India and work where she likes. She can go back to Mussoorie or go to Kashmir or to Sikkim. So far as we are concerned, we shall have no objection to any place. But it is just possible that some petty officials might trouble her in Kashmir, as they did on the last occasion she was there. It is not easy for us from this distance to prevent these small pin pricks. But if she chooses to go to Kashmir, we shall certainly recommend her and try to help her there or in Sikkim.

I do not know which Dorji in Sikkim she refers to. The Dorjis are really a Bhutan family. They may come to Sikkim, and one or two of them have sometimes lived in Darjeeling.

I have your letter of September 29 about Field Marshal Montgomery's visit to Delhi. He will, of course, get all the assistance he needs here, and we shall draw up his programme according to his wishes. He has informed me that he would arrive in Delhi on the 5th January and stay till the 8th, when he will return to London direct.

[Yours,  
Jawahar]

8. Letter.

9. Granddaughter of James Skinner. See also the preceding item.

## 199. To Montgomery: Proposed Delhi Visit<sup>10</sup>

October 6, 1959

My dear Field Marshal,

I am glad that your visit to India has been fixed and that you will be reaching Delhi on the 5th January.<sup>11</sup> You will be very welcome here, and I shall be happy to have long talks with you.

My sister has written to me that you do not wish to be involved in any kind of entertainment. We shall abide by your wishes. I understand that you would like to spend a morning or afternoon at the Army Headquarters. That will be arranged, and you can meet our Army Chief of Staff there. If it is agreeable to you, we can have one or two persons to meals to meet you quietly. I should like some indication as to who you would like to meet here. I would certainly suggest your meeting our President and Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan. Also our Home Minister, Govind Ballabh Pant who, unfortunately, has not been well.

We shall be glad to abide by your wishes in any other matter concerning your visit here.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 200. To Krishna Hutheesing: Bunch of Letters<sup>12</sup>

Raj Bhavan, Hyderabad  
10th October, 1959

[My dear Krishna],

Four or five days ago, Kesho Ram gave me your letter to him of October 3rd, 1959, and the bunch of letters or rather copies of letters that I had sent you from time to time. I have performed a somewhat unusual feat. I have read through all of them, though of course rather hurriedly. This reading has been done at various times, in my office, in bed and while travelling by air.

I have no objection to your publishing these letters. So far as I am concerned, you can publish the lot and there is no particular passage even which I would like left out. You can, therefore, decide as you think best as to what is to be published.

10. Letter to Field Marshal Sir Bernard Montgomery.

11. He was in Delhi from 5 to 8 January 1960.

12. Letter to Krishna Hutheesing, Nehru's youngest sister.



There are a number of minor mistakes in them in typing. I corrected just a few here and there. Then I gave up this business of correcting. I suppose you can easily do that and where you are in doubt, you can refer to the original letters. It would, of course, be desirable to avoid mistakes.

Except for three or four letters, nearly all the others have been from some prison or other. I suppose you will indicate this fact and perhaps also give some notes occasionally to explain either the letter or some reference in it. That will make them more intelligible to the reader. Thus there are references to Indu when she was in prison herself; or she was in England.

I am returning all these letters to you under a registered cover. I hope they will reach you safely.

I arrived in Hyderabad today. I shall be in Andhra Pradesh for three or four days<sup>13</sup> and then return to Delhi.

[Yours,  
Jawahar]

## 201. To M.K. Vellodi: Moral Re-Armament<sup>14</sup>

14th October, 1959

My dear Vellodi,

I have just seen your letter of October 6th about your visit to the MRA<sup>15</sup> Headquarters at Caux. I remember this place very well as I went to it once from Montreux. But this was before the MRA went there. It is indeed a lovely situation.

I agree with you that our policy regarding ex-communists has sometimes been harsh and we do not seem to allow for any change of heart in a person who has been a confirmed communist. Most very young people have bit of a rebel in them and that is not bad. We should give them a chance to change and not presume that they are incapable of it.

As for the MRA, it is true that the Government of India have not looked upon them with favour, though we have not come in their way. As a matter of fact, two or three Ministers of the Central Government have been favourably

13. 10 to 14 October 1959.

14. Letter.

15. The Moral Re-Armament, an international moral and spiritual movement, developed by an American Frank Buchman in 1938; known as Initiatives of Change since 2001.

inclined towards them and they have often treated very well by some State Governments. All we have done is to point out to these State Governments that the MRA functions on the political plane in a manner which we consider undesirable.

I have known Buchman for a long time past, even before he started MRA. He came to India in the middle twenties with a small group of Oxford and Cambridge men.<sup>16</sup> I met him many times then and he passed on a number of books to me too which, I believe, I read. Far from converting me, he and his group created an opposite impression on me. As far as I remember, Gandhiji was also not at all favourably inclined to him.

I met Buchman in the late twenties and thirties again on several occasions in London, Paris and Geneva and he revived his attempts to impress me. He even invited me to his famous weekends in some palace or other. He always used to function in palaces and with people high-up in the social hierarchy. I did not accept his invitation. At that time there was no political tinge in his activities in so far as I know. I reacted against him and his group for other reasons.

Later I found out this MRA group was functioning in various places and I met Buchman again in India. MRA had become by that time aggressively anti-communist and was supported chiefly from American sources. I did not like this. I found that his people were privately carrying on a fairly intensive propaganda against our general foreign policy and more especially against our policy of non-alignment. All this was done behind the scenes and even Gandhiji was not spared. Their general behaviour otherwise appeared to me to be full of snobbery. I remember how I was introduced in Delhi to a lady who was grandiloquently described as the grand-daughter of a Lady-in-Waiting of Queen Victoria. This woman was repeatedly paraded in various places in this capacity of being a grand-daughter.

All this made me like the MRA movement less and less. While their general manners, publicity and confessions and all that irritated me, the main thing was that they were carrying on, wherever they went, a virulent anti-communist policy and were thus supporting the military alliance against the Soviet group. This affected our broad policies which indeed they attacked in private wherever they went. I found in England and in some other European countries generally progressive opinion against them. The feeling was that under the garb of some kind of religious sensationalism they were an extreme political group. It is true that this religious element attracted some good people to them.<sup>17</sup>

16. In 1915.

17. See SWJN/SS/22/pp. 497-598.



I have just today returned from a four-day tour in Andhra Pradesh. The State is on the whole doing well. I inaugurated two engineering colleges and one polytechnic and I paid a visit to Nagarjunakonda where both the dam and the excavations of the ruined city interested me greatly.<sup>18</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 202. To Montgomery: Meetings<sup>19</sup>

October 14, 1959

My dear Field Marshal,

On my return to Delhi today from South India, I have received your letter of the 8th October. You can certainly announce to the Press that you will be visiting Delhi in January.

I think there will be no difficulty about your meeting the persons you have mentioned in your list. I am not quite sure about the President's or the Vice-President's programme just then. But if they are in Delhi, they will be glad to meet you. Panikkar may not be here then unless he is asked to come. He is now a Member of our Parliament,<sup>20</sup> but, at that time, Parliament will not be sitting. I shall, however, let him know, and I am sure that he would like the opportunity of meeting you. He is a man of very varied accomplishments. A poet and a writer in his own language, Malayalam, a writer of worthwhile books in English; he has been a journalist in earlier years and also a professor and a historian. He then became our Ambassador in China and saw the changeover from Chiang Kai-shek's Government to the Communist regime. He wrote a book about it called "The Two Chinas". After that, he was our Ambassador in Cairo and Paris. He retired from the Paris Embassy some months ago. Unfortunately, he got an attack of thrombosis even while he was in Paris and he does not keep too well. But he is an extraordinarily interesting person to talk to, because of his wide experience and keen intellect.

18. See item 15 in this volume.

19. Letter.

20. K.M. Panikkar, Nominated, Rajya Sabha MP from Kerala.

I have already told our Chief of Army Staff, General Thimayya, of your visit here, and he will make any arrangements that you desire. There will be no need for you to go out of Delhi during your brief visit here.

With my regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **203. To K.S. Thimayya: Parade in Peking<sup>21</sup>**

15th October, 1959

My dear Thimayya,

I have received another letter from Field Marshal Montgomery in which he says as follows:

“I would much like to spend one morning with the Indian Army and perhaps I could do this in Delhi? I do not want to travel to other places; I would like to stay in Delhi the whole time and do all my work there.”

You have already written to him and you need not write again.

An Indian observer in Peking who saw the 1st October Parade there sends me an interesting item of news. I quote his words: “240 live Chinese Generals and others singing very rousing songs led by a General” with one woman General in the centre. The words of the song were composed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Can your Generals rival this performance?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **204. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Bengal Famine<sup>22</sup>**

Thank you for your letter of the 11th October from New York. I have no clear idea about your programme and how long you will be in the United States.

I have gone into the matter of the visit of some of the Delhi Corporation members to London and elsewhere.<sup>23</sup> It seems to me that their complaints were not justified. Do not bother about them.

21. Letter.

22. Note, 18 October 1959.

23. See item 192 in this volume.



I went to Bombay on a brief visit some days ago and met Tara there.<sup>24</sup> She seemed to be calm and composed. She said she would come with the children to Delhi during the children's holidays. Unfortunately, both she and one of the children got influenza. They are well now, but the holidays are over. So, for the present, Tara is not coming here. I think she is thinking of coming later the year.

The cyclones and floods in Bengal have been terrific. I am going to Calcutta for a day to pay some visits to the flood-affected areas and to discuss the situation with the people there.<sup>25</sup>

Indu is constantly on the move, which is obviously not good for her. But as Congress President, she feels she must fulfil her duty. Dr. B.C. Roy was here yesterday and advised her to have an operation as soon as possible and anyway not to delay it. In particular, he has asked her not to tour about too much. ut there it is. And Indu is fixed up with her tours for the next five or six weeks. Her idea is to take some rest then. She is rather attracted to your suggestion that she should go to London for her operation and have a little holiday afterwards there. She wants to do this after the Congress session is over, that is sometime late in January or probably beginning of February, after Republic Week. I suggested to her that she might have the operation in India earlier, say towards the end of November. She could go to England early next year for rest and a holiday.

There is every chance of a meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers next year. It cannot take place early because of the possibility of a Summit meeting. I imagine it will be sometime in early summer.

We are having a musical treat in Delhi. The entire Viennese-Philharmonic Orchestra has come here for two days on a world tour, and tomorrow they are giving a concert at Vigyan Bhavan. They are 120 strong.<sup>26</sup>

As you may have heard, Lal Bahadur, of all persons, had a mild heart attack while he was at Allahabad. He is still in the hospital there and has made fairly good progress. I am likely to see him on my return from Calcutta.

24. Nayantara Sahgal on 3-4 October 1959.

25. See item 73 in this volume.

26. See item 194 in this section.

## 205. To the Indian Navy: Good Wishes<sup>27</sup>

On the occasion of the Navy Day I send my good wishes to our young men in the Navy. Whenever I have seen them at their work, I have been impressed by their discipline and efficiency. Recently I saw some of their work at the Bhakra Dam which I appreciated greatly.

India is changing fairly rapidly in all the sectors of her national life. This process of change will, no doubt, continue. All of us have to think of this larger picture and not lose ourselves in our petty troubles. Our Defence Forces, in particular, have to play an important role in this process of change, apart from performing their primary duty of standing sentinel in defence of the motherland.

## 206. To Arthur S. Lall: Proposed Visit of Anita Bose<sup>28</sup>

October 20, 1959

My dear Arthur,

I am writing to you about Anita Bose.<sup>29</sup> Yesterday Lalita Bose came to see me. Lalita is Subhas Chandra Bose's niece. She told me that she was making arrangements for Anita to come to India for two or three months and began discussing these arrangements with me as to what places she should visit in India. From her talk I understood that Anita's visit here was likely to take fairly soon. I have no objection to it; in fact, some years ago I have suggested for Anita to pay a brief visit to India. There was one difficulty, however, then and we had therefore not encouraged this idea much. The difficulty was with the Bose family. There are some members of that family who still tend to create trouble, though they have somewhat toned down now.

I told Lalita that there was no difficulty about Anita coming here so far as we were concerned. In Delhi she would stay with me.<sup>30</sup> If she passed through Bombay, I would make suitable arrangements for her to stay there too. The question arose about Calcutta. I said that it was obviously desirable for Anita to stay with some members of the Bose family and not elsewhere. Lalita agreed.

Later, coming to my office and speaking to the Foreign Secretary about this matter, my attention was drawn to a letter you had written to him on the 3rd

27. Message, 18 October 1959.

28. Letter to Arthur S. Lall, Ambassador of India to Austria.

29. Daughter of Subhas Chandra Bose.

30. She came to Delhi on 17 December 1960.



August last. In this letter you say that both Anita and her mother<sup>31</sup> had told you that they had no intention whatsoever of coming to India this year and that Anita was just entering the final year in school. The earliest she would be able to visit India would be towards the end of 1960. I have told Lalita of your letter and said that there appeared to be some confusion about this matter. She said she would write to Anita herself and find out.

It seems to me that probably Anita herself would like to come to India for a while. But her mother does not approve of this at this stage. So far as we are concerned, we are agreeable to any course she adopts. There is no question of pressing her to come here now or of discouraging her from doing so. All I was anxious about was that some members of the Bose family in Calcutta might not misbehave in case Anita comes here.

I am merely writing to you to keep you informed of developments on the subject. You might get in touch with Anita and her mother and find out what they really want to do.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 207. To Norman Thomas: Birthday Wishes<sup>32</sup>

October 23, 1959

Dear Mr. Norman Thomas,

Next month you will be celebrating your 75th birthday. May I send you my greetings and good wishes on this occasion and pay my tribute for the great work you have done in the cause of political freedom and the dignity of human labour? In particular, we have followed with great interest and appreciation your work to banish the threat of nuclear war.

To be engaged in noble causes itself bring a measure of fulfilment to life. I have no doubt that you must have this feeling, and that is a better recompense than any reward that others may give.

With all good wishes to you for many more years in the service of these causes which you have so much at heart.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

31. Emilie Schenkl.

32. Letter to Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist Party of America.

## 208. To Kiyoko Takeda: Emphasizing Non-Alignment<sup>33</sup>

October 24, 1959

Dear Mrs Takeda,

Thank you for your letter of October 18th, 1959, which I have read with much interest. You have referred in it to some of our previous conversations and have been good enough to express appreciation of what I said then. You have also asked me about my views about certain current questions in Japan.

I do not think it proper for me to advise other countries or other peoples as to what they should do in their internal matters. Japan is a great country, and it would be singularly unbecoming for me to presume to advise it. All I can say is about my own country and what our views are about our policies.

I am convinced that the broad policy of non-alignment that India has followed for the last dozen years or more has been a correct policy both for us and for the larger cause of world peace which we have so much at heart. This policy of ours had roots in our thinking in the days of our struggle for independence under our leader Mahatma Gandhi. It was, therefore, not a new policy but the natural outcome of the way we thought about international matters previously.

I think that subsequent events have justified it. We do not pretend to play a very important role in world affairs. But, in so far as we have been able to influence them, I hope it has been in the direction of peace. We have succeeded, in spite of some difficulties, in maintaining close and friendly relations with countries which are opposed to each other and which carry on a cold war. This has enabled us to understand their outlook and to keep well apart from the climate of cold war. Cold war makes it difficult to have an objective view of events and tends to distort our thinking. This does not mean that we should avoid facing facts as they are or be complacent about possible dangers. There are many dangerous tendencies in the world, and it would be folly to shut our eyes to them. But to face them in the spirit of cold war and with anger and violence in our minds and hearts, does not help.

I have felt all along, therefore, that our approach to countries, even though they might differ from us greatly, should be friendly. This, again, does not mean that we should not take adequate measures to protect ourselves if danger threatens. But we should not, as far as possible, allow ourselves to be swept

33. Letter to Kiyoko Takeda, Assistant Professor, International Christian University, Mitaka, Tokyo.



away by national prejudices and passions. It may sometimes be difficult to be both firm and friendly, and yet this should be done.

We have felt that military alliances in the present state of the world are not helpful even in giving security. Indeed, the security one seeks is often imperilled by them. Therefore, we have kept away from military alliances. But we have tried to develop friendly relations with other countries. I cannot say, as a responsible public man, that every country must function in this way regardless of the dangers that might confront it. I can only speak about India and possibly other countries situated as India is. Some of these military alliances in South East Asia and Western Asia have certainly not brought security to those countries. On the contrary, they have had a somewhat upsetting effect, and something of the cold war has crept in.

Whatever the past may have been, in the present, we see a serious and earnest attempt being made by the two most powerful countries in the world, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, to lessen tensions of the cold war and try to arrive at some settlements of current problems in the West. That attempt itself indicates a desire to put an end to the cold war. If I may say so in all humility, that is, a confirmation of the policy that India has been pursuing. At this juncture when such attempts are being made, it seems to me even more unfortunate for anything to be done which might accentuate the military approach to the world's problems. It is recognised by every thinking person now that a major war is out of the question or should be ruled out because it would mean destruction on an unimaginable scale. If that is so, then it should follow that a cold war is both undesirable and unnecessary. The only real approach should be towards some settlement. It may be that that settlement takes a long time to come. We should not grow impatient because problems are difficult. We should not despair if success does not come quickly, but continue to pursue our path.

I repeat that this does not mean that a country should not take such steps as it thinks necessary to protect its own independence and integrity.

Recently, because of our border troubles with People's Government of China and the consequent tension in our relations that has arisen, some people have asked us if we still want to continue our policy of Panchsheel and non-alignment. That question indicates a lack of understanding of the urges that move us and of the policy that we seek to pursue. If that policy is a correct policy, it should be basically followed even in varying circumstances and even though the other party does not follow it. We do not, therefore, propose to give up our policy of non-alignment in spite of the strong feeling that has been aroused in India because of certain activities of the Chinese Government on our borders. Naturally we seek to protect our borders, and we shall do so. We feel that at a moment

when the world is turning towards a peaceful solution of its problems, it would be a tragedy for India to do anything which helps an opposite tendency. We should like to encourage in every way the steps that President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev and others are taking towards lessening tension and ending cold war.

In this age when the vast realms of outer space are gradually coming within the scope of man's activities, it seems very odd and rather sad that people should still continue to think in terms of conflicts and wars between nations.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 209. To S.M. Narayanan: MRA Movement<sup>34</sup>

October 24, 1959

Dear Shri Narayanan,

Thank you for your letter of the 17th October in which you have given me some account of what transpired at the meeting of the M.R.A. movement at Caux. I am interested to read this and I shall make further enquiries into this matter.

We have long known that the M.R.A. movement carries on propaganda against our Government and our policy. It is, however, not our policy to ban movements which may criticise our Government.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

34. Letter to S.M. Narayanan, Secretary, Nilgiri District Estate Workers' Union, Rokeby, Coonoor.



## 210. To K. Ram: Suggestions to Change Army Dress<sup>35</sup>

It is certainly desirable to have as much simplicity as possible on liveries, but I feel that it is equally necessary to have a measure of smartness. Dress has a certain effect on the efficiency of work, apart from its appearance.

2. For instance the kind of uniform that our Army people wear has to be considered from the point of view of effectiveness for work as well as of a psychological effect on the wearers of it and those who look at it.

3. I think that a different approach should be made to those who serve a table or elsewhere, that is, the khansamas, jamedars, butlers, etc., and those who do not. In the former case, a certain element of colour and show would be desirable. Also I think they should wear chapkans or achkans and not a coat and trousers. So far as the others are concerned, the livery can be much simpler and might well be a neat coat and trousers.

4. Anyhow this is a matter for the President to consider and decide.

5. I have always felt that far too many people serve at dinners and elsewhere. A crowd does not add to the efficiency. I doubt if so many people are used for service elsewhere in the palaces etc., of Heads of States.

## 211. To O. Pulla Reddi: International Sarvodaya Centre<sup>36</sup>

Some associates of Acharya Vinoba Bhave have written to me at his instance. They are seeking a plot of land near Cubbon Park in Bangalore to build up an International Sarvodaya Centre.<sup>37</sup> This is a matter for the State Government to decide. Apart from this, they have asked for permission to use some barracks situated near the Residency which, according to them, are lying vacant, I enclose the letter to this effect.

2. Could you kindly enquire into this matter and let me know what the position is and whether it will be feasible and proper for us to let them have the use of these empty barracks for a while and, if so, on what terms?

35. Note, 27 October 1959.

36. Note, 27 October 1959.

37. To promote agriculture, dairy development, rural development and training local women and youth for self-employment.

See [http://www.bajajauto.com/jamnalal\\_bajaj\\_seva\\_trust.asp](http://www.bajajauto.com/jamnalal_bajaj_seva_trust.asp) (accessed on 1 March 2013).

## VI. APPENDICES

### 1. Humayun Kabir to Nehru<sup>1</sup>

*[Refer to item 189]*

New Delhi

12th September 1959

My dear Panditji,

I am sending you a report on my visit to the Soviet Union. I am afraid it has become somewhat lengthier than I had intended but I was able to see a number of different aspects of Soviet Cultural activities and felt that it might be useful if I put them together for facility of future reference. Even then I have cut down a great deal of what is interesting as such but has no immediate relevance to our problems.

I will be grateful if you will kindly glance through the Report at your leisure but I am also trying to indicate below some of the things which may have an immediate significance for us.

Pages 2-10: I have recorded some general impressions and also the way in which contact with India seems to have changed Soviet attitude to things. I found everywhere great admiration for India's policy and a deep personal regard for you and I have no doubt that this has in an imperceptible manner coloured the outlook of many Soviet citizens.

Pages 10-16: I have described briefly the Soviet educational policy. The Soviet people have great faith in training and also believe strongly that training should be related to capacity. After compulsory education which now ends at the age of 14 (and will end at the age of 15 on the completion of the Seven Year Plan), education is highly selective. Only 20 per cent of those who complete elementary education are admitted to secondary schools. The selection is still more rigorous at the University stage and of the age groups 19-23 only about 4 per cent are admitted to Universities and Institutions of higher learning. This is against 20-25 per cent of the relevant age group who go to Universities in the United States of America. In addition, there is continual screening at the Secondary and still more at the University level and students are sent out if they prove unfit in any way. They can however pursue higher studies as part-time students through correspondence courses or evening classes.

Another feature of the educational system which deserves attention is the breadth of the curriculum at the Elementary and the Secondary stage. All subjects

1. Letter. File No. 6/1958-63, Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.



are compulsory for everyone and almost 40 per cent of the total school time is given to the study of science. Even those who do not continue beyond elementary education do about four to five years of Biology, three to four years of Physics and two to three years of Chemistry.

Pages 16-22: I have discussed the Academy of Science which deals not only with the Natural Sciences but also the Social Sciences and Humanities. There is perhaps a slight imbalance in favour of Natural Science and I could not help feeling that part of the aggressiveness and rigidity of general Soviet thinking is due to their comparative neglect of humanistic studies. The Natural Scientists have a great deal of freedom in their own field and since these are relatively detached from social and political questions, they do not seem to suffer from any inhibitions.

Pages 22-31: I found similar differences in the degree of freedom among the practitioners of the different arts. Musicians, dramatists, painters and writers seem to enjoy freedom in a descending degree. One can understand the greater freedom of the musician but it seems odd that the dramatists should enjoy greater liberty than painters and writers. In fact the spirit of criticism and liberty found on the stage is extremely encouraging for the future of growth of democracy in the Soviet Union.

Since we are now engaged in planning our National Theatre, I made special enquiries on the subject and found unanimity of opinion that seating capacity of about 800 is the best for the regular dramatic theatre. In any case, an audience of over a thousand has not proved satisfactory and the Soviet Union has learnt by experience that the theatres they built for an audience of 2 000 or more have proved failures.

Pages 31-36: I have given some impressions about Sanatoria, the Soviet system of bath cures and the Collective Farms. I have also briefly discussed the way the Seven Year Plan is operating.

In the last three or four pages, I have given some reasons for my belief, that the Soviet Union is drawing, through in a very slow and almost imperceptible manner, nearer to the pattern of Western democratic society. I discussed with some Soviet scientists my impression that the decentralisation of administration and industry is bound to lead to growth of local patriotism and ultimately to a dispersal of power in a number of different centres. My visit also confirmed my view that basically the system which India has adopted is far superior to the Soviet system but where the Soviet citizens score over us is in their greater application and more industriousness.

Before I conclude, I would like to refer, specially to Dr. Malalasekhara, Ambassador of Ceylon, told me. He was in Peking just after the Dalai Lama came to India. Mr. Chou En-lai told Dr. Malalasekhara that the Dalai Lama is a

good man and in favour of reform, but he was powerless in the face of conservative opposition. According to Mr. Chou En-lai, only 300 families in Tibet opposed the Chinese intervention. A large number of Lamas had no doubt been killed but these were fighting Lamas who had nothing to do with religion. Mr. Chou En-lai also told Dr. Malalasekhara that the Chinese had taken strong measures in Tibet to avoid feudalism and for forestalling the establishment of rocket bases in Tibet by any other power. Dr. Malalasekhara formed the impression that the Chinese were afraid that either Americans or Russians might establish these rocket bases and both would equally unwelcome to them. It seems Mr. Chou En-lai also said that the Chinese could not afford to wait for revolutionary process of change and hence had to resort to force as reforms cannot be carried out quickly without violence. Dr. Malalasekhara also said that in his view Mr. Khrushchev was anxious that China should not take any extreme steps and it was for this reason that he went to Peking last year for persuading the Chinese from attacking Formosa.

I shall send a copy of the Report to members of the Council of Ministers after you have seen.

Yours sincerely,  
Humayun Kabir

## 2. B. Pasternak to Amiya Chakravarty<sup>2</sup>

*[Refer to item 142]*

Peredelkino  
September 15, 1959

Dear Professor,

Your precious letter finds me in the middle of formed projects and decisions and of assumed and non realised engagements. You will not believe the quantity of foreign letters I am not able (though many of them I am eagerly wanting) to reply. But in spite of this want of time I'll not delay my hearty thanks for the significant article I have begun and shall continue to devour as soon as the first gleam of leisure will present itself. The paper is of great use and need to me.

I made already some translations out of R.T., very few, and, with exception of two or three succeeded pieces, shamefully bad and incomplete ones. Do you know Mr. N. Chatterji in London? Last year we corresponded about

2. File No. S.A. 83E, Tagore Centenary Abroad—General, 1959, Sahitya Akademi Records.



Rabindranath Tagore. I highly estimated the letters of Chatterji, on Christmas he sent me congratulation and a present. I always answered him but unfortunately the most essential of my answers are habitually going lost.

I complained to Mr. Ch. of the deplorable habit of furnishing me with materials for being brought in the versified form in languages we don't possess. The prosaic so called "interlinear translations", manufactured by expert linguist don't give any idea of the original and to the half are incomprehensible owing to the license they take to leave the words and sentences on the half way of exactness and sense, as being so to say "raw material" of speech. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that all this is nonsense; that in the realm of sense and meaning there are no "raw materials" and "half ways"; that only carried to the end, a thought begins to signify and to exist.

While translating Petofi I made use, besides of similar "half way" Russian descriptions of the unattainable to me (I don't know Hungarian) original text several German rhymed poetical translations. It brought me close to the author's creative vein and lightened considerably my own task of rendering its spirit.

I always am asking to be given English rhyme versions of Tagore (partly made by himself) in addition to the prose gibberish of our Bengalists that I always am pressed to accept as a base for my endeavour, and I receive a perpetual refusal, the English reproductions having less resemblance with the original text than the "raw material" dug up by our philological moles.

The information, I would again translate Tagore, is inaccurate, if not false. An assumption was made, in spheres, high, far and alien to me, and has got in foreign reports. I declined the suggestion of taking part in the edition. Whole decades of my life I wasted on translations! I am now afraid, in the face of my actual renown, how little indeed I have made myself. Now, near to the close of my day, and especially after the novel Dr. Zh. I must repair the situation, I must write only my original own.

But now, after your kind letter I shall revise my decision. A legend (rather than rumor) is afloat the Prime Min. Neh. should have interfered during my misadventures, should have had heard of me, should have had of me a notion. Even in a case of a legend I lay my great great gratitude to his feet.

Sincerely yours,  
B. Pasternak

### 3. Tara Singh to Nehru<sup>3</sup>

*[Refer to item 52]*

2 October 1959

Since some time you have stopped even acknowledging my letters. Nevertheless as you are the Prime Minister of India, it is my duty to keep you informed about certain goings on.

On April 12, 1959 you made an unequivocal declaration regarding the undesirability of Governmental interference in Gurdwara affairs. For implementation of this policy, a committee of four as required therein has been working for some time. To reciprocate the spirit in which you had made this declaration of policy, I nominated Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and Malik Mukhbain Singh on this Committee, but when Shri Jayaprakash Narayan was unable to serve on this Committee, on account of his other engagements, I nominated Sardar Bahadur Boota Singh in his place. None of these two nominees belong to the Akali Party or in fact any party at all. Malik Mukhbain Singh has never belonged to any party and Sardar Bahadur Boota Singh severed all connection with us more than twenty years ago. My object was that an independent and detached view of the matters in dispute be taken by these nominees.

On the other hand the Punjab Government appointed Giani Kartar Singh and Jathedar Mohan Singh, bitter partisans and opponents of your declaration, on this Committee. As regards Giani Kartar Singh, you already know my views. I have complained to you several times about his Governmental activities. Jathedar Mohan Singh who is no friend of mine was one of the leaders of the old Jathedar Group which is now no more, but which broke away from me in the year 1948. I have never complained against him.

I gave full powers to my nominees to settle this issue of interference in religious affairs with Government. My desire has always been to limit the area of differences between the Government and the Sikhs as far as possible. Taking the spirit underlying the above nominations as an index of the attitude of the Government towards the Four-Man Committee, Malik Mukhbain Singh approached the Governor to persuade him to preside himself over the meetings of the Four-Man Committee. The idea was that in this way Government nominees would not be able to put hitches in the work of the Committee, but the Governor could not see his way to agree to the arrangement. After the very first meeting when no doubt was left regarding the line of action of the Government nominees,



my two nominees, i.e. Malik Mukhbain Singh and Sardar Bahadur Boota Singh both approached the Chief Minister. They told him that the work of the Committee could be finished expeditiously if the Chief Minister himself could spare some time. Sardar Partap Singh however did not see his way to agree to their proposal. From the above it will be clear that as far as my side is concerned, no effort was spared to proceed with the work of the Four Man Committee as expeditiously as possible. I do not know why Government wishes to protract these proceedings. I cannot comprehend how this can be to Government's interest. Normally the less the number of points of difference and the sooner the same are resolved the better it is. All that is to be done is to consider the few complaints and to establish a couple of conventions. Any differences of opinion have to be decided by the Governor or ultimately by yourself. Why is Government feeling shy of such a simple arrangement? Has not everything been left ultimately to your own arbitration? In the last three meetings when the Akali Dal nominees agreed with most of the suggestions of the Governor or the Government, the Government nominees would not agree to anything and so the whole thing had to be referred to the Governor. In the meantime, Government interference has become more acute than ever before. It is so obvious that the idea is to prolong the matter until the coming elections to the S.G.P.C. are over.

If you think it desirable to remedy the above state of affairs then please do something. I am unable to suggest anything because the implementation lies with the Punjab Government and they simply refuse to implement. You alone can give redress. What can I say?

#### 4. Rajeshwar Dayal to M.J. Desai<sup>4</sup>

*[Refer to item 161]*

Karachi

October 5, 1959

My dear C.S.,

Now that arrangements for the meeting at ministerial level are complete, it might be useful to consider what is likely to be the attitude of the Pakistani delegation at the talks. Considering the previous history of negotiations with Pakistan, a considerable degree of caution and skepticism on our part would be understandable. That of course is an unavoidable starting point in any

4. Letter. File No. 7(2)-Pak-III/59, Vol. II, pp. 88-94/corr., MEA.

negotiations with Pakistan. The question however is, are there any new factors which might give some indication that the pattern of negotiations on which we are about to embark might conceivably be somewhat different? In this letter I should like to trace some of these features and to attempt an evaluation of them. Any assessment will necessarily be provisional and tentative, as the real test will come only when the negotiations actually commence and the Pakistani attitude on the specific issues under discussion is revealed. With these preliminary words of caution, I shall attempt the rather difficult task set out above.

2. An index of what the Pakistani Government expects of the forthcoming discussions may be provided by the manner in which the proposal to hold them originated. The proposal was made by President Ayub Khan to the Prime Minister at the Palam meeting and it came on the crest of the wave of goodwill generated at that meeting. The President need not have made the proposal at all, but the fact that he offered it as an original contribution towards the lessening of tensions provides some indication that he meant it for constructive purposes. That proposal, to which we readily agreed, has been universally hailed here as a harbinger of friendly negotiations towards the settlement of not only the border problems in the east, out perhaps of various other problems as well. If the talks fail to achieve any constructive purpose, that would be a reflection on the president's judgment in making such a proposal at all. The proposal was made to illustrate the President's view expressed to the Prime Minister that there was no problem between our two countries which was not susceptible of solution by peaceful means. The forthcoming negotiations might therefore well be regarded as a test case to prove the sincerity of the President's approach at Palam. If the comparatively minor but vexatious issues in the east cannot be settled by negotiation, what chance would there be of settling the larger issues which divide the two countries?

3. In support of this line of approach, one should note the repeated affirmations made to me by the President of his sincere desire to end the irritants along the eastern border. This has been echoed by General Shaikh at my frequent meetings with him. While it is partly correct that there has been no marked change of policy towards India in comparison with previous regimes, the fact remains that we are now dealing with new men with a different background. While the psychology of the civil service has not changed, the forthcoming negotiations will, for the first time, be held with a military representative of the regime. It is conceivable therefore that we might be confronted by new tactics, perhaps even a new approach.

4. Another question which comes to mind is whether the proposed meeting is designed merely to build up Pakistan's international standing, as well as the



prestige of General Shaikh within his own country and among his own colleagues. Just as it has been declared here that the Palam meeting came at the specific request of the Pakistani Government, so also the fact has not been concealed that the forthcoming ministerial talks are the result of the President's initiative. Had the invitation issued from our side, it could have been argued that it would have had some prestige value. As regards General Shaikh's personal position, it is a fortuitous circumstance that he happens to be holding the foreign affairs portfolio in an acting capacity in view of Manzur Qadir's absence in the United Nations. In fact General Shaikh had suggested a meeting after the 23rd October when Foreign Secretary Ikramullah (and Manzur Qadir as well) would have returned. It was however on our insistence that an earlier date was decided upon. We have not so far found any evidence to show that there is any desire on the part of the regime to build up General Shaikh's personal position. The General continues to be the "mystery man" of the cabinet, and it was not so long ago that there were persistent rumours that efforts were being made to dislodge him by forcing him to accept the Governorship of West Pakistan. Those rumours have for the time being been stilled, but there is nothing to indicate any radical and sudden improvement in general Shaikh's position; indeed, it is now being said that a reshuffle of the cabinet might take place after the first anniversary of the so-called Revolution. Apparently Generals Azam and Shaikh feel that Manzur Qadir is spreading himself out a little too much and there are rumours of a temporary understanding between them. Azam is still the number one man in the cabinet, while Shaikh, for purposes of protocol, continues to occupy the fifth place.

5. Could it be that Shaikh is being sent to Delhi in order to meet his Waterloo? Shaikh's failure would however, not be confined to himself; it would also reflect on the president, who I originated the proposal. Besides, Shaikh, as a man of action and not of words, would, in his own interests, if for no other reason, be interested in achieving some positive results, which while solving at least some of the problems, would hold out the prospect of a settlement of the rest in order that his mission may not be termed a failure. There is of course also the consideration that if Shaikh goes too far out to secure settlements, he may be denounced by his own rivals. In this view of the matter he is confronted with a very difficult task which will require considerable circumspection on his part.

6. The anxiety of the President for the talks to be held in Delhi, i.e. on our terrain, would hardly indicate that the aim is stone-walling; for that purpose Dacca would have been a better venue. Indeed, the president emphasized that in his view the most fruitful discussions could take place only in Delhi, although a visit to Dacca could be included in order to enable the delegations to see the

terrain and also for the psychological impact it would have on East Pakistan and the neighbouring Indian States. If stone-walling were the intention, very little advance preparation would have been necessary and the familiar arguments could have been trotted up to counter any constructive approaches made by our side. The fact however is that very intensive preparation for the conference has been going on at the foreign office since the last two weeks at least. When I first met General Shaikh to discuss plans for the conference, I became immediately aware that he had been studying the papers and had a good idea of the matters at issue. The East Pakistan Governor, his Chief Secretary, and General Umrao Khan are all here these days for conferences with General Shaikh, which also indicates very careful advance preparation.

7. Another indication that the greatest possible importance is being attached to the coming talks, on the basis of an approach which may well be constructive, is provided by the fact that the various items for discussion mentioned in one of your letters found immediate acceptance here, and General Shaikh even said that they corresponded to his own line of thinking. In fact he reminded me that Dr. B.C. Roy had raised the question of border trade in fish, fresh fruits and vegetables, poultry, etc. and thought that that matter too should be taken up. All this goes to show that there is consciousness here of the serious nature of the forthcoming talks, an awareness of the various questions at issue, and a strong possibility that in view of the close study being made of the problems, positive proposals may be expected.

8. I should add here an important item which General Shaikh suggested at my last meeting with him. He thought that there should be a review of the Nehru-Noon agreement to see to what extent implementation had been made and what matters remained outstanding. He even seemed to be prepared for a modification of the agreement if considered necessary by both sides, as, for example, in the case of the boundary along the Piyain and Surma rivers. I would suggest that this item be thoroughly examined as well, so that we might be fully in a position to discuss it.

9. What is likely to be General Shaikh's overall tactical approach to the problems under discussion? That of course is a very difficult question to answer, although it is one which our negotiators will have to keep constantly in mind. Some of the personal considerations which might influence the General's attitude have been mentioned earlier in this note. General Shaikh has the reputation of being a practical man who knows his own mind and is sparing of speech. If he could be convinced about a proposition, he would perhaps be prepared to take the responsibility of coming to an agreement. He is going to Delhi with plenipotentiary powers and he enjoys the double capacity of acting Foreign Minister as well as Minister of the interior. Both he and the President have



been remarking on the comparatively trivial nature of the problems and expressing bewilderment as to why they have for so long baffled solution. They are both concerned about the implementation of the decisions already taken, particularly at the Chief Secretaries' Conference, and about devising procedures which would ensure compliance in the future. As General Shaikh has frequently mentioned the question of formulating "ground rules" to which he attaches considerable importance, he may also suggest methods involving joint enquiries into disputed matters and joint investigations in cases of a breach of agreements by either side.

10. Both the president and General Shaikh have spoken about putting an end to the troubles in the east once and for all. In keeping with this line, the approach could well be a comprehensive and all-embracing one which might include proposals for setting up executive machinery at different levels to deal with all types of cases affecting border relations.

11. From certain remarks made regarding the small strips of territory involved on one side or the other, and the tangled nature of the claims of both parties, I would not be surprised if a proposal for a package deal, predicated some give and take on both sides, were to be made. Alternatively, the Pakistani delegation may not be unreceptive to such an approach, if made. To the military mind which dislikes subtleties, a broad approach on some such basis might well make an appeal.

12. If the package deal approach is developed, it could well cut across our present difficulties in regard to the interpretation of Bagge Award No. 4, which would automatically solve the problem of the implementation of Bagge Award No. 3 as well. In this connection I would like to recall what Chief Secretary Azfar mentioned to me in May last about the transfer of the Berubari Union. I did not know then and I still do not know, his authority for expressing those views, but in the course of informal exchanges during the talks, it might be just as well to make appropriate soundings. It may be that if a comprehensive plan begins to take shape as a result of the talks, all these vexed questions could, by a process of give and take, develop into some form of an overall or package solution.

13. I should like to end this letter on the note of caution with which I began it. I have made an attempt to analyse the Pakistani attitude and approach to the talks on the basis of the best information at our disposal and in the light of various conversations which I have had here. But the real test can only come when the talks actually commence. I however felt it to be my duty to attempt an analysis of the possibilities so that we may be fully prepared to meet any situation that might arise. What I have said should not be taken to imply that the Pakistanis would be prepared to surrender any of the positions to which they have hitherto

adhered; they may however be prepared to come to mutual adjustments and accommodations in a spirit of give and take.

14. President Ayub Khan has been trying to build up a reputation for himself as one who is prepared to take bold initiatives for the improvement of our relations. He prides himself on the fact that the initiative for the Palam meeting was his. The progress towards the settlement of the canal waters' question is another near-achievement on which the regime hopes to build up its popularity with the masses. A settlement of the vexed problems in the east, and at any rate a lowering of tension there, could be hailed as another signal achievement of the regime. The reputations of both the President himself and General Shaikh will be heavily at stake in the forthcoming talks, and while hard bargaining may be expected, we should be prepared to meet the various suggestions and proposals which will no doubt be made in the course of the talks. We should also be ready with our own proposals and counter-proposals so as not to lose the initiative at any stage.

15. Before concluding this note, I should like to mention a recent important development the full significance of which we are still investigating, namely the premature retirement of the Army Chief of Staff, Lieut. Gen. Habibullah Khan. This portentous event, which has come as a complete surprise, clearly betokens a weakening of the President's position, whatever may have been the dark intrigues within the top military echelon which preceded it. Ayub had hoped to consolidate his hold on the army through Habibullah Khan who was being confidently regarded as Musa's successor and with whose son a matrimonial alliance had been arranged by Ayub. The President has frequently mentioned that his friendly approaches to India have been strongly criticised in certain circles here. To demonstrate that they are in the best interests of Pakistan, it may be even more worth his while to achieve positive results. Any signal failure of the forthcoming talks, would be regarded as a failure of his policy, thus further weakening his position. That would hardly be in our interest, for one thing is clear. If Ayub's position is noticeably weakened and his self-confidence appreciably shaken, he would be hesitant to take any bold decisions and there may be a reversion to the previous conditions of drift and emotionalism, thus removing the chances for a peaceful and rational adjustment of our differences and the establishment of more normal relations.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Rajeshwar Dayal



## 5. Vishnu Sahay to Nehru<sup>5</sup>

*[Refer to item 125]*

Child Welfare programmes are at present scattered between a number of Ministries at the Centre. The position in the States is similar.

The Ministry of Community Development interests itself, as far as Community Development Blocks are concerned, in youth clubs, children's clubs, children's parks, libraries, Balwadies and crèches. The Ministry of Education handles pre-primary education, primary education, middle school education, secondary education, education of handicapped children, physical education, sports, scouts and guides, school feeding, Bal Bhavans, children's museums and the National Discipline Scheme. It is also the Ministry responsible for programmes of assistance to voluntary organizations for child welfare, most important among which is the Central Social Welfare Board. The Ministry of Health is responsible for maternity and child health centres, milk feeding and diet supplements programmes of the UNICEF and School health services. The Ministry of Home Affairs is responsible for the subject of 'juvenile delinquents'.

The Central Social Welfare Board itself has a very considerable programme of assistance to voluntary organizations all over the country. These organizations deal with founding homes, orphanages, crèches, infant health centres, cultural and recreational centres, holiday homes, correctional and rehabilitation services for juvenile delinquents, welfare services for the handicapped and the like.

2. It is not feasible to bring all these activities under the umbrella of any one Ministry. What is needed is machinery for co-ordination. I would propose that the subject "Child Welfare" should be made the administrative responsibility of the Ministry of Education, which is the Ministry mainly concerned with Child Welfare programmes, and that this Ministry should be charged with the responsibility for arranging co-ordination with the other Ministries and agencies in the field. In addition, there should be a Committee consisting of representatives of the Ministries concerned and the Planning Commission and the Central Social Welfare Board. This Advisory Committee should be put under the Cabinet Secretariat and should be serviced by it. Its responsibility will be (a) to take the initiative in seeing that the appropriate authorities prepare the needed programmes and (b) to see that there is no duplication. It will be the responsibility of the Committee to see that the subject Child Welfare as a whole receives adequate attention.

5. Note, 6 October 1959. File No. 142/CF59, Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

3. In addition, if Prime Minister so desires, a Committee of Cabinet may be set up. The documents of the Advisory Committee mentioned above would go as a matter of routine to this Committee of Cabinet. This Cabinet Committee would also be the body which would settle unresolved differences. The Advisory Committee would, at stated intervals, submit a review for the information and orders of the Cabinet Committee.

4. More important than co-ordination here is co-ordination at the State Government level. State Governments may be advised to adopt a device similar to the one suggested above to bring the threads together.

## 6. Homi J. Bhabha to Nehru<sup>6</sup>

*[Refer to item 121]*

Vienna

October 8, 1959

My dear Bhai,

As you are aware, we have set up a uranium plant for making atomically pure uranium metal, and a fuel fabrication facility for converting this metal into fabricated fuel elements for the Canada-India Reactor. The first prototype fuel elements were produced in June last and it is our intention to provide as much of the first charge as possible for the Canada-India Reactor from fuel elements fabricated in India. Our uranium mining has, however, fallen behind schedule and we may therefore be able to provide some 70 to 80% of the fuel elements only for the first charge.

2. According to the agreement regarding the Canada-India Reactor, fuel elements have to be provided by Canada except to the extent they are provided from sources within India. From our point of view, therefore, it is expedient to make arrangement for providing about half the initial charge with fuel elements fabricated in Canada. These will be available as a standby at Trombay and will be put in to the extent of the shortfall of Indian-made elements or to the extent some Indian-made elements may require replacement. It is desirable that we should have a certain excess in hand to meet any delayed start up of the reactor in case of emergency. This could all be used up later.

3. The Canadians on their side, have been very keen to provide the entire first charge, which consists of about 200 elements, by elements produced in

6. Letter. File No. 17(52)/56-66-PMS.



Canada, on the ground that only then could they be sure of the performance. We have pointed out that there is no justification whatsoever for their apprehension, and that out of deference to their feelings, we are agreeable to having about half the first charge consisting of 100 fuel elements made in Canada available as a standby when the reactor is started up. We have not yet indicated to them that there is likely to be any shortfall.

4. It may also be added that at the end of 1957, when we first indicated our decision to provide the first charge, the President of Atomic Energy of Canada congratulated us on the progress made by us in providing the fuel elements and did not at that time express any misgivings about their use. I personally believe that while they may feel more confident with their own fuel elements, which they know, considerable part of their desire to provide Canadian fuel elements is a matter of prestige.

5. The provision of Canadian fuel elements, however, immediately brings in its train the complication with the safeguard provisions on which we have so far taken a very strong stand in the International Atomic Energy Agency, and on which Canada has taken an equally strong stand in the opposite direction. Gray, the Chairman of Atomic Energy of Canada, flew to Vienna a few days ago to discuss this matter and to see if the gap between our respective points of view could be bridged to make possible the provision of Canadian elements. As a result, the attached paper has been produced *ad referendum* to our respective Governments. The present paragraphs 3, 4 and 6 were drafted by us, and while giving the Canadians limited power of audit, which they can only exercise in conjunction with us, they nevertheless give us freedom to terminate the whole arrangement by selling the plutonium produced from Canadian fuel back to Canada at market price. This is provided by the last but one sentence of paragraph 7, which has been introduced at our instance. The substance of the provisions is therefore no longer objectionable, nor is it likely to come in our way, but it unfortunately does involve our acceptance, to a limited extent, of the principle that there shall be a joint audit on uranium supplied by Canada and plutonium derived there from. Paragraph 5 was in the original Canadian draft as paragraph 3, but we have shifted it to its present position, and limited its scope drastically by inclusion of the words "to the extent provided in paragraphs 6 and 7 below." As modified now by the words mentioned we can just accept this paragraph, since this gives the Canadians no more rights or power than is contained in paragraphs 6 and 7. The Canadians have been at great pains to tell us that the word "safeguards" does not appear in the entire paper and that it represents a far-reaching departure from their own position. One must admit that it represents a substantial weakening of the position which they have taken so far in the Agency.

6. We will try and get the Canadians to drop paragraph 5, but if we do not succeed, we will, for the reasons given in the preceding paragraph of this letter, proceed on the basis of the paragraph as modified by us. This course too will be within the terms of the intergovernmental agreement for the supply of fuel elements by Canada to India for the Canada-India Reactor.

Yours ever,  
Homi Bhabha

## 7. V.K. Krishna Menon to Nehru<sup>7</sup>

*[Refer to item 177]*

Steering Committee yesterday considered item entitled "The question of Tibet". We are not parties to this meeting as we are not members of this General Committee. The debate was bitter and acrimonious and gravely affected the atmosphere of the Assembly. The voting was 11 for 5 against with 4 abstentions. Among those who voted for inscription was the UK who, however, made a speech which the Russians characterised as an argument against inscription. There were other speeches also which expressed serious doubts about the validity or usefulness of inscription but they argued that in view of other considerations they would vote for. These included diverse views as Sweden and China.

2. The matter will come before the General Assembly first on the issue of admission which would be immediately followed by the debate on merit. The debate promises to be far more bitter than Hungary or anything else. The Russians are prepared to take the view that the Americans have promoted the whole business and done so deliberately and used the crisis for the purpose. They seem to be far more exercised over this than one would have expected. They have said so to us and in the speeches also that this question will affect progress of other matters in the Assembly and generally. That it will affect other issues in the Assembly, there is no doubt.

3. Russian delegation has seen me practically every day and yesterday on this question spoke to the two Members of Parliament also.

4. Russians have made repeated requests that we should at least vote against inscription even if we abstain or non-participated on resolution. They implied that they made representations in Delhi and either gained the impression or were told that the actual way the vote was cast was a matter for the delegation

7. Telegram No. 228, New York, 10 October 1959.



here to decide. I told them that this was a question of policy and decision has to be made at governmental level.

5. Then they argued that we were against the discussion of the item and therefore it was difficult for them to understand why we refused to vote against it. I said I could no more than convey their views to Government. Although it was logical and consistent with our view that the discussion would prejudice Dalai Lama himself, as present instructions stand the delegation cannot take this position.

6. Dayal has been in touch with Dalai Lama's brother and kept me informed. Their desire is to raise political issue. He asked whether we could not do the same thing as in 1950 and bring about a postponement. If it is a mere postponement or working for a situation of no decision there is plenty of volume of feeling in this direction but this is not their idea. Their idea is a postponement with a view to negotiating arrangements for which as you know conditions do not exist at present.

7. The position is extremely difficult and it has to be submitted to you that this wind which blows no one any good is having very deep reaction on the whole situation. Without definite instructions, I can only adhere to instructions already given in spite of requests from Indonesians, Russians, etc. The voting by a number of countries depends on us which throws on us added responsibility and it is also put to us that we are enabling the item to come up with greater support than we ourselves intend. The only issues, therefore, are

- (i) whether we should cast vote against inscription and not vote on merit,
- (ii) whether we should not vote on inscription and explain our position and vote against resolution, or
- (iii) not vote at all on any issue.

I do not feel that I can offer advice but only keep you informed of things as I see them. As the decision on this matter must depend on your judgment of public reactions and your assessment of its effects on the future in different ways, it is inappropriate for me to do anything else.

8. I would also like to have some reactions of yours arising from Chou En-lai's recent reply to your message which is reported in the papers. I should also add that Russian delegation here appear to me to be speaking to us under instructions. I wonder whether any messages have reached you from Moscow.

## 8. S. Dutt to G. Parthasarathi<sup>8</sup>

*[Refer to item 177]*

In the last few days Chinese are showing in many ways that they want to be friendly and have discussions with us in near future. Change of attitude started with last talk I had with Minister of Foreign Affairs Chen Yi (reference my telegram No. 204 28th September). During National Day celebrations officials came upto me eagerly making an effort to recapture old warmth of friendship. However for a day after Primind's letter was delivered I felt a certain reserve; but it was short lived. At the German reception on 7th October Chairman Mao greeted my wife and myself most warmly. Yesterday at the Indonesian Embassy Chou En-lai came up to me to say that he was very happy with Primind's anniversary greetings, drank a toast with me and asked camera man to take a photograph of us together. I am relating all this not with any sense of personal satisfaction—Chou En-lai has always been warm and friendly during all these difficult months—but to indicate that the demonstrable cordiality of the Chinese in last few days is a pointer to us and to others of a change of China's attitude to India.

2. Indications are clear that the Chinese want to "step down" as we want to do it without loss of face. Perhaps they want us to meet them half way. What they desire is the visit of a high personality from India. Alternatively they would like us to suggest discussions at governmental level. Ajay Ghosh and his colleagues came to see me yesterday. They said that Mao had stressed that long standing friendship should be preserved in spite of differences that have cropped up. Then they asked me "now that both sides have stated their positions cannot something be done to settle the problem through diplomatic contacts." Again Chou En-lai told Joachim Alva that speedy negotiations should take place in Peking or Delhi and China was ready for talks without conditions. Chen Yi also told Subandrio that our Vice President was being invited to visit China. Moreover Communist diplomats have asked me when an Indian representative would be coming to Peking—which shows that Chinese have been giving them the impression that governmental talks are in the offing.

3. On the other hand it is clear that the Chinese do not like what they consider to be embarrassing two conditions for talks (a) that they should withdraw from Longju (b) that we will not negotiate on the whole frontier but will discuss only minor rectifications. With regard to (a) Chou En-lai told Subandrio that our army has occupied many places beyond the line. I told

8. Telegram No. 220, Peking, 10 October 1959.



Subandrio that this was not true and in any case Chinese occupation of Longju was in a different category as it was taken from us by force. With regard to (b) the Chinese have felt that their case based on maps, non-validity of Simla Convention etc., is incontrovertible. Whether they still have the same opinion after studying Primind's letter of 26th September I cannot say. But I have a feeling that Chinese would like to avoid public controversy by not replying to Primind's letter and instead seek a settlement by negotiations. From their point of view therefore the sooner such talks are held the better.

4. Whether the change in Chinese attitude is genuine or only a change of tactics there is reason to believe that they realise or have been made to realise that they have over reached themselves. On our part we may accept this changed attitude at its face value seeking as we always do opportunities for friendly and peaceful settlements. Keeping this in view we may make it easier for the Chinese to step down without loss of face. For example although Chinese withdrawal from Longju is basic with us we need not periodically insist on "vacation of aggression" in public. This may help the Chinese if they are really earnest about negotiations, to do so in fact, but without losing face as having yielded to pressure. With regard to (b) above which is even more fundamental to our position our stand has been firm and categorically affirmed. Any negotiations for a settlement must however inevitably involve a discussion of the basic position of the two sides. In any case prospects of convincing the Chinese of the strength and justice of our stand are stronger in diplomatic talks or Governmental negotiations than through further public exchange of correspondence.

5. To sum up my view is that we should without undue eagerness explore possibilities of settlement by negotiations provided of course the Chinese approach us directly and in an appropriate way. Of course we do not want to be placed in the same position as Subandrio has been of being virtually summoned to explain and discuss the measures taken against the Chinese in Indonesia. We need not however rule out the acceptability of an official invitation to a high personality from India but act on it at a stage when we feel that such a visit will put us in an advantageous position for negotiations.

6. You would have seen the speculation in the world press as to whether Khrushchev talked to the Chinese about "behaving themselves" in the coming months when steps were being taken to bring about summit meeting. Diplomatic members of Eastern European countries have told me in last few days that Khrushchev talked very frankly to the Chinese about the need to lesson tension. When I pointed out that while Khrushchev had declared that Eisenhower is a man of peace the Chinese still continue to denounce U.S. Government as leader of the aggressive block their reply has been that Chinese have welcomed the

only communiqué of Khrushchev and Eisenhower and that we would soon see that Chinese would show that Khrushchev's advice has been accepted. They have also expressed their confidence that in the new climate created by Khrushchev it would be easier to settle the Sino-Indian problem. This may be an optimistic assessment as Chinese have always seemed to regard that a settlement in the West will not help them to achieve their own national interests but it is possible that for a period they will hold their hands.

7. In my previous telegram I have tried to mention the trends in Chinese policy of issuing invitation as they do from an assertion of strength. The harsh realities that Germany brought forth are there and we have to be watchful. But we should respond to friendly approaches in conformity with our basic policy and explore every possibility of a negotiated settlement.

## 9. A. Krishnaswami to Nehru<sup>9</sup>

[Refer to item 180]

New Delhi

20th October 1959

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

It is reported in *The Times of India* that India in all likelihood would be voting against the resolution moved by Ireland and Malaya on the violation of human rights in Tibet. As it appears that the question is still open, I feel impelled to place certain facts before you for your earnest consideration.

The Irish resolution in its Statement of Objects and Reasons points out that there has been an infringement of human rights in Tibet by China. Our stand is that no useful purpose would be served in discussing infringement of human rights since questions of a political character are likely to arise. Presumably it was on this ground that we refused to sponsor a resolution to inscribe this item on the agenda. But now that the item is to be discussed and voted upon, it is more than every necessary to consider afresh the line to be taken. Clearly, it would be inadvisable and improper to oppose this resolution since we as a people and you as our voice have invariably stood for the enlargement of human rights and have protested against their infringement. Our stand in this respect has been a major element in our policy; indeed it is part of our tradition. It would therefore be most unfortunate if on grounds of temporary expediency—and these are in my opinion of an unsubstantial nature—we were to repudiate

9. Letter. File No. 5 (28)-II/59, pp. 59-62/corr., MEA.



our past stand. It would also be ambiguous if we were to abstain from voting. On a question of human values which we cherish there can be no room for abstention.

However, there is one aspect of the matter which one cannot overlook. It may be considered by some that it is not proper for us to accept the resolution in the form in which it stands. The resolution in effect gives an *ex parte* judgment and urges in the context of the developments in Tibet that there should be respect for human rights. It may be argued that the resolution by implication prejudices the issue of whether and to what extent human rights have been violated. Our approach to these problems has been positive and on this occasion more than on any other, considering the great interest evinced by our people in this matter, we should make a supreme effort to give a constructive lead. We can suggest to the General Assembly that instead of voting on this issue immediately, the Secretary-General should be authorised to appoint an independent panel of experts to assess the situation and to report before the next Assembly meets. An opportunity will thus be given to the Government of China to present its case. The object of asking for an independent committee functioning under U.N. auspices is to prevent an impression that Chinese actions are being prejudged without giving China an opportunity of stating her case.

Whatever little substance there may be in the contention that a discussion on Tibet would intensify the "cold war" there can be no room for such contention if the Assembly were to suggest an enquiry before arriving at a final decision. We would be acting fairly to the cause of human rights, to the Government of the Peoples Republic of China and at the same time conforming to the tradition of respect for human values which you have done so much to build during the past.

I would have requested an interview but for the fact that I am leaving for Madras this afternoon. I returned from New York only yesterday.

With kindest regards and warmest respects,

Yours sincerely,  
A. Krishnaswami

## 10. Krishna Menon to Nehru<sup>10</sup>

*[Refer to item 168]*

Have just seen news item that Chinese launched fresh attack penetrating 40 miles of our territory killing a number of our people and that troops are engaged on both sides. Also that Bakshi has taken over in Ladakh and situation is preparatory to invasion.

2. Have no information either from External Affairs to Delegation or Defence Ministry to me as might have been expected. Same applies to Indo-Pakistan border issues.

3. Shall be grateful for information about present position particularly about strength of attack and truth about penetration. Unless there are directions to the contrary should not at least Defence Ministry and Army Headquarters keep me informed about these developments? It is difficult to parry questions or decline comment which I now do in general terms. Is situation becoming bad and deteriorating the armed conflict? Request reply as soon as possible which would enable me to seek guidance on other matters. I should have thought that Chinese now know that we will not take things lying down and will change their attitude. Also reported that Chinese allege inroads by us.

4. Number of Delegates have publicly expressed in Assembly on Bengal floods. I must respond sometime and give latest information.

## 11. Mulraj Kersondas to Nehru<sup>11</sup>

*[Refer to item 65]*

Bombay

29 October 1959

The summary of Nathdwara Enquiry Commission report was published a few days ago and yesterday I was able to get a copy of complete report. The Commission has fully vindicated my stand on the temple affairs and its findings are practically on the lines of my evidence tendered before the Commission.

I take this opportunity of thanking for all the assistance, advice and guidance, given by you to me in this cause.

As you are aware I have treated this matter not merely as a solitary instance of one temple but I have felt that economy of our country is being continuously

10. Telegram No. 242, New York, 23 October 1959.

11. Letter.



hit by two tuberculosis germs. One of which is our 40 crores of rupees which are annually given by the public to religious institutions and other is the reported 60 to 100 crores of gold smuggled into this country. Both of these germs are eating away the vitals of our economy and I trust that Nathdwara Enquiry Commission report which has held the High Priest and his assistants guilty of theft and robbery should give sufficient motive power to the Govt. for controlling all religious institutions funds so that these crores which are being annually lavishly spent by high priests and its satellites, beginning with Aga Khan and ending with smallest priest of villages should be made to see that purpose for which these donations are given to religious trusts are used for the welfare of humanity and not in the pleasures of the high priests. Other point about gold smuggling is even if you take a portion of the report as correct, at least 30 to 35 crores are being definitely smuggled into India and this can only be stopped if you give alternate investment to the masses and not by mere police action. You will find that prohibition has more or less failed because you have not offered any alternative drink to the masses. Similarly gold smuggling will continue till alternative investment, which can be handy at any time, when man is in distress, is given to the public, without which these 30/40 crores a year of our foreign exchange drain is being eaten up by dishonest people and our services corrupted by the smuggling operators.

To my mind small and cheap house building organisation on vast scale is the only alternative that will be tempting enough to the gold hoarders and I wish you will take personal interest in having house building encouraged and its liquidity of sales encouraged both by making necessary changes in the acts and supporting investments to channel into house building.

Apart from this serving the purpose of alternate investment to gold it will give much wanted relief to the poor and distressed houseless people of which Bombay alone contains million persons.

The object of planning in the country is to improve the standard of living of the people and for that purpose vast sums have been invested by the government into various directions but while these investments have increased national income in rupees, annas and pies it has correspondingly increased the cost of living in consumption goods with the result that we are hardly better off than before the First Plan as far as standard of living is concerned. Cheap and vast number of housing will be the real method to remove one of the causes of poor standard of living and I trust you will kindly give this matter important consideration it deserves.

## 12. Rathindranath Tagore to Nehru<sup>12</sup>

*[Refer to item 138]*

Dehra Dun

29 October 1959

May I take the liberty of approaching you on a subject which is as dear to your heart as mine. Since the Samsad meeting of the Visva-Bharati University in 1957, I have been expecting the affairs of Rabindra Sadana in Santiniketan being put on a sure and satisfactory basis but I do not find that any progress has been made in that direction.

You may be aware that my contribution to the Rabindra Sadana in kind would be over rupees five lakhs, which I had then made, with the hope the Rabindra Sadana as a centre of culture of father's literature and art should develop in a manner consistent with the traditions of Visva-Bharati as established by my father. I was under the impression that a Board or Trust would soon be formed with your initiative and active help to control and guide the affairs of Rabindra Sadana.

May I request you to kindly let the matter have your timely attention so that a scheme may properly be formulated before the Annual Parishad meeting in December this year and the scheme may be put in operation in time before the Centenary celebrations are held so that Rabindra Sadana may become the centre of attraction for all people in India and elsewhere as an integral part of the celebrations. There is little time left and I sincerely feel that if further time is lost it will not be possible to attain the object in the manner desired. Until and unless you yourself take the initiative in this matter and give proper directions, no appreciable progress can be expected.

Before I conclude, I would like to add that it is my desire to make further contributions, so far as my present means may permit, to Rabindra Sadana but I cannot make up my mind to do so until the affairs of Rabindra Sadana are put on a satisfactory basis.

12. Letter. Rabindrabhavan, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan. Also available in JN Collection.



## GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations and names of places)

ADC	Assistant District Commissioner
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIIMS	All India Institute of Medical Sciences
AIR	All India Radio
AMU	Aligarh Muslim University
AP	Andhra Pradesh
APLC	Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council
BA	Bachelor of Arts
Banaras	Varanasi
Bangalore	Bengaluru
Baroda	Vadodhara
BDO	Block Development Officer
BHU	Banaras Hindu University
CIRUS	Canada India Reactor Utility Services
Bombay city	Mumbai
BSS	Bharat Sewak Samaj
Burma	Myanmar
CAG	Comptroller and Auditor General
Calcutta	Kolkata
Cambodia	Kampuchia
Ceylon	Sri Lanka
Chou En-lai	Zhou En-lai
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPP	(Congress Parliamentary Party) Congress Party in Parliament
CS	Commonwealth Secretary
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
CSWB	Central Social Welfare Board
CWC	Congress Working Committee
DCC	District Congress Committee

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

DEA	Department of Economic Affairs
Dhab	water of the tender coconut
DIB	Director of Intelligence Bureau
DK	Dravida Kazhagam
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
DRO	District Returning Officer
DRVN	Democratic Republic of Viet Nam
DVC	Damodar Valley Corporation
Dwichakra	Bicycle
East Pakistan	Bangladesh
FLN	Front de Libération Nationale
FS	Foreign Secretary
Gauhati	Guwahati
GOI	Government of India
GP	Ganatantra Parishad
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
ICSC	International Commission for Supervision and Control
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IFS	Indian Foreign Service
IMA	Indian Medical Association
INC	Indian National Congress
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
JNMF	Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund
Jullundhur	Jalandhar
Khansama	a generic term for cook or chef
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation of India
Madras city	Chennai
Madras State	Tamil Nadu
Mao Tse-tung	Mao Zedong
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MJP	Mahagujarat Janata Parishad
MKP	Mazdoor Kisan Party
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MLC	Member of Legislative Council
MP	Madhya Pradesh/Member of Parliament
MRA	Moral Re-Armament
NAI	National Archives of India



NCAER	National Council for Applied Economic Research
NDC	National Development Council
NEFA	North-East Frontier Agency
NIT	National Institute of Technology
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NPC	National Planning Committee/ Naga People's Convention
Ootacamund	(Ooty) Udhagamandalam
Orissa	Odisha
PCC	Provincial Congress Committee
PCI	Press Commission of India
Peking	Beijing
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PMO	Prime Minister's Office
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
Pondicherry	Puducherry
Poona	Pune
PPCC	Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PRA	Pondicherry Representative Assembly
PRO	Public Relations Officer
PSC	Public Service Commission
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PS	Private Secretary
PTI	Press Trust of India
RBI	Reserve Bank of India
REC	Regional Engineering College
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee
SG	Secretary General, MEA
SP	Superintendent of Police
SRC	States Reorganisation Committee
STC	State Trading Corporation
SWJN/FS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, First Series</i>
SWJN/SS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Second Series</i>
TASS	<i>Telegrafnoe Agentsvo Sovetskogo Soiuza</i>
TCM	The Children's Museum
UGC	University Grants Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations/Organisation

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
Upacharya	Vice-Chancellor of Visva Bharati.
UPPCC	Uttar Pradesh Pradesh Congress Committee
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
UP	Uttar Pradesh
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WAY	World Assembly of Youth
<i>White Paper I</i>	Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, <i>Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed Between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959. White Paper</i> (n.p., n.d) [New Delhi, 1959].
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